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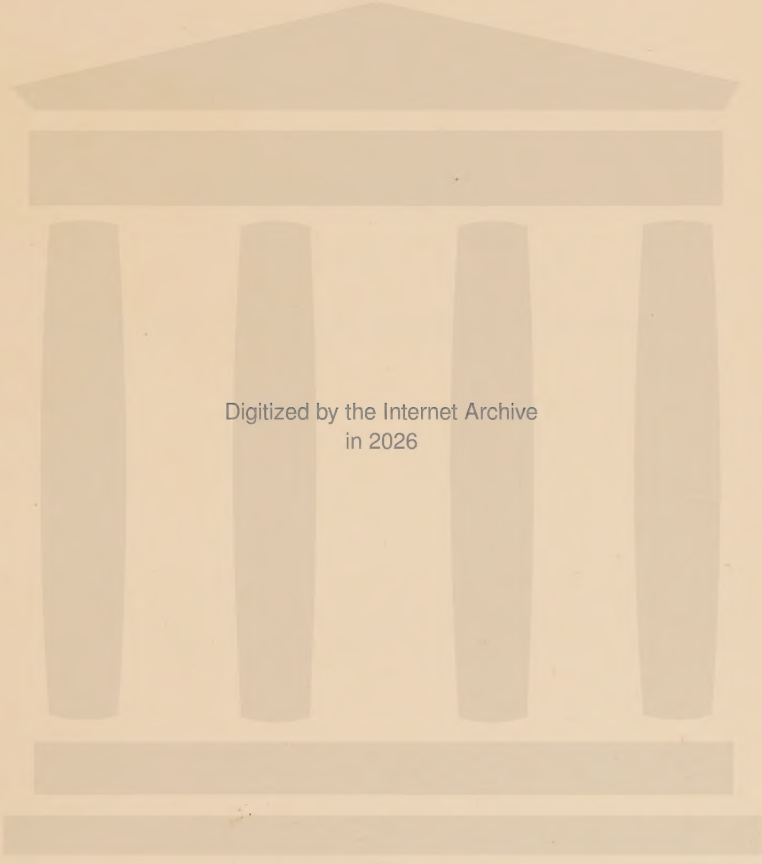

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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Committee of Publication.

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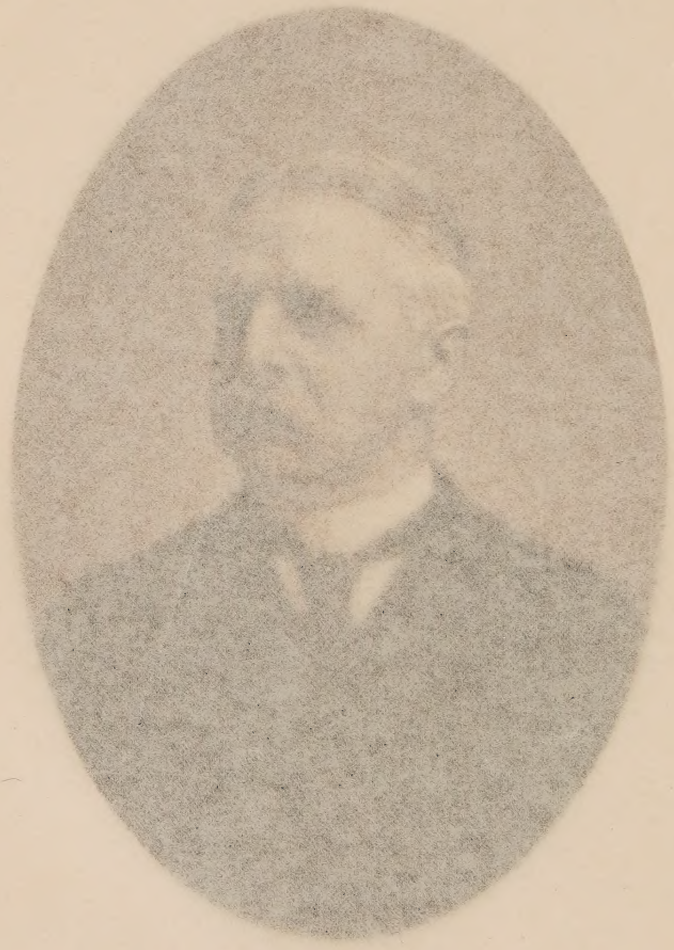

John E. Sawyer

Massachusetts Historical Society

Founded 1791

PROCEEDINGS

OCTOBER, 1909—JUNE, 1910

VOLUME XLIII

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INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

WITHDRAWN

PREFACE.

This volume contains the proceedings of nine stated meetings of the Society, October, 1909, to June, 1910, or one year's activity.

Among the many subjects treated at these meetings may be mentioned the following as the more important:

National: The address made by John Quincy Adams in 1841, before the Society, on the Opium War, the manuscript of which was only recently discovered among the papers of Dr. Palfrey; the description by Henry Adams, of the situation in Washington in the winter of 1860–61, a paper prepared at the time when the writer was acting as secretary to his father, Charles Francis Adams; the paper by the President on the neglect of Washington to use cavalry in the War of Independence; an examination of Thomas Paine's alleged connection with the framing of the Declaration of Independence, by Albert Matthews; Mr. Horace Davis's account of the Oregon Trail, and Col. W. R. Livermore's description of the "Campaign Around Vicksburg." Of original documents: The two broadsides on "Old Tenor," described by Mr. A. B. Page; the correspondence between

Polk and Bancroft on the Mecklenburg Declaration, 1775, and on the Annexation of Texas, 1848; the letter of Artemas Ward on the events before Boston, 1775; the first draft of Hamilton's report on the "Constitutionality of a National Bank;" the letters of Seth Rogers, 1862–63; and political letters from Samuel Adams, Francis Corbin, Isaac Hill, and William B. Lewis.

Massachusetts: The identification, by Mr. A. McF. Davis, of two writers in the currency controversy; the "Massachusetts and New Hampshire Boundary Line Dispute," by Mr. J. Smith; the paper on the "American Board of Commissioners of Customs," by Prof. Channing, and on the "Loss of the Custom House Records of Boston," by Mr. Warren. Of original material: The document touching John White's Dorchester venture at Cape Ann; the series of letters on the Defense of the Frontier, 1694–95; and letters of John Hancock, James Otis, and Charles Stuart.

Col. W. R. Livermore's essay on "Comparative History of Western Nations," has a more general application.

Pertaining to Literary History: A poem by John Quincy Adams; a quotation from Thoreau, traced to Confucius, by the President; an account of William Ellery Channing and John Brown, by Mr. Sanborn, and a note on Crèvecoeur, by the same writer. The two series of letters, one from Noah Webster and the second to Joseph Willard, president of Harvard College, belong to this class of material. The critical notes on portraits by Mr. Hart, Prof. Wendell, and Mr. Bradish are

valuable, correcting misapprehensions liable to pass into accepted facts.

The Society: Memoirs of four deceased members, as follows: Theodore Ayrault Dodge, by Col. T. L. Livermore; William Phineas Upham, by Mr. Rantoul; James Madison Barker, by Governor Long, and Egbert Coffin Smyth, by Mr. Stanwood. Of more immediate relation to the Society are the proceedings in connection with Dr. Green's fiftieth anniversary of his entrance into the Society; the alteration of the By-Laws affecting the office of Editor, and the annual reports of the various officers and committees. The statement by the Treasurer of the funds of the Society is made on a new plan and in greater detail than in former years. One volume of the collections was issued in the year.

The Society has received in the past year, by gift or on deposit, an unusual number of manuscript records of which mention will be found in the stated meetings. Recognizing its responsibilities as keeper of the records given to it, the Society has employed a recognized expert to repair and bind its manuscript material, that they may be placed in a condition for study and consultation without incurring the risk of loss or damage.

Charles Francis Adams,
Edward Stanwood,
James Ford Rhodes,
Worthington Chauncey Ford,
Committee.

Boston, September 10, 1910.

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ELECTED APRIL 14, 1910.

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1909.

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1910.

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MEMBERS DECEASED,

July, 1909 — June, 1910.

Resident.

1876, Hon. William Everett, LL.D.	Feb. 16, 1910.
1896, Col. Theodore Ayrault Dodge	Oct. 26, 1909.
1901, Charles Gross, LL.D.	Dec. 3, 1909.

Honorary.

1902, Henry Charles Lea, LL.D.	Oct. 24, 1909.
1904, Goldwin Smith, D.C.L.	June 7, 1910.

Corresponding.

1878, John Austin Stevens, A.B.	June 16, 1910.
1897, Rev. George Park Fisher, LL.D.	Dec. 20, 1909.

Massachusetts Historical Society

PROCEEDINGS

OCTOBER MEETING, 1909

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, in the chair.

The record of the June meeting was read and approved; and the list of donors to the Library since that time was read by the Librarian.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the gift, by J. Wyeth Coolidge, of a lithograph of "Webster addressing the Senate, March 7, 1850"; and the gift, by the Prince Society, of a photogravure of William Blathwayt, engraved from a portrait of Sir Godfrey Kneller.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that William C. Lane, of Cambridge, had accepted his election as a Resident Member, and Clarence B. Moore, of Philadelphia, as a Corresponding Member.

The PRESIDENT reported for the Council the following assignments to prepare memoirs: Mr. Rantoul, that of William P. Upham; Dr. Everett, of John Noble; Mr. Stanwood, of Egbert C. Smyth; and Dr. DeNormandie, of Dr. Edward E. Hale.

The PRESIDENT then said:

Once more it is my privilege, as well as duty, to welcome the Society back to another year of renewed and, it is to be hoped, of enlarged activities.

At our last meeting, that of June 10, it will be remembered, it was already known that two names had in the early hours of that very day been stricken from our rolls. Edward Everett

Hale and John Noble had both passed away. A formal announcement of the fact was, however, necessarily deferred. In now making the customary announcement, I shall, in conformity with the established usage, confine myself, as respects both, strictly to their connection with the Society, and their activities as members of it.

And in the first place, of Dr. Hale. Edward Everett Hale was, at the time of his death, not only the last survivor of his Class, having been graduated at Harvard seventy years before, but, elected a Resident Member of this Society at the meeting of January 10, 1861, his name, as respects seniority, stood second on our roll, a place it had held since the decease of Charles Eliot Norton, less than a year before. His connection with the Society, therefore, covered a period of no less than forty-eight years, during which his name constantly and in many connections appears in our records. The entries relating to him in the indexes of no less than thirty-seven of our forty-two volumes of Proceedings are, indeed, so numerous that any detailed enumeration of them here would be out of place from its excess. During his long membership he served on many committees; he prepared numerous memoirs; and it devolved on him to pay tributes, always characteristic as well as eloquent and impressive, to many of our members who had gone before. The last meeting he attended was that of October 8, exactly a year ago. He then contributed remarks on John White, as "the founder of Massachusetts," and referred also to the impending Milton tercentenary. To the next meeting, that of November, though personally absent from it, he sent a feeling tribute to his life-long friend, Charles Eliot Norton.

It is quite needless for me to add that Dr. Hale's impressive personality will long be missed at the meetings of this Society, no less than in the Boston community at large, in which he had taken such active part for more than forty years, and of which as a community his recollections were vivid and personal to the extreme limit of time within the memory of any now living. He has himself recorded them in that volume of his collected writings entitled "A New England Boyhood."

Mr. Noble's connection with the Society was much more recent, dating only from the meeting of March, 1899. Yet it is a fact suggestive of the rapidity with which even this Society undergoes mutation that, when he died with the eleventh year

of his membership hardly begun, his name stood fifty-second, or half-way up on the roll. More than a merely elderly man when elected, his contributions to our Proceedings were not infrequent, though he never served upon any committee, nor as a member of the Council. Erudite papers of his, valuable from an historical point of view, will be found scattered through our printed Proceedings, generally derived from his intimate knowledge of the vast mass of raw historical material buried in the records of the Supreme Judicial Court. As examples, I would especially refer to the paper entitled "A Glance at Suicide as dealt with in the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay," contributed at the December meeting, 1902; and to the paper on "Legislation in regard to Highway Robbery in Massachusetts," read at the March meeting, 1905. He also contributed a memoir of the late Chief-Justice Walbridge A. Field. Those of Mr. Justice Barker and William P. Upham were also assigned to him; but he did not live to complete them. The last meeting of the Society at which Mr. Noble was present was that of March, 1907.

Passing to other matters, I have merely to report that, since the June meeting, the work of the Society has gone on steadily along the accustomed lines. The General Index of the second series of Proceedings has at last been finished, and the volume containing it is now upon the table. An additional volume of the Proceedings, the second of the third series, and the forty-second in regular sequence, is nearly ready for distribution. Another volume of an exceptional character, entitled "John Foster, the Earliest American Engraver and the First Boston Printer," prepared by Dr. Green, has also been printed as a publication charged to the "Waterston Fund, No. 2." Though in no respect uniform with any of the serial publications of the Society, it is one for which the Society has paid, and is in so far responsible. Copies of it, accordingly, have been sent to the members. The work on the contemplated final and monumental editions of the Bradford and Winthrop Histories has gone forward; steps have also been taken looking to the early publication of the Mather Diaries by this Society in collaboration with the American Antiquarian Society.

My own absence in Europe during the larger portion of the time since the June meeting and my return only two days ago, hardly in time to participate in this meeting, have prevented

my making careful preparation, and entering into a more detailed account of what has been accomplished during the vacation months. I will merely say that measures have been taken toward effecting a better housing of our valuable library and collections, and the arrangement of our books and material so as to render these possessions more accessible to the public as well as to members.

I now call upon Dr. DeNormandie for a characterization of Dr. Hale, and a tribute to the memory of one with whom he was long and closely associated, workers in a common field.

Dr. DeNormandie paid the following tribute to Dr. Hale:

Edward Everett Hale was the great humanitarian of our land and our day. He was born in Boston, April 3, 1822, and never wearied of talking of Boston as it was in his boyhood. He was Boston through and through; he loved everything about it, but he was also most cosmopolitan, and, as he once said to me, he was glad to be in Washington, where Massachusetts was rarely mentioned and seemed of very little importance.

He was the son of Nathan Hale, and was a grand-nephew of the Nathan Hale hanged as a spy by the British in 1776. His father was a journalist, one of the editors of the "Boston Weekly Messenger," the first weekly periodical devoted to politics and literature published in the United States. In 1814 he purchased the "Boston Daily Advertiser," for many years the only daily paper in Boston. He was one of a club that founded the "North American Review" in 1815 and the "Christian Examiner" in 1823.

Young Hale was a journalist from childhood. He had been through every department of a newspaper office, and was always more or less closely connected with the press until a fortnight before he died. He says of himself he was cradled in the sheets of his father's Boston Daily, which led Samuel Bowles of the "Springfield Republican" to say "they had only one good journalist in all Boston, and they were spoiling him in the pulpit."

When very young, he went to a dame school; at nine, entered the Boston Latin School a year in advance because he had already studied Latin; and graduated from Harvard at seventeen. For two years he was usher in the Boston Latin

School, and at the same time read church history and theology with Drs. Lothrop and Palfrey; and in 1842 was licensed by the Boston Association of Ministers to preach, which he did at various places, among others at Washington in the winter of 1844–45; and in 1846 began his first settled pastorate at the Church of the Unity in Worcester, which lasted for ten years. Here began his life-long friendship with Senator Hoar. Here at once began that life-long interest in everything which pertained to the welfare of the community in which he lived, or of that wider fellowship of humanity for which he always labored.

When he was asked to serve on the School Committee, he said he would rather serve on the Overseers of the Poor. On this board he became interested in the pauper question, in all immigrant matters, in making plans for immigration to Kansas; and went all over New England lecturing about Kansas and the way to it. It was at Worcester that Mr. Hale's public literary career really began. He wrote prize papers wherever publications offered prizes, and often got them; papers on "The Old and the New, face to face," and "The Organization of Emigration"; and here too he wrote his first book, "The Rosary," published in 1848.

It was from Worcester that he went to Hartford, October 13, 1852, to marry Emily Baldwin Perkins, a granddaughter of Lyman Beecher and a niece of Henry Ward Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe; and the wedding journey was in a horse and chaise. And I rather think that at Worcester he spent more time upon his sermons than he ever did afterwards, when every literary, philanthropical, theological, political, or religious question engaged his attention, for he told me once that whenever he wanted a good sermon in his later ministry he took one he had written in Worcester, and added to or changed it as he went along. He always had a happy faculty of wandering off from his manuscript and bringing in just what he pleased, and sometimes seemed to disregard his manuscript altogether.

In 1856 he came to the South Congregational Church in Boston, then on Washington Street. Here began a wonderfully prosperous ministry of wide influence. Soon after, a large church was built on Union Park Street and a great congregation gathered. The church was filled; the music was

most attractive; the vesper service was crowded. Dr. Hale was perhaps at that time the most influential clergyman in Boston. He was a preacher of great personal enthusiasm and magnetism. He touched upon every subject which concerned human welfare; his voice was heard at every meeting which had any philanthropical purpose; he had a new plan almost daily for some social betterment. As a lecturer he was going all over New England; as a writer it seems as if he had an article almost every day in some paper or magazine. Strange to say, he took no very active interest in the anti-slavery movement, which was then just culminating in angry and brilliant discussions under the lead of Garrison, Phillips, Samuel J. May, and all those sturdy defenders of the cause; threatening serious divisions to many churches, and hurrying the country on to its tremendous civil conflict.

When some one asked him how he could do so many things, he replied that he never did anything himself if he could find any one to do it for him. Of remarkable physical vigor and earnestness himself, he delighted to set others at work, and always had manifold interests with which to enlist them. He had published "My Double or how he undid me," "The Man without a Country," two of his best writings, which had immense popularity, and aroused much enthusiasm and admiration among the young men; and his name and fame were rapidly spreading over the whole land. Occasionally, during the awful days of the Rebellion, he rose to wonderful heights of eloquence. His personality was always most remarkable and attractive. He had a great faculty of drawing others to him and arousing them to do something, and a great gift for friendship. His conversation was always animated, full of interesting Boston reminiscences. In his earlier ministry he was more like the rugged John the Baptist calling the people to repentance; in his later preaching he always reminded me of one of the prophets arousing the people to righteousness; or like the venerable Apostle John in Patmos, who stretched forth his hand and said, "Little children love one another," which was for him the essence and sum of religion, so Dr. Hale with endless repetition kept saying, "We are the children of God," "God's Kingdom must be here." In 1862 he came to give me the charge at my ordination over the South Parish in Portsmouth. I remember the great amusement he created

among those who knew him so well and the manifold tasks he was undertaking, when he charged me not to attempt many things, and to remember that when Paul says he can do all things, he does not mean that he or you or anybody can do all things at once, he only does one thing at one time and another at another; and you have no right to take your time from the activities which belong to this parish, to attend to any of the outside things which before a month you will be asked to do; and the ministers all said, "Dr. Hale knows full well how to give such advice, for it is just contrary to what he is doing all the time."

The first thing which always impressed me about Dr. Hale was his remarkable physical vitality, so that, never feeling the limitations of weakness or illness which hinder so many, he was enabled to do far more than most persons. I heard him tell a young man one evening in his home to be very sure and sleep well and long. "I always take ten hours," he said, "and eat well, I take five meals a day"; and Mrs. Hale, gently interrupting, said "Edward, where do you get the other two?" But this restless activity was strictly under the guidance and guard of what Socrates would have called his dæmon or good spirit of God. It was this physical vigor which rendered his intellectual activity so untiring: the books he wrote, the articles he sent to magazines and periodicals of every kind, the myriads of letters, the countless addresses he gave upon subjects as countless, are beyond the comprehension of most of us, but pervading them all was this unfailing interest in humanity. His desire to help humanity, to bring in the Kingdom of God, was a consuming flame which glowed ever deeper and brighter by what it fed upon. There have been great philanthropists who have spent their lives in some one great benefaction to their race, but with Dr. Hale it ran into every sphere of human welfare, and in a measure lost itself in miscellaneous advocacy of everything, rather than strengthened itself in one continuous effort for one great aim. His plans may often have seemed impractical, impossible, — all great philanthropies have seemed so at the time to others bound fast to traditional customs and ideas, and timid as to any change or reformation, — but Dr. Hale announced and pleaded for human welfare with the ringing voice of the old prophets; it was in everything and at all times a cry for righteousness. It

was the emphasis and application of the true religious spirit upon everything. Righteousness was so real to him, so filled his being, that he created and left behind him everywhere an atmosphere of the reality of religion. And what he so loudly and persistently called out for, that he was. He was ready to help as well as to preach. No stress of weather, no press of duties, no advancing rheumatism could prevent him from looking up any call of distress, or taking any rest until he gave or found some one to give aid and relief. He loved the world intensely and everything in the world, but there was no touch of worldliness in that love.

There are many ministers who give to religion and worship a most businesslike air; their activities may be well meant, genuine, and healthful, and stirring, but they are so loudly and persistently thrust upon you that you weary of them and are repelled, and long for the quiet religion of the Master who did not strive nor cry, nor cause his voice to be heard in the streets. There are others who give you a feeling of wide and fashionable popularity, but with whom there is an undertone of worldliness, which suggests utter scepticism or ignorance about the deep things of the spirit. There are others who have what is called eloquence, which is often mere loquacity; you are surprised or pleased for a while with their language, figures, manner, and yet when it is over it is *all* over and there remains no sweet atmosphere of the spirit, which you cannot help breathing, and breathing cannot help feeling that the unseen things are eternal. There were none of these qualities about Dr. Hale. He always gave you the impression of being in dead earnest, and all trivial things were put out of sight. There was not a trace of the ascetic, the ritualistic, the ceremonial, or the priestly type of religion which has so dominated and debased religion about our preacher of righteousness; nothing of dress or voice which made his office prominent. *He* did not need any of these, he was above them all, but his whole being gave the impression that here was one to whom the things of the spirit were first, familiar, constant. When a man of affairs came to Faraday and pressed him to undertake researches which might result in large financial advantage to him, the devoted student of science replied, "I have no time to make money": he was after the great truths of the universe. So Dr. Hale had no faculty for managing

financial matters. Fortunately he had a devoted parish, which was always ready, able, and glad to manage these things for him. How glorious are the lives of those who have given themselves to science, art, literature, education, philanthropy, religion, righteousness, to the Kingdom of God, all unmindful whether the comforts of the world came or went!

With the exception of Dr. Bellows he was the most ardent, enthusiastic, ceaseless proclaimer and defender of the views and fellowship of Unitarians they have ever had. He was always insisting that a Unitarian church in a town meant better work, more comforts of civilization, a higher moral tone, more interest in the higher education, a better kind of charity, a finer fellowship, a nobler hope, a truer life here, and a surer faith hereafter, than where there was no such church; but he was also broad enough to be a conspicuous figure in the Church universal, and wherever he was, would go to a church of any faith rather than not go at all.

A lady in my parish once meeting an enthusiastic admirer of Dr. Hale in Philadelphia, the latter said to her, "Perhaps you have seen and heard that great orthodox preacher Dr. Hale." "Oh yes, indeed," was the reply, "he often preaches in my church, and I sometimes hear him in his own, but he is not an orthodox preacher, for his church is an Unitarian church and so is mine." "You must be mistaken," said the other. "Why, he is the founder of Lend-a-Hand clubs, In-His-Name clubs, and Ten-times-one clubs; and I know he is an orthodox Congregationalist." "But we who have seen and heard him all our lives know he is one of the most prominent and decided of all Unitarians, and any one in New England would be laughed at to think he was anything else," was the response. "Alas," was the reply, "one of my idols is gone." She could no longer see all that was true or inspiring about Dr. Hale if he had not the shibboleth of her creed.

His literary activity was tremendous and unceasing, partly from a ready pen from boyhood, which waited not upon any studied expression or careful revision. His books numbered between sixty and seventy, and these were a very small part of his writings. He read everything, and, like our modern way of living, with electrical rapidity, and, like all such readers, he remembered a great many things which he never read, or which never happened, or which happened at other

times and places and to other persons, and what he did not remember he easily imagined; and it was all fascinating, whether it was actually true or not.

Of course many of these books are of little value, they belonged to questions of transient interest and were soon forgotten; but some of them, like "In His Name," or "My Double and how He Undid Me," or "The Man without a Country," are of distinctly literary worth, and will have a place for many years to come in American writings. He once came to one of our banks, and wanted the cashier to open an account with him for a deposit of forty-five cents. The cashier told him it was really impossible and against their rules to keep so small an account; but Dr. Hale said, "I beg you to make an exception, I must have a book opened for that amount; that is the net income of one of my best books." The bank has a large portrait of him, and underneath the motto he was constantly repeating when he came in, "Here 's where we get our daily bread"; and he got it, whether there was always a balance in his favor or not.

He was always greatly interested in historical matters, without any very profound idea of the historical method. His indifference to historical accuracy was something sweet, charming, and sublime. There are writers who would be more troubled about making an historical error than about some moral obliquity. The former would keep them awake at nights, the latter not at all. One winter I was giving some sermons on the interesting history of my old church in Roxbury, and Dr. Hale was always present. After a sermon on Anne Hutchinson, Dr. Hale made his way to my high pulpit as rapidly as he could and said, "DeNormandie, where did you get all those things about Anne Hutchinson? Why, I have just been publishing a little book about her, and everything is entirely different from what you have been saying to-night." I replied, "You probably wrote your sketch of her as you would write a novel, but I got my facts from the old historical records."

Not many weeks after "The Nation" got hold of his book about Anne Hutchinson, and treated it in that way of a scathing criticism which "The Nation" delights in, closing with the declaration that "there was nothing from beginning to end in the book that was historically true." Meeting Dr. Hale a few days later, I was wicked enough to ask him if he had seen

the last copy of "The Nation." "The Nation, The Nation!" he exclaimed. "I regard it as the most immoral publication in the United States. I would n't have it in my home."

Dr. Hale's home was typical of the finest New England culture and life, joined with literary brilliancy, a pervading sense of humor, and an atmosphere of happy devotion. Mrs. Hale was a Beecher, her mother, Mrs. Perkins, being a sister of Henry Ward and of Harriet Beecher Stowe. The Beechers could pardon almost everything in one more easily than dulness. It was told of old Dr. Lyman Beecher that in his last illness, while he had always been noted for being cheerful and hopeful, he was found one day looking very sad and discouraged. "What is troubling you, brother Beecher?" said a friend. "Oh," said the old man, "I was only wishing that I had been different in one thing all my life." "Why, what have you done or not done that you could wish otherwise?" "Well," said Beecher, "I was wishing I had been more patient with all the fools I have met."

One day Mrs. Perkins greeted me with a hearty welcome. "I am so glad you have come, I want a long talk with you about the devil. The Beechers, you know, have all given up the devil. Ward did not believe in him, though he referred to him sometimes, because it was convenient in conversation. I don't believe in him, but there seems to be so much more of the devil than when I was a girl that I don't know where it all comes from. Ward, you know," she said, "did not believe a great many things we were all brought up to believe. He did n't believe in the perseverance of the saints; he said he had to give it up when he found out what all the saints in Plymouth Church used to do as soon as they got out West."

You can imagine what an attractive home it was when you joined the traits of the Beechers with the traits of the Hales. The home was full of all new books, everybody read them; conversation at once turned upon the last novel, or the last researches in science, or the ever-present subject of the changes in theology, or any new phase of social or political life.

Never was there a more fitting tribute paid to an octogenarian than when Dr. Hale, feeling that he ought to give up the active duties of the ministry, through the efforts of his

life-long friend, Senator Hoar, was elected Chaplain of the United States Senate. He had preached in Washington in 1844, and he said for sixty years he had hardly missed a winter in being there a longer or shorter time. So he felt he knew Washington, and he liked it, and took up the duties of his new office with a keen enjoyment. Intensely fond of Boston and New England as he was, he told me it "did him much good to be where Massachusetts did not count for more than one forty-sixth of the country and was not often mentioned at that." Those who have been at the opening of the sessions of the Senate years ago must have noticed the indifferent, perfunctory, and really disgraceful way in which the opening service was performed. I used to wish it were abolished, if for nothing else for the sake of not disgracing a public recognition of religion. When Dr. Hale became Chaplain, all that was changed. He brought the service within the appointed time, but he made it varied, dignified, reverential, impressive. There had never been anything like it in the Senate. Senators for the first time felt there was some meaning, some reverence, some reality, some lesson in the service. Before, the Chaplain occupied his four minutes with an unpremeditated, undevout prayer, which had no reference to anything in the heavens above or the earth beneath, no serious word for the company gathered to conduct the affairs of a great nation. Dr. Hale, with his Genevan gown, which betokened not the priest, but the prophet, the scholar, the preacher, rose and repeated in his heavy, gruff, stentorian way, two or three verses from some of those marvellous expressions of the Hebrew prophets, true for to-day as for Israel of old, offered a few words of prayer which had a direct and impressive appeal to the work before the senators, and asked all to join in the Lord's Prayer. It was all so simple, so brief, so real, that it was like a revelation to the Senate Chamber. The prayer became a marked feature of the proceedings, attracted many hearers, — senators, strangers, residents. It was the difference between a man and a manikin, between a priest and a prophet, between a mere ceremonialist and a believer, between a prayer by machinery or by rote and a prayer out from the soul.

Soon he became the most prominent and attractive character in Washington. I have walked with him along the streets, gone with him to the Public and Congressional libra-

ries, and it was an interesting experience to mark the attention his unique figure everywhere attracted. No person in Washington was ever in greater demand. He was sought for at every literary or social gathering. His rheumatism troubled him and he had to drive to every function. I was with him one winter which had been particularly cold, with a thin skim of ice on the streets, and he said his salary was nine hundred dollars, and that month he had a bill of one hundred and sixty-five dollars for carriage-hire. He said one day, "I think I know Washington society pretty well, I have been here during every presidency for sixty years, and I want to tell you something which has aroused the greatest curiosity. No matter however popular a president was with his party, or however generally approved by the country, in Washington society there was always every kind of social bickering and criticism and denunciation until Roosevelt came, and no one has ever a word of fault, no matter what he does or what his social code or orders."

If we were to choose, from among Mr. Hale's manifold interests for the welfare of humanity, one which now demands the concern and pleading of every philanthropist, the one interest to which governments should give their serious concern, perhaps it would be the cause of peace. War might be called the supreme pursuit of the whole world today. Especially every powerful and so-called Christian nation is preparing for it with an energy and a cost which are a reproach to our civilization. It is simply impoverishing the nations. Never since the angel song of peace and good will as the characteristics of Christianity has there been such preparation, such talk about, such fear of, such a desire for war. And the universal excuse for all the expenditure is that it is a preparation for peace. There is no use in talking about what might be done for the cause of education, for the study and practice of sanitary measures, for the cure of municipal corruption, for the purposes of good government, for everything concerning human welfare, if the preparations for war could be brought within a reasonable figure. War is in the air, and all countries are in a fever for Dreadnoughts. Here the fine words of the prophet of old might write their memorial over the grave of our departed friend, "Righteousness and peace have kissed each other."

As the years went on, his preaching had but one message, but one tone, and how many of us have seen this striking and venerable figure, as when he preached for me at Lincoln, bending over the pulpit with pleading accents, "Ye are the children of God; God is your father; live as his children." Who can think of Dr. Hale, as we have seen him go in and out for all these years, without feeling what a strong resemblance there must have been to the rugged forms of the old prophets as they sent out their ringing words amidst the frivolities and transgressions of their day, warning Israel of her sins and calling her back to obedience, — of Hosea, "Sow to yourselves in righteousness, reap in mercy; break up your fallow ground; for it is time to seek the Lord, till he come and rain righteousness upon you; ye have ploughed wickedness, ye have reaped iniquity"; or Amos, "Seek the Lord, ye who leave off righteousness in the earth, let righteousness run down like a mighty stream"; or Micah, "He hath shown thee, O man, what is good, and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God"; or Isaiah, "Peace, peace to him that is far off, and to him that is near, saith the Lord," "O that thou hadst listened to my commandments; then had thy peace been as a river, and thy righteousness as the waves of the sea. And the work of righteousness shall be peace, and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance forever."

Last spring he had a severe attack of illness in Washington, which warned him it was better for him to return to his home. I went to see him at once, and he had greatly recovered, but said, "DeNormandie, I had such pain in Washington." I said, "Well, now, perhaps you did not; you and I have never had any illness, we don't know anything about pain. I dare say I see some persons who have had more of it for years, without any cessation, and when we have it, or most *men*, they make a great row over it." "Oh," he said, "I had an awful pain."

But there was no shadow over his intellectual sky. One Tuesday he said to me, "Have you ever read a little book, 'The Stars and the Earth'?" "Why, yes," I replied, "I remember Horace Mann asked me to read it when I was a freshman, but I rather think it is an entirely forgotten book." "I want to see it again," he said; "I sent to the Library

yesterday, but they said it was not there." "Oh yes," I said, "of course it is." I sent a messenger in at once with orders to find it, and it came out. I took it over to Dr. Hale, and with great delight he said, "I shall write a long review about it tomorrow, as I remember over fifty years, thinking there was something remarkable in it." But on the morrow he was gone. The aged tree ceased not to bear fruit because it had begun at so early a date. The doctor was afraid of heart failure, and forbade him, a few days before, making the exertion of going up-stairs, and it was fitting, as it was touching, that, surrounded by all the treasures of literature, by the books he read and loved and wrote, there in that library where he had been such an industrious gleaner and worker, he should fall asleep.

I think we hardly realize what a remarkable, unique, and gifted life has been lived right among us, and what a grateful task it is thus to call to mind this venerable figure which has just passed from our view.

Old age in itself, merely as increase in years, is not something very attractive, nor does it in most cases bring with it sufficient compensations for what it takes away. Unless it has something to give to its associates of another generation, when the companions of its own have all gone; unless it looks out upon the world with a hopeful spirit; unless, as it looks back, it can find much to fortify its faith; unless it can have a reasonable optimism; unless some inward graces have been stored up as the outward have gone; unless there is a growing confidence in the ways of the Eternal, as many things disappoint us, — old age is not an ideal state.

The tributes to old age which one finds in literature; the beautiful discourse which Plato puts into the lips of the aged Cephalus; or when Cicero attributes to the venerable Cato those immortal sentiments about old age; or when the distinguished Italian Ludovico Cornaro, at the age of ninety-one, writes of "this beautiful world to those who know how to make it so by virtue and divine regularity of life," or when our Book of Proverbs says "that the hoary head is a crown of glory *if* it be found in the way of righteousness," — these must have had in mind an old age like that of Edward Everett Hale.

If it is querulous or embittered, if it is helpless by infirmi-

ties, if it exaggerates disappointments, if it is all the time thinking or saying that only the old ways or the old times were good and that now everything is astray, if it bears with it the open testimony of an ill-spent life, what is sadder or more repulsive than old age?

Nature has arranged all this with exquisite fitness. She has given us one set of faculties within another to be unlocked and opened, and to each a new world of realities and enjoyments. First the senses opening earliest, and giving us a vast world of sensuous beauty and delight; then the faculty of doing, and the satisfaction of a vast world of activities; then the higher and inner faculties of reason, imagination, faith, and one set opens and grows vivid as another wanes and closes, so that man ought to be like a great beautiful plant in which as the outer covering fades the inner flower-leaves open to the sun, and breathe towards it all their fragrance, and at last the golden fruit hangs in clusters upon the bended stem.

And how good it is for us in the midst of lives so selfish, dwarfed, conventional, empty, to think of those who have trained and ripened this better nature, until it has made a daily triumph over the world; who restore to us our shaken faith in human nature, and show us what man *may be* by showing us what he has been, and the memory of whose lives comes to us in *our* sense of failure with a radiance and peace, like the after-glow upon the Alpine hills.

Character is never more attractive or lovely than in the latter days of a devout and kindly pilgrimage. There is a ripeness and mellowness, as of fruit which grows luscious only as it drinks in the sunbeams through the thinned leafage of autumn. And it is this growth of what constitutes spiritual life, this culminating as one declines, which the heart invests with the quiet assurance of immortality. Sweetness, strength, a zeal for humanity, and daily righteousness, — these may be all inscribed without any apology or reservation over the name of Edward Everett Hale.

Mr. Warren followed in a tribute to John Noble:

If any one could have asked of John Noble what should be said of him at a meeting like this when his earthly career had closed, it is easy to imagine that his modest and unassuming spirit would have shrunk from elaborate eulogy and asked

only for the plain truth of a quiet, uneventful, upright, studious, and industrious life. So now fittingly to tell his life's story is to present to you the character of a straightforward, honest man of rare balance, of an able seeker after truth, and of one gifted with unusual knowledge of our colonial history, especially in its connection with the principles and administration of the law.

He was so little self-assertive, so retiring in manner, that it is doubtful whether many of this Society knew the real worth of the man, or had had opportunity during his short membership to realize that behind the somewhat shy exterior were great force, sound judgment, and much accurate historical knowledge. Joined to a quiet and undemonstrative appearance were firm and clear convictions combined with positiveness and decision, an entire freedom from dogmatism, and an utter dislike to controversy.

However much the storm of discussion raged around him, it apparently affected him but little, though, when the time for action came, the maturity of his thought and the soundness of his judgment showed the clear working of his mind. He was seldom or never an active combatant, but he was a close student of the questions of the day, political, economic, or historical, and his conclusions were ever the result of careful thought and of great breadth of view. In his religious life he was long connected with the church of our friend Dr. DeNormandie in Roxbury, and there as elsewhere he was a valuable counsellor and moved by the clearest of convictions and the utmost sincerity of belief.

Graduating at Harvard in 1850, with high rank in a class containing such men as James C. Carter, Joseph Henry Thayer, Augustus Lowell, Howard Osgood, and others of distinction, — not to mention members of our own Society, — he devoted his earlier years to teaching as master in the Boston Latin School, and did not take his degree at the Harvard Law School until 1858. He then opened a law office in Boston, and for some years was engaged in the general practice of the law with some success, and yet not such as his undoubted abilities entitled him to. His reserve of manner, almost amounting to self-distrust, stood in the way of complete success. Forensic display and active strife offered no attractions to him, and he was better known for his mastery of the

science of the law and his accurate knowledge of legal principles than for his distinction as a practising lawyer.

In 1875 he was offered and accepted the position of Clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court, and to that office he was repeatedly elected by the people, and filled it to the entire acceptance of Bench and Bar.

It was an important and responsible position, requiring an accurate knowledge of law and great administrative capacity, and his long term of service enabled him to render conspicuous service to the Commonwealth. It brought him also into constant connection with many men of great ability and cultivation, and the duties were not so arduous but that he could find the opportunity and leisure for the historical investigations in which he had become greatly interested.

He became a close student of colonial history, and edited with care and accuracy two volumes of the Records of the Court of Assistants of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1630–1692, and published as well other historico-legal pamphlets. A work which the legal fraternity perhaps best appreciated was the filing and indexing of the vast and confused mass of records of the Court from the earliest day, preserving thus an interesting and important collection of legal and historical documents.

Being elected to membership in this Society in April, 1899, his frequent and valuable contributions to its Proceedings show the interest he took in historical matters as well as his knowledge and capacity for work. Beside these he contributed an interesting memoir of Chief-Justice Walbridge A. Field, and had assigned to him the memoirs of Judge Barker and William P. Upham which failing health prevented him from completing. He was also a member of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, its corresponding secretary, and chairman of its publishing committee.

As trustee of the Roxbury Latin School, in which he took great interest, he rendered efficient and valuable service, and as an overseer of Harvard College for some years he exercised extensive influence and brought to the service of his Alma Mater all the powers of a matured mind full of interest in her welfare and progress.

It was a loss to this Society that membership had not come to him in earlier life. The many contributions of the few

127°W
122
117
112
107
102
97
92
87
45
40
35
30
Parallel of 49° North Latitude
Parallel of 42° North Latitude
Parallel of 36° 30' North Latitude
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
NEW MEXICO
TEXAS
ARKANSAS
MISSOURI
IOWA
MINESOTA
NEBRASKA
Proposed
Missouri River
Platte R.
Big Sioux R.
Rocky Mountains
Columbia R.
Salmon R.
Big wound R.
Snake R.
Lewis R.
Grand R.
Arkansas R.
Red R.
Mississippi River
Rio Colorado
Rio Grande
Gila River
Salt River
San Francisco R.
Rio Chico
Nueces
Colorado R.
Rio Brazos
Rio Trinidad
Rio Jacinto
Rio Nerbes
Saline R.
Illinois R.
Kaskaskia R.
Longitude 23° West from Washington
SANTA-FE
San Miguel
Coquima
Nutrias
St Rosa
St Ronalo
Passo
Ensenado R.
R. Ascension R.
Dolores R.
R. Pecos
R. Gila
R. Puerco
R. Saguna
Cape Disappointment
Gray's Harbor
Cape Flattery
Mt Hood
Mt Jefferson
Mt Pitt
Mt Tsashtl
Mt Linn
Mt Diablo
Mt Wahlab
Mt Helens
St Baker
Fr Colville
Clarke's Fork
Olympus
Umpqua R.
Clamet R.
Thompson R.
Humbolt R.
Overlier R.
Hatheur R.
Fr Horse
Fr Umpqua
Fr Vancouver
Fr Walla Walla
Fr Hall
Fr Laramie
Fr Kearney
Fr Bridger
Fr Uintah
Fr Hall
Fr Winta
Fr Massacre
Fr Hall
Fr Boise

years he was with us show how much might have been given if declining health and the burden of years had not prevented. What he left with us shows how great the loss is by his death, not only to historical study and criticism and to good citizenship, but to the well-being and strength of this Society and of other Societies that had availed themselves, but in part, of his ripe experience, his wide information, and his healthy influence.

Horace Davis, a Corresponding Member, read a paper entitled:

The Oregon Trail.

Nature furnished one good practical emigrant route from the Mississippi to the Columbia and but one, — the Oregon Trail,[1] following the valleys of the Platte and Snake rivers. The Platte furnishes a good natural grade to the summit of the Rockies at South Pass, and there you are only one hundred and eighty miles, as the bird flies, from Fort Hall on the Snake River, or three hundred and twenty-five miles by the windings of the old emigrant road, with no serious difficulties to overcome between the two points; and the water that flows by Fort Hall pours into the Pacific Ocean. The Union Pacific Railway as far as Granger and the Oregon Short Line from Granger to the Columbia River follow the old trail quite closely, making some cut-offs which the emigrant could not make because the needs of his stock compelled him to avoid the alkali deserts and keep where there was good water as well as good feed.

It seems strange, viewing it at this distance, that so many years elapsed before any passable trail was opened over this route, but really there was nobody in Oregon who needed a

[1] The most authentic map of the Oregon Trail, and the country through which it led, is that issued by the United States in 1848, based upon the surveys of John Charles Frémont and other authorities, and drawn by Charles Preuss. It was printed by order of the Senate to accompany Frémont's "Geographical Memoir upon Upper California." Another map, based on Chittenden's "American Fur Trade," is in Turner's "Rise of the New West," of Hart's "American Nation series." The map prepared for this paper is based upon a sketch map of the United States, issued about 1848, and drawn by E. Gilman, and does not pretend to give the exact lines of the rivers and mountains. In taking this map the idea is to make prominent the line of the "trail," without the confusing adjuncts of a more elaborate detail.

trail. No Americans settled there before 1834, and the Hudson Bay people, who had a line of fortified stations extending from the Mexican boundary in latitude 42° across the whole North-west clear up into the Frazer River territory, sent their mails on the backs of Indian runners by way of Winnipeg through British territory, and naturally discouraged dealings with the United States. Besides, the Oregon Trail led through five hundred miles of utterly barren country, and its whole length was more or less in danger of hostile Indians.

Going back to the beginning of our knowledge of Oregon, in 1792 Captain Gray took his bark Columbia over the bar, gave a name to the river and sailed away, having given to the United States a claim to the country by right of discovery.

In 1805 Lewis and Clark forced their way over the Rockies at the north up in Montana, spent a winter at the mouth of the Columbia and returned, having met with no white man west of the Rocky Mountains. They opened no route passable for immigrants, and their journey had no permanent results except in the political world to assert our claim to the valley of the Columbia.

In 1810 came Astor's disastrous attempt to establish a trading station at the mouth of the river. His goods and part of his men went round the Horn, while another party, under Wilson P. Hunt, undertook to come out overland. These men went up the Missouri and Yellowstone to their southern sources and thence across to the headwaters of the Snake. After ten months of frightful suffering from famine and exposure most of the party reached Astoria.

The next year, 1812, a part of Astor's men, under command of Robert Stuart, undertook to return across the continent from Astoria to St. Louis by the same route, the Snake and the Yellowstone. They got lost in the rugged mountains at the head of the Snake, had to camp over winter, and finally blundered on to the Platte, which they descended to St. Louis, having been ten months on the way. But Astor's venture was destined to short life. The British were already strongly intrenched on the Columbia. The Northwest Company, a British corporation trapping and trading on Pacific waters, looked upon Astor as an intruder, endangering their monopoly, and resolved to freeze him out. Circumstances favored their plans, and in 1813 he surrendered to them. The Pacific

Fur Company disappeared from Oregon, and for twenty years we hear little of Americans on the waters of the Columbia.

But the United States steadily maintained its claim to the territory, although it had no citizens resident there, and in 1818, by a convention between the two countries, it was agreed that "the north-west coast of America west of the stony mountains" should be held in joint occupation for ten years. At the expiration of that period, in 1828, the convention was renewed indefinitely, with the privilege to either party of ending the existing status by giving twelve months' notice. You will observe that this agreement included everything west of the Rockies from the Mexican boundary in 42° north to the Russian territory in 54° 40′.

Although Astor's American company was driven off the Columbia in 1813, our people soon began to invade the territory of Oregon on its eastern edge. As the fur-bearing animals became scarce, the hardy trapper followed them farther and farther into the recesses of the mountains, especially that rugged group which is the mother of three great rivers, the Missouri, the Colorado, and the Columbia. The traders followed the trapper, and the travelled road followed the trader. Nature had prepared the way, and by 1826 there was a passable wagon road from the Missouri up the Platte to the divide, and by 1829 the trading posts in the Rockies were receiving their regular supplies by mule teams over this road. Three years later, in 1832, we find the wagon road extended to Fort Hall on the Snake. West of this point the country was rough and inhospitable, almost a desert; there were no white settlers clear to the Pacific, and the trading posts belonging to the Hudson Bay Company received their goods from the west by sea. So the Trail remained impassable for loaded wagons for ten years or more to come. That same year, 1832, Nathaniel J. Wyeth made the first continuous overland trip on record, leaving Boston in April and reaching Fort Vancouver the 29th of October, a six months' trip. His route was along the Platte and Snake. The next year he returned east by way of the Snake and the Yellowstone.

And now we are coming to a great change of scenery and persons. So far the Americans have not been in it. The British, first as the Northwest Company, afterwards as the Hudson Bay Company, had been in practical control of the country.

With a network of posts covering the whole coast, they had a commercial monopoly from the Mexican boundary to the Russian possessions. They were traders only. They raised a little agricultural produce around some of their posts, and a few of their retired employees, mostly French half-breeds with Indian wives, had settled in the Willamette valley. But the company was a trader and discouraged all encroachments on its privileges. The monotony of these primitive conditions was finally broken by the voice of the missionary. It needed the stimulus of religious zeal to bring the first permanent settlers to Oregon. Three times in the history of North America earnest men in obedience to the voice of God had planted cities in the wilderness, — Plymouth, San Diego, Oregon, — all founded by religious zeal.

For some reason not altogether clear to us, the Missionary Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church determined to establish a missionary station among the Indians of Oregon, and sent out two Methodist clergymen and three laymen to begin the work.[1] Our old friend Wyeth was leading a second party from St. Louis to the Columbia River. These missionaries joined him at Independence, Missouri, and the expedition started west April 28, 1834, by the Oregon Trail, reaching Fort Vancouver in September. These five men were the first American settlers in Oregon. So began our occupation of the territory. Presbyterian missionaries followed across the continent in 1836, and Catholics in 1839, supplies and recruits being sent out meantime around the Horn. But with all the religious zeal and the attractions of trade, there were not one hundred American citizens in the Columbia River valley in 1840. It was a very long, hard road to get there.

Still, in spite of all this seeming indifference on the part of our people, there was always an unwillingness to give up our claim to Oregon, a kind of dumb purpose to maintain a commercial foothold on the Pacific. It had cropped out at nearly every session of Congress since 1821, in the form of bills to establish military posts along the Trail for the protection of immigrants, bills granting lands to settlers, bills extending the jurisdiction of the United States Courts over the territory of

[1] The missionaries were Jason and Daniel Lee, sometime of Stanstead, Canada, Cyrus Shepard, of Lynn, Massachusetts, Philip L. Edwards, and Courtenay M. Walker, of Richmond, Missouri. — Bancroft's "History of Oregon," I. 56–59.

Oregon. All these failed of passage because Congress was unwilling to take any decided action during the joint occupation, especially as we had some very delicate diplomatic questions on hand elsewhere with England, such as the Maine boundary, the right of search, and questions connected with slavery, so that Congress was loath to complicate the situation by raising fresh issues.

Under these conditions President Jackson in 1835 sent a special commissioner, Mr. W. A. Slacum, across Mexico to Oregon to report on its condition. He visited the new missionary settlement on the Willamette, and on his return made a careful report, in which he insisted with great earnestness that on no condition should we surrender Puget Sound. Great Britain was inclined to recognize our superior claim to the territory south of the Columbia, and we tacitly allowed her rights north of latitude 49°, but the intervening territory, comprising the States of Washington, Idaho, and part of Montana, with the magnificent port of Puget Sound, was claimed by both nations, and we needed it very much.

The interest felt in the Oregon question, though greatest in the Western States, reached the Atlantic seaboard. A society was incorporated in Massachusetts in 1831 to promote emigration to Oregon, and issued a magazine devoted to that purpose. Somewhat later a convention was held in Illinois with the same end in view. All these were symptoms of an underlying determination to hold Oregon. It was a long way off and very hard to reach, but we must have it. Still these movements were premature. The time had not come, though it was close at hand.

The subject invaded the field of literature; Irving's "Astoria" and "Bonneville," published in 1836 and 1837, dealing with the trials and sufferings of the pioneers in these western regions, created a new interest and added fuel to the flame. A little later, in 1841, Wilkes in his exploring expedition visited San Francisco and Puget Sound, and sent scouting parties through a considerable part of the Columbia valley.

We have now almost reached the time for ringing up the curtain of the last grand act, the occupation of the shores of the North Pacific by our people, in which move the Oregon Trail plays a most vital part. But first let us sketch briefly the national conditions bearing upon this stupendous move.

In 1840 the Rocky Mountains formed the western border of our undisputed possessions. North of 42° the title was in doubt and the country was held in joint possession. There were perhaps one hundred Americans in the lower Columbia valley, and possibly three or four hundred American trappers and traders along the eastern edge of the disputed territory on the flanks of the Rockies. The vast region in question was covered by a network of Hudson Bay trading-posts, and that company held the monopoly of the commerce. Our people clung to their title to Oregon, but the country itself seemed to be slipping from our hands. The British were on the ground in numbers, and between Oregon and the western frontier of our population lay eighteen hundred miles of hard road to travel, passable only in summer and then only at great expenditure of money and strength.

South of 42° all was Mexican territory from the Rockies to the Pacific, including California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, and part of Wyoming and Colorado. California, the gem of it all, was almost insular in her isolation. Walled in by high mountains on the north and east, with a dreary desert between her and Mexico on the south-east and an almost barren waste with hardly any population stretching from the eastern base of the Sierras to the Rockies, her principal connection with the world was by sea. She kept up a trifling trade with New Mexico over what was known as the Old Spanish Trail, but the road was very difficult and beset with hostile Indians, so that the commerce was insignificant. In 1844, some years later, Dr. Marsh thought there were about seven hundred Americans in California, but the Mexican government was suspicious of them and gave them the cold shoulder. Direct communication with the United States was not encouraged, though a few bolder spirits had crossed the deserts between Sacramento and Salt Lake, partly on the route of the Central Pacific Railroad, but there was no regular communication.

Such was the state of our western frontier in 1840. Practically the Rocky Mountains were our western boundary. Of the vast stretch west of them half was under Mexican rule, the other half was under the control of a British corporation, and the little handful of Americans who were nestled down in the valley of the Willamette and isolated from their old

homes by a wide belt of deserts and impassable mountains; their only connection with home being over this narrow thread, the Oregon Trail, eighteen hundred miles of solitude and trial before reaching civilization.

In the course of the next ten years the whole character of the coast was changed; the desert solitudes echoed the march of an army of emigrants and gold-seekers; the Arcadian simplicity of life in these Pacific valleys vanished forever. The American settler planted his foot upon the Pacific Coast and took possession of it permanently from Puget Sound to San Diego. By 1850 a garrison of one hundred and fifty thousand sturdy men had settled forever our title to a Pacific frontage.

Already in 1842 the Oregon Trail was recognized as the most practicable route for emigrants across the continent; it was called "the emigrant road." The Oregon excitement was reaching fever heat by that time, and already the pioneers of the great movement had begun their march. As they start out on their long weary pilgrimage, let us look back and see what kind of a world they were leaving behind them.

The events and the men of those days, two generations ago, have now a place in history, and the conditions of their life seem like those of primitive simplicity. It was nearly twenty years before the Civil War. John Tyler was President, and the great men, active at Washington, were the generation following the framers of the Constitution. Most prominent among them stood Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Benton, Silas Wright, John Quincy Adams, and James Buchanan, — names now historic. The slavery question was looming up with ominous portent, threatening the peace and safety of the Union; and Texas was knocking at the door for admission.

The means of travel were still primitive. Though there were steamboats on the western rivers, the sail vessel was still supreme on salt water; and European immigration had not fairly set in, at least in any great volume. But the sturdy settlers who crossed the plains in bull-teams were mostly Americans by birth, largely from the frontier, accustomed to the hardships and lonely life on the border. These formed the majority of men who came "the Plains across" in later days, both to Oregon and California. The border States furnished a constant crop of such men who loved to live face to face with the wilderness, who felt stifled in a settled

country and were ready on the slightest provocation to pull up stakes and start out into the open wilderness.

Railroads were in their infancy; only a few short lines between the principal Atlantic cities had been built, and there was no telegraph, the Morse system not being successfully operated till 1844. But the man who travelled in a prairie schooner with his own bull-team for motive power cared little for railroads or steamboats, — perhaps he never had seen either. When he made up his mind to move, he loaded his family and household goods in a stout wagon and trusted to the enduring powers of his stock to reach his new home, — possibly clear across the continent.

Nearly forty years had elapsed since the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, and population had been steadily flowing into that region, till three States had been erected within its limits, — Louisiana in 1812, Missouri in 1821, and Arkansas in 1836. Iowa, too, was about ready for statehood, and was admitted to the Union in 1846. Thus the west bank of the Mississippi was already fringed with States; and the population was now dense enough from its mouth clear to Minnesota to be admitted to statehood. The cream of the rich fertile lands was about taken up, and the restless frontiersmen of those border States were reaching out for fresh conquests; but the new lands before them were getting less and less attractive, and the tide of emigration was rapidly approaching the hundredth meridian, the boundary of the Arid Region, while just beyond were the summits of the Rockies, the western limit of the territory to which the United States held an undisputed title.

These were the conditions of our western frontier in 1840, when travellers' tales began to be freely circulated of a paradise for the farmer away out on the Pacific shores in Oregon, fat lands, mild climate with plenty of rain, and another lovely country in California, but under Mexican rule. All this chimed in with the passion of the day, which was a hunger for more territory. The Louisiana Purchase was rapidly filling up, and our people wanted more room. The friends of negro slavery were eager to enlarge the area of that institution in order to maintain the balance in the United States Senate, while the long-sighted men at Washington were scheming for a substantial foothold on the Pacific Ocean.

The decade of the forties was a period of wonderful expansion of the area of the United States. That was the time when we heard so much talk of "manifest destiny," and manifest destiny meant usually an increase of area for human slavery. Then it was we heard so often that well-worn couplet (slightly altered from Jonathan Mitchell Sewall),

> No pent-up Utica contracts our powers,
> For the whole boundless continent is ours;

and we proceeded to appropriate a large part of the continent which did not belong to us. In 1845 Texas was annexed. In 1846 the Pakenham treaty with Great Britain terminated the joint occupation of Oregon, confirming our title to our Pacific possessions from the forty-second to the forty-ninth parallel and from the Western Ocean to the Rockies.

In 1848 by the Guadalupe-Hidalgo treaty we acquired from Mexico the territory south of the forty-second parallel to our present southern boundary, except the southern half of Arizona, which came to us by the Gadsden purchase five years later, in 1853. Thus we acquired, between 1845 and 1853 inclusive, undisturbed possession of an area almost as large, including Oregon, as all our previous territory, and although much of this land had little agricultural value, it contained some of the richest mineral wealth of the world; most significant of all, it gave us the most desirable harbors on the eastern shore of the North Pacific Ocean, a double frontage on salt water, the world's great highway of commerce, ensuring us the first call on the trade of eastern Asia, and a chance to bid for the commercial supremacy of the world when our material development should justify such a claim. All this was in the cards played by our statesmen in that decade, though it was but dimly discerned by some of them.

The first move in this great game of expansion was to secure Oregon, not Oregon south of the Columbia River only, but all up to latitude 49° including Puget Sound. Great Britain offered to renew the convention, but Congress steadily refused either to abrogate it or to renew it for any definite period. Otherwise than this, Congress seemed utterly indifferent. The period was critical. The strong British corporation had a firm

grasp on the territory, and in 1841 began to import Canadian settlers, and to plant them around the Sound, while our government was doing nothing.

The matter was finally settled by the people. The Oregon fever had been steadily increasing, and small parties had been going out over the Trail every year since 1839 to settle on the Columbia. By 1844 it was strong enough to become a potent factor in the presidential campaign. Polk was elected on a pledge to maintain our claim to the Pacific coast clear up to the Russian possessions. Old men still remember the Democratic war-cry of 1844, "Fifty Four Forty or fight."

The boldness of our claim to Oregon when there were no Americans there but a considerable number of British subjects already on the ground, is something remarkable. By 1842 things had reached a crisis, — we must either make good or get out. Our people were heading for the Pacific; several small parties had gone out; serious friction was inevitable. Great Britain refused to yield; the only remedy was the complete occupation of the country by an army of home-seekers; "possession is nine points of the law." To clear the way for this emigration, to obtain an intelligent description of the route and road, some account of the resources of the country, Colonel Abert, Chief of the Topographical Engineers United States Army, in May, 1842, detailed J. C. Frémont, then a second lieutenant, to explore and report upon "the country between the frontiers of Missouri and the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains." You will observe his instructions did not carry him into the disputed territory, but only to the summit of the Rockies. He set out in May, 1842, made a very thorough examination of the road, and returned in October of the same year. Among other interesting matter he reported that a party of sixty-four immigrants bound for Oregon were a few days ahead of him all the way; a pack of cards which he picked up at one of their abandoned camps leads us to think they were not a band of missionaries.

Frémont made an excellent report of his reconnaissance, which was published by Congress and was in great demand. It was the first exact, reliable account of the emigrant road, though it covered only the first half to the summit of the Rockies. The next year he was sent out on a second expedition, instructed to connect his first explorations "with the

surveys of Commander Wilkes on the coast of the Pacific Ocean, so as to give a connected survey of the interior of our Continent"; in plain English, he was to survey the rest of the Oregon Trail as far as the Dalles of the Columbia and report on its condition. This was in 1843. By this time emigration had gained some headway, and Frémont reports passing on his second reconnaissance several hundred emigrants strung along the route, plodding their weary way or recruiting their strength at some favorable camping ground. Among them was the Chiles party bound for California, the first California emigrant party to cross the Sierras.

He found a good wagon road as far as Fort Hall on the Snake, near what is now Pocatello, and the emigrants of that very year had improved the worst places west of that point, so that they were passable for his howitzer and his wagon. He carried out his instructions, reached the Dalles, and went on down the Columbia to Fort Vancouver. From this point he retraced his steps to the Des Chutes River on the eastern flank of the Coast Range. There he turned southward and ascended that stream to its sources. This is the route from Oregon to California for which the Hill and Harriman railroad systems are fighting to-day. Frémont went on past the Klamath Lakes to the head waters of the Pitt, where he turned to the southeast and descended into the desert country to Pyramid Lake. Here he entered an unknown region.

From Klamath Lakes he says "our course was intended to be about southeast to a reported lake called Marys," and thence still on southeast to "the reputed Buenaventura River said to flow from the Rocky Mountains to the bay of San Francisco, where," he continues, "in the softer climate of a more southern latitude our horses might find grass to sustain them and ourselves be sheltered from the rigors of winter and from the inhospitable desert"; after which he proposed to strike southeasterly across the Great Basin to the head waters of the Arkansas. I need not detail his disappointment. Buenaventura River was a myth. Instead of comfortable winter quarters on its banks, he found nothing but cold, inhospitable deserts. He kept on south across the Truckee, Carson, and Walker rivers, when, seeing the mountains on the west growing higher and more forbidding every day, and famine staring him in the face, he turned away from the desert and

boldly pushed over the Sierras to Sutter's Fort in California, making the trip at the cost of great suffering, but without loss of life.

After recruiting his men he avoided conflict with the Mexican authorities at Monterey by turning south from Sutter's Fort, ascending the San Joaquin to its head, passing over the Tehachapi[1] mountains by the present railroad route; then, again shunning the Mexican authorities at Los Angeles, he turned east down the Mojave on the Old Spanish Trail by much the same route as that followed to-day by the San Pedro, Los Angeles, and Salt Lake Railroad. But before reaching Salt Lake he struck off to the east towards the head waters of the Arkansas into unexplored country, where we will leave him. He reached St. Louis August 6, 1844. His report was published by Congress with a reprint of the first expedition. As indicating the interest in the subject, I will add here that these reports were both reprinted in 1846 by a New York publishing house, and again in 1849 at London.

There is some mystery about the origin of these expeditions. Benton says, in his "Thirty Years' View," that Frémont himself conceived the plan of the first expedition in 1842 and obtained from Colonel Abert, Chief of the Topographical Bureau, orders to survey the emigrant road to South Pass, but that the government, the Executive Department, knew nothing about it. On his return, says Benton, he solicited and obtained orders to continue the survey across the continent to the point reached in 1841 by Commander Wilkes, who had surveyed the Columbia River from its mouth to the Dalles. After Frémont had started on his second expedition, in May, 1843, for some reason his orders were countermanded, but the letter revoking them was detained at St. Louis by Mrs. Frémont and did not reach him till his return.

Without much doubt Frémont's father-in-law, Benton, who took a great interest in Oregon, devised this plan for surveying and improving the Trail, hoping to invite settlers thereby and at the same time give his son-in-law a comfortable lift. The first expedition went through without objection, being on our territory entirely, but the second might be deemed a violation of the convention in sending an army officer at the head of a reconnoissance with a mountain howitzer through the dis-

[1] Taheechaypah, in Bancroft's "Native Races of the Pacific States," iv. 695.

puted territory, and was so strongly objected to by the Executive Department that an unsuccessful effort was made to stop it. The howitzer, which appears to have been taken without authority, was the ground of the main charge made against Frémont. The unlucky gun was finally abandoned in the snow at the head of Carson River.

By 1842 it had become clear that the struggle for the possession of Oregon must soon be decided. Our people were beginning to cross the continent and settle there in considerable numbers, and Great Britain was bringing out Canadians to support her claims. It was very plain that the presence of ten or fifteen thousand sturdy border men in the valley of the Columbia would go a long way toward the settlement.

Both parties seemed unwilling to force an issue. Great Britain hoped to win by the strong compact force of the Hudson Bay Company. On our side the extreme slaveholding interests were very powerful at Washington, and seemed lukewarm in the matter, knowing that the disputed territory was too far north for negro occupation. Mr. McDuffie, of South Carolina, declared in the Senate: "I would not give a pinch of snuff for the whole territory. I wish to God we did not own it. . . . If I had a son whose conduct made him a fit subject for Botany Bay, I would say, in the name of God, go [there]. This is my estimate of the importance of the settlement."

Mr. Calhoun, on the other hand, defended it on commercial grounds and argued that time was our ally. Oregon was geographically nearer to our own people than to any other nation, and in due time in the natural course of things American emigrants would fill the disputed territory and the question would settle itself. But these slow methods did not satisfy the more eager spirits, and Congress was flooded with bills to facilitate the settlement of Oregon. All these failed of passage, and it was left for the people themselves to end the struggle, which they did by settling up Oregon. And the Frémont expeditions helped on this movement immensely.

To the emigrant starting for the Pacific the road was beset with hardships and dangers such as he had never seen. Armies of buffaloes, bands of wild Indians, bears, wolves, snow-clad mountains, furious rivers to be crossed, long stretches of road without food for man or beast, alkali deserts without water or shade, — such were the perils lying in wait for the

traveller, beside more or less Münchausen fables, like that about the whirlpool in Salt Lake. To clear up these doubtful questions and give a plain, distinct, accurate account of the route, what preparations were needed, what hardships had to be encountered, what resources and facilities were to be had in crossing, and possibly what protection the government might offer by establishing military posts on the road, — these were the objects of the Frémont expeditions.

In estimating the results of opening the Trail we must not forget that the road to Oregon was also the road to California. Many of the earliest settlers in the Sacramento valley went over the mountains through southern Oregon. The emigrants of a later period who went direct to California followed the Oregon Trail to the neighborhood of Fort Hall, and branched off to the south, — some at Bear River, others west of Fort Hall, — travelling down the Humboldt. Truckee Pass in the Sierras, now occupied by the Central Pacific Railroad, was discovered in 1844 and became at once the main travelled route.

Notwithstanding the increasing friction between the British and the Americans and the possibility of its resulting in war, the emigration to Oregon steadily increased. It was estimated at one thousand persons in 1843, at fourteen hundred in 1844, at three thousand in 1845, and fifteen hundred in 1846, after which California shared the western movement of settlers. When in the latter year the treaty was made defining the parallel of 49° as the boundary between the two nations, there must have been nearly eight thousand American settlers in Oregon territory. It was a hopeless struggle for Great Britain ; she accepted the inevitable, and the forty-ninth parallel became the boundary.

Meantime no inconsiderable number of Americans had drifted into California. Dr. Marsh in 1845 estimated their number at seven hundred, which was increased again that year, and, according to H. H. Bancroft, eight hundred or nine hundred were added to the list in 1846. When the war with Mexico broke out that year, they aided materially in the conquest of the country by the American government.

By 1848 the struggle for a foothold on the Pacific was over, and we were in peaceful possession of California and Oregon, with fifteen hundred miles' frontage on the Western Ocean,

including the two great ports of San Francisco and Puget Sound, beside the mouth of the Columbia.

The settlers had practically won the victory in both regions, but after all it was a close shave. When we recall that down to 1834 the British were in sole possession of all Oregon, that in 1840 there were only one hundred Americans in the territory, when we remember that in 1845 and 1846 the British were pressing Mexico for the satisfaction of their claims by the transfer of California to the British flag and their warships were hovering around the coast ready to seize it, we realize how imminent was the peril. With San Francisco and Puget Sound in the hands of our rivals, even if we had held on to Oregon south of the Columbia, we should have been shut out from first-class deep-water ports on the Pacific; Great Britain would now be holding the key to the commerce of the North Pacific; Eldorado and the Inland Empire would be hers; America would no longer have her double frontage on two oceans, she would be confined to the Atlantic in her commerce and her dreams of commercial supremacy would have faded out. From all this we have been saved by the trials and patience of the hardy emigrants, and the Oregon Trail becomes a dominant factor in our national history.

There is little romance in the "bull-team" toiling its dull pace over the dusty desert, but this humble exponent of American progress unquestionably won for us our commanding position on the North Pacific.

Mr. Sanborn communicated the following paper:

Two New Hampshire Libraries in Hampton Falls, 1785.

The Libraries of which I am to speak were those of two neighbors and friends in my native town, living two miles apart, but for more than forty years acquainted, — Colonel Meshech Weare, Chief-Justice, Governor (with the title of President), and Revolutionary leader in the little State of New Hampshire, born in 1713, and dying in 1786, a graduate of Harvard College in 1735; and Samuel Langdon, S.T.D., President of Harvard College (where he was graduated in 1740) from 1774 to 1780, and in the latter year settled as minister of the town of Hampton Falls, largely through the influence of his friend Colonel Weare, who had made his ac-

quaintance when he was a young minister at Portsmouth, before the capture of Louisburg in 1745, at which Langdon assisted as chaplain of the New Hampshire regiment. Colonel Weare himself had been destined for the pulpit by his pious father, Deacon Nathaniel Weare, of what is now Seabrook, New Hampshire. There his pious grandfather, Nathaniel, had settled in 1662, and had been an important person in the early government of the royal Province of New Hampshire, from its establishment in 1680 till his death in 1718. It was this grandfather who on a mission to England in 1684–85 had procured the recall of Edward Cranfield, the despotic Governor, and, through the famous Lord Halifax, the pardon of my ancestor Edward Gove, then a prisoner in the Tower, under sentence for treason. The care of public business came by inheritance to this gentleman's grandson, who, having married an heiress in 1738, gave up his profession, took to the management of his wife's land, along with his own, entered the militia, was chosen to the Assembly, served for many years as colonel of the Hampton regiment, read law, and from an associate justice became chief-justice by appointment before the Revolution. Colonel Weare held, first and last, every office in his town, Province and State, until he declined a re-election as governor, having previously resigned as chief-justice; and he was buried with a funeral sermon by his minister and friend, Dr. Langdon, not long after Judge Oliver Peabody, of Exeter, had drawn up the will from which I now quote the disposition to be made of his library:

> As my son Samuel and daughter Mary will hold the buildings I have erected on lands which belonged to their late mother (which are more than equal to what I can give my other children) I give them nothing, excepting I give to my son Samuel Wood's Institutes, and to my daughter Mary an equal share of my household goods with my other children . . . Item, I give and bequeathe all my wearing apparel and Library, except Wood's Institutes, to my four sons, Nathan, Thomas Wibird, Nathaniel and Redford, to be equally divided between them.

The inventory of Colonel Weare showed a large holding of lands in new townships of New Hampshire, and in the old township of Hampton (now organized in six different towns, Hampton, Hampton Falls, North Hampton, South Hampton, Kensington, and Seabrook), but comparatively little other prop-

erty. The explanation of this is found in the character of the testator, as indicated in a letter to Colonel Weare by one of his wealthy friends in Portsmouth, John Wendell, who wrote under date of June 29, 1778:

> My circumstances place me beyond a dependence, and a private life is the summit of my ambition, — to enjoy the blessings of society without the arduous weight of governmental matters to disturb my peace. You, my dear Sir, I honor and respect for your stability and firmness, and, as one of the community, I thank you for your wisdom and advice to my country. Truly sensible I am that you have sunk a fortune and exposed a large family to danger of being ruined, only by your close attention to the public.

The fortune which the patriotic Weare "sunk" was rather in expectation than in possession; but in 1754, when he went with another Portsmouth friend, older than himself, as Wendell was younger, Judge Theodore Atkinson, to the first American Congress at Albany, where they met Dr. Franklin, Hutchinson and Governor Shirley from Massachusetts, and young Thomas Pownall, who preceded Hutchinson and succeeded Shirley as Governor of Massachusetts, Colonel Weare had as good a prospect as any of his colleagues of amassing a fortune. But in the French and Indian war, which at once followed the Albany Congress, and in the Revolutionary struggle that soon came on, Weare attended to the public business, and allowed his own affairs to remain as they were. The testimony of William Plumer, of the same Rockingham County, who entered public life under Weare, and succeeded him a quarter-century later as governor, is even more emphatic than Wendell's, inasmuch as Plumer was apt to record the faults of men with more relish than their virtues. He wrote of Weare in 1820:

> From the Declaration of Independence to the close of the war, Judge Weare was invested, at the same time, with the highest offices, legislative, judicial and executive, and continued in them by annual elections. The various offices which he held, during the long period of forty-five years, made him not proud or haughty. They did not change his mind, manners, or mode of living: his old mansion house remained unpainted, its ancient furniture was still used, and he continued to the last the same modest, unassuming man. From all his offices, and with all his prudence, he added not a cent to his property, — which at death did not exceed that of a good common farmer.

I may add that Colonel Weare did paint the substantial house which he built for his eldest son, on the Shaw lands that had come to Samuel Weare from the estate of his grandfather and namesake, Deacon Samuel Shaw, and which, about one hundred years ago, became the property of my grandfather's brother, whose descendants still occupy it. This house, as I first remember it, still bore that faint colonial yellow tinge with which Colonel Weare had colored it for his son's occupation, I suppose, about 1760. But let us see with what books, and at what values, this New Hampshire Aristides carried on his public duties, and solaced his private hours. As listed and appraised by the officers of the Probate Court, his neighbors and kinsmen, this was the

Library of the late President Weare.

(Appraised value in lawful money and in dollars.)

Books.	Value in pounds.		
Wood's Institute,	1	16	
Raymond's Reports,	3	12	
Jacob's Law Dictionary,	1	16	
Foster's Crown Law,	1	4	
Privilege of Parliament,	1	0	
Reports by Will. Salkeld (2 vols.),		18	
New Hampshire Law-books,		10	
M. Dalton's Country Justice,		6	
Magna Charta,		1	
Matthew Poole on the Bible (2 vols.),	1	4	
Sherlock's Sermons (4 vols.),		16	
Caryl on Job (2 vols.),		12	
Religio Veterum (2 vols.),		6	
History of the Church (2 vols.),		4	6
Charles Chauncy's State of Religion,		3	
Christian Life, 2d. vol.		1	6
Old Bible,		1	6
Church Prayer-Book (Latin),		1	
Benjamin Colman's Sermons,			6
Pemberton's Sermons,		1	
Hugo Grotius (2 vols),		6	
Watts's Poems (2 vols.),		6	
Prideaux' History of Old and New Testaments,		3	
John Wilkins on Prayer,		1	6
Reports (Prop. Gosp. In Foreign Parts),		2	

Books.	Value in pounds.		
Thoughts on Religion,			6
Cotton Mather's Manuductio ad Ministerium (Directions for a Candidate, etc.),			6
Hist. Old and New Testaments,		4	
Sermons by Cuthbert Sydenham (17),		1	
Sermons and pamphlets,		1	4
Latin, French and Hebrew books,		6	
Dæmonologia Sacra (R. Gilpin),		1	
Young Man's Companion,		1	6
Course of Letters on Church Catechism,		6	
Theron and Aspasia (1 vol.),		1	
Rollin's Ancient History (11 vols.),	1	16	
Locke's Works (2 vols),	2	0	
John Locke on Church Government,		1	
Alciphron, or Minute Philosopher (2 vols.),		6	
Buchan's Family Physician,		3	
Adams' Poems,			6
The Chase (Somerville),			6
Dialogues,		1	
Old Latin Dictionary,		1	
Character & Manners of the French (2 vols),		2	
Ladies' Library (1 vol.),		1	
History of the Reign of Q. Anne,		1	6
Virgil (English) (1 vol.),		1	
Travels of Giuseppe Baretti,			6
Clark's Lives,		6	
Journals of Congress (no value given),			
Total,	£21	16	4

About eighty-five volumes valued at £21.16.4, or about $72.00.

These books and pamphlets are about equally divided between law, politics, and divinity, with a few poems thrown in, and a slight sprinkling of Latin, French, and Hebrew, of all which languages Weare had some knowledge, the whole valued in 1786 at less than $80; although single volumes, offered for sale now, might bring half that sum. Mather's Manuductio sells, I think, for $20. Several other rare books are in the list, though they were not rare at that time. Many, no doubt, were presentation copies. The cost price of the whole may have been $120. Some of the books had been his father's or grandfather's.

No full list of the library of President Langdon exists, so far as I know. In his will, dated October 26, 1797, made, like his friend Weare's, but five weeks before his death, Dr. Langdon thus directed:

> It is my will that none of the Old Books of my Library be sold at Public Vendue, but when my children have selected such as will be most useful to them, the rest may be left with the Church as the beginning of a Library for my successors in the Ministry.

Probably the original number of books and pamphlets exceeded three hundred, and may have been five hundred. Those remaining in the parsonage during my boyhood were above two hundred; but after removal to the new church, which saved them from being burnt in the parsonage, they were reduced in number by borrowings and by the church mouse, so that when I made the following catalogue, in August 1855, for Rev. Theodore Parker, of the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society in Boston, who purchased a few of them from Charles Newell Healey, a cousin of Mrs. C. H. Dall (then on the church committee at Hampton Falls), there were but ninety-five bound volumes and one hundred and forty-five pamphlets. Several of the latter were afterwards included in volumes. I have annexed to the titles the price offered by Mr. Parker for some works, but which he actually bought I cannot say. They are now, no doubt, if purchased by him, in the Boston Public Library. Few of Dr. Langdon's own works were in the collection fifty-four years ago; but I picked up a few of those among his former parishioners.

The Ministerial Library in 1855.

1. Folios, English and Latin, with a few Greek Texts.

In Librum Psalmorum Joannis Calvini Commentarius. Cum Hebræo Latinoque Contextu. No title; date of preface, 1557.

Benedicti Ariæ Montani Hispalensis Commentaria in duodecim prophetas. Nunc tandem ab ipso auctore recognita. Antwerpiæ ex Officina Christ. Plantini. 1583.

Joannis Calvini Prælectiones in Librum Prophetiarum Jeremiæ et Lamentationes. Joannis Budæi et Caroli Jouuillæ labore et industria excerptæ. Tertia Editio. Genevæ. Apud Hæred. Eustath. Vignon, 1589.

Eicasmi, seu Meditationes J. Foxi in S. Apocalypsin. No titlepage. Dedicated to Archbishop Whitgift. For this T. Parker offered $1.

An Exposition upon the Epistle to the Colossians. By N. Byfield. London, 1617.

Acta Synodi Nationalis in Nomine Domini nostri Dordrechti habitæ. Anno 1618 et 1619. Lugduni Batavorum. Typis Isaaci Elzeviri, 1620. $1 offered. This was the famous synod of Dort.

Harmonia Evangelica a M. Chemnitio inchoata, et per Polycarpum Lyserum continuata. Accessit Commentarius Johannis Gerhardi. Genevæ. Hæred. Jacobi Berjon. 1628.

Davidis Parei Opera Theologica. Praefixa est Narratio Historica de Vita et Obitu D. Davidis Parei, conscripta a Phillippo Parei, D. F. Vænit in Bibliopolo Hæredum Jonæ Rosæ. No date, but about 1635.

Novum Testamentum sive Novum Fœdus, Cujus Græco contextui respondent Interpretationes duæ, una, vetus, altera, Theodori Bezæ. Cum Bezæ et Camerarii Annotationibus. Cantabrigiæ. Ex Officina Rog. Danielis. 1642.

Discourses. Author unknown. Titlepage gone. 1400 pages. I think I recall as a boy that it was the work of the Puritan divine, Goodwin, with this inscription: "This Book was left by the Rev'd Josiah Bayley for the use of those who tarry at the Meeting House between Meetings, to Read in if they are so Disposed." Mr. Bayley was a young minister from Newbury, who graduated at Harvard in 1752, and was settled at Hampton Falls in October 1757. He died there in 1762; and this book must have been transferred from the old Meeting House near Colonel Weare's, to the newer one near Dr. Langdon's parsonage, built in 1769, where the retired President of Harvard began to preach in 1780–81. A long quarrel over the two houses and parsonages was thus settled and peace again prevailed.

A Modest Inquiry into the Mystery of Iniquity. By H. More, D.D. London, 1664.

Exercitations upon the Epistle to the Hebrews. By J. Owen, D.D. London, 1674.

An Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews. J. Owen, D.D. London, 1680.

Discourses upon the Existence and Attributes of God. By Stephen Charnock. London, 1682.

The Works of Stephen Charnock, D.D. Two Volumes. Portrait. London, 1684.

Explication to the Catechism of the Church of England. Part I. By Gabriel Towerson. London, 1685.

Explication of the Catechism of the Church of England. Gabriel Towerson. London, 1688.

Synopsis Criticorum Aliorumque S. Scripturæ. A Matt. Polo. Tomi V. Effigies. Francofurti ad Mœnum, 1694. This was for a century the great Commentary, found in several languages; its English version in two volumes was in Colonel Weare's library.

An Exposition of the Creed. Titlepage gone. (1700.)

The Works of Dr. John Tillotson. Edited by Ralph Barker. Three Volumes. Portrait. London, 1712.

A Body of Divinity. By Thomas Ridgley. Two Volumes. Portrait. 1731.

A Paraphrase and Notes on the Revelation of St. John. By Moses Lowman. London, 1738.

The Holy Bible. Containing the Old and New Testaments, or a Family Bible with Annotations. By Samuel Clarke, M.A. Glasgow, 1765.

Apocalypsis Revelata. Amstelodami, 1766.

Acts and Laws of His Majesty's Province of New Hampshire. Portsmouth, 1771. D. and R. Fowle, Printers.

In all, thirty-four folio volumes.

2. Quartos, octavos, duodecimos, etc., many in Latin.

Malleus Maleficarum. Auctore Jacobo Sprengeri. Venetiis, apud Johannem Antonium Bertonum. 15[ ]. Part of date gone. This T. Parker bought for $1.25. It is a famous and abominable work against witches.

Institutio Christianæ Religionis. Joanne Calvino Auctore. Londini, 1576.

The Summe of the Conference between John Rainolds and John Hart (1580?). Black letter. Titlepage and several leaves gone.

Explicationes Catecheticæ. Zacharias Ursini. Cantabrigiæ, 1587.

Analysis Typica. Autore Mose Peluchon. Londini. Edmundus Bollifantus, 1597.

Erasmi Colloquia. Latin. First six pages gone, no date, — very old.

Terence (1600?), with a translation by C. H. on the opposite page, — a pony, no date. It had passed through several hands of students, of Isaac Greenwood, 1678, of John Bushell, 1733, and was given by Rev. Andrew Eliot (H. U. 1737) to Rev. Ebenezer Thayer, who graduated in 1753, and whose son-in-law, Rev. Jacob Abbot (H. U. 1792), must have given it to the Ministerial Library, he being the successor of Dr. Langdon in that parish. [This copy was shown at the November meeting, 1909.]

A Worke Concerning the Trunesse of Christian Religion: Against Atheists, Epicures, Paynims, Iewes, Mahumetists, and other Infidels. Written in French by Philip of Mornay, Lord of Plessie and Maily.

Begunne to be translated into English, by that honorable and worthy Gentleman, Sir Philip Sidney, Knight, and at his request finished by Arthur Golding. Since which time, it hath been reviewed, and is the fourth time published, and purged from sundry faults escaped heretofore, through ignorance, carelessnesse or other corruption. London, Printed by G[*torn*] 1617. This extremely curious book is imperfect, having been gnawed by church mice in the pages following Chapter 33. It bears the autograph of Rev. Jabez Fitch, Dr. Langdon's predecessor in the Portsmouth parish, and was given to Fitch by Rev. Robert Ward (H. C. 1719) the descendant of Nathaniel Ward who wrote the "Simple Cobbler." In England it seems to have belonged to Isaac Kimber of Wantage, January 25, 16( ). The original French work was dedicated to Henry of Navarre before he came to the throne of France, by his Protestant Councillor, Duplessis Mornay, and in English to Henry, Prince of Wales by Thomas Willcocks in May 1604. There is no reason to doubt that Sidney began this translation. He was five years younger than Du Plessis Mornay, but was his good friend, and when Duplessis was at the Court of Queen Elizabeth in 1577–8, to seek her aid for the Protestant cause in France, Sidney, as well as his uncle Leicester and Francis Walsingham, urged the Protestant cause upon Queen Elizabeth.

A Revelation of the Revelation. By Thomas Brightman. Imprinted at Amsterdam. 1615.

Andræ Riveti Commentarii in Hoseamprophetam. Date gone; date of dedication, 1625.

Exercitationes Apologeticæ pro Divina Gratia Samuelis Rhætofortis (Rutherford) Amstelodami, 1636.

Symphonia Prophetarum et Apostolorum. Authore D. M. Johanne Scharpio. Genevæ apud Petrum et Jacobum. No date.

The Bloudy Tenent, washed. By John Cotton, Batchelor in Divinity, and teacher of the Church of Christ in Boston. London, 1647.

Richard Baxter's Apology against the Modest Exceptions of Mr. T. Blake. London, 1654.

Mr. Baxter's Aphorisms Exorized and Authorized. By John Crandon. London, 1654.

The Bar against free admission to the Lord's Supper fixed. By Roger Drake. London, 1656.

A Treatise on the Sabbath. By Thomas Shepard. Date gone [1650].

The Doctrine of Life, or of Man's Redemption. By Edward Holyoke of New England. London, 1658.

A Chain of Scripture Chronology. By Thomas Allen. London, 1659.

A Vindication of the Animadversions on Fiat Lux [of Vincent Canes.] By John Owen, D.D. London, 1664.

Six Sermons of [Edward] Stillingfleet. London, 1669.

Two Letters of Advice. By H. D. Dedicated to James [Margetson], bishop of Armagh. Dublin, 1672.

Samuelis Maresii Systema Theologicum. Groningæ, apud Aemilium Spinneker, Bibliopolam. 1673.

Several Discourses concerning the actual providence of God. John Collinges, D.D. London, 1678.

The History of the Damnable Popish Plot. London, 1681.

Synopsis Purioris Theologiæ. Lugduni Batavorum. Joannis et Daniel Elzevir. 1682.

Doron Medicon. Or a supplement to the new London Dispensatory. By William Salmon, Professor of Physick. London, 1683.

Historia Conciliorum Generalium. Auctore M. Edmundo Richero, Doctore ac Soccio Sorbonico. Coloniæ, apud Bernardum Helsingh, 1683. Three volumes.

Les Termes de la Ley; or certain difficult and obscure words of the common law and Statutes of the realm now in use, expounded and explained. French and English in alternate columns. London, 1685.

History of the Doctrine and Worship of the Church. By Peter Jurieu. Two volumes, the first wanting. No date [1704].

Thomæ Godwini Moses et Aaron, seu Civiles et Ecclesiastici Ritus antiquorum Hebræorum. Ultrajecti, 1690.

Treatise on Baptism. By Henry Danvers. First fifty pages gone.

Plea for the Nonconformists. By Thomas Delaune. London, 1712.

An Original Draught of the Primitive Church. By a Presbyter of the Church of England. London, 1717.

A Vindication of the Dissenters. By James Peirce. London, 1718.

History of the Apostles' Creed. London, 1719.

Sermons on the Divinity of Christ. By Daniel Waterland. Cambridge, England, 1720.

A Work on Jury Trials (1720?). For this T. Parker offered 50 cents.

A Treatise on the Spleen and Vapors. By Sir Richard Blackmore, Kt. M.D. and Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in London. London, 1726.

Atterbury's Sermons. Two volumes. London, 1726.

A Vindication of Christ's Divinity. By Daniel Waterland. 4th edition. London, 1731.

A Second Vindication of Christ's Divinity. By D. Waterland. 1731.

Scripture Bishop Vindicated. By Eleutherius [Jonathan Dickinson], V. D. M. Boston, 1733.

The Importance of the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity asserted in reply to some late pamphlets. By D. Waterland. 1734.

Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John. By Sir Isaac Newton. Dublin, 1735.

The Doctrine of Predestination unto Life. By William Cooper, one of the pastors of Brattle Street Church. Boston, 1740.

A Dissertation on the Civil Government of the Hebrews. Moses Lowman. London, 1740.

A Defence of the Christian Revelation. By Gilbert West and the Hon. Geo. Lyttelton Esq. London, 1748.

An Universal History. London, 1748. Four volumes out of twenty: 11, 16, 19, 20. The whole twenty originally belonged to Dr. Langdon, but the volumes were taken by his children or friends. This is the work on which Gibbon feasted.

A Defence of the Divine Right of Infant Baptism. By Peter Clark, A.M. Pastor of a church in Salem. Boston, 1752.

The Communicant's Companion. By Matthew Henry. Glasgow, 1761.

A Complete View of Episcopacy. By Charles Chauncy, D.D. Boston, 1771.

Edwards on the Freedom of the Will.

Cotton Mather's Manuductio ad Ministerium, the original edition, — the same small volume found in Colonel Weare's library.

A Volume of books and pamphlets bound up together, containing a series of works, none later than 1650. Among them were Edwin Sandys' "State of Religion in the Western Parts of the World," first edition of 1605, now very rare; N. Ward's "Simple Cobbler of Aggawam in America," edition of 1647; Du Boscq's "Complete Woman"; a work by Dudley Digges, and half a dozen papers issued by both sides in the Civil War of 1640–1650. This had belonged to a certain John Nid of Trinity College, and how it came into the Langdon library does not appear. It became mine, and I broke it up into four or five volumes, some of which I have parted with. Counting these volumes, there were sixty-one smaller than folios, so that there were ninety-five volumes in the library in 1855.

Pamphlets, sermons, etc. In some respects the most valuable part of the library to-day would be the brochures, had they been preserved, — at least one hundred and fifty in all. Among them were the original issues of Paine's "Common Sense" and "The Crisis"; five Orations on the Boston Massacre of 1770, — Lovell's, Church's, Hancock's, Warren's and Oliver Noble's; six Dudleian Lectures, — of 1763, 1768, 1773, 1777, 1779, and 1793; eight Election Sermons, from 1720 to 1779; four Artillery Election Sermons, — 1676, 1746, 1758, 1774; President Stiles's Inaugural in Latin, "habita in Sacello Collegii Yalensis"; a dozen English and American political pamphlets, including those of Paine; and forty pamphlet Sermons, English and American, from 1666 to 1786; but none of Dr. Langdon's own.

The Whitefield controversy, the Universalist controversy, the Sandemanian controversy, and many minor quarrels appeared in this large collection; but it is doubtful if many of them have survived the neglect, the damps and the mice of half a century since I listed them. About forty of the volumes are now in the town library of Hampton Falls, but few or none of the pamphlets. Even before I examined them critically, much of this library had been lost, as well as a few additions made; for at that time Dr. Langdon had been buried in the cemetery not far off, for nearly sixty years, and his parsonage, where the books were kept, had been occupied by at least a half-dozen families. Many of the pamphlets had valuable autographs on them, and some of the books were presentation copies. To make good the few volumes which I have received from this library, I presented the town with five hundred volumes in 1902, among which were more than half of my own publications.

Several of the children of Dr. Langdon were either scholars or the wives of scholars; and no doubt they took those portions of the original library which contained the more modern literary, scientific and entertaining books. His son Paul Langdon was a schoolmaster in Fryeburg, Maine, some of whose descendants live now in Pembroke, Massachusetts. His son Richard finally removed to North Carolina, but left no children; nor did Mrs. David Sewall, of York, his sister; and the eldest son, Samuel, left only a daughter, whom I remember as a blind and aged spinster. The children of Dr. Langdon who did leave descendants were his son Paul, and his daughter Mary who married Dr. John Goddard of Portsmouth. The descendants of Paul, bearing the Langdon name, now live in California or Georgia, and are professional men. Paul himself was an active soldier in the Revolution, after graduating at Harvard in 1770. He was wounded at Bunker Hill, and helped turn the tide of battle at Monmouth. One of Paul's sons migrated to Wilmington, North Carolina, another to Wethersfield, New York, where Paul himself died in 1834, at the age of 82. The California Langdons are descendants of Paul's son Richard, and one of them called on me a few years ago, after graduating at Exeter and Harvard, and marrying; indeed, it was on his bridal tour that he visited Concord, where his ancestor had presided over Harvard College for a few months. Dr. Langdon's Portsmouth

house, in which is one book from his library, has always belonged to some descendant, and is now owned and occupied by Mrs. T. A. Harris, Dr. Goddard's granddaughter.

The character of these two New Hampshire libraries is probably typical of most of the private libraries in New England during the eighteenth century. They were not so much general as professional; they contained little poetry or fiction, and are distinguished, as Mr. Adams has pointed out, by the absence of Milton, of Shakespeare, and the other great English authors who might have been there. Colonel Weare, and doubtless Dr. Langdon, had the works of John Locke, and probably Dr. Langdon owned some edition of Bacon and of Paradise Lost. That he had a Shakespeare, I doubt. My grandfather, who owned a single volume of Shakespeare, as early as 1808, was probably the only parishioner of Dr. Langdon who had read even so much as that; and his volume was the gift of an artist friend from South Carolina, James Akin, who had seen John Bernard (Washington's guest at Mt. Vernon, in 1798) on the stage at Philadelphia, Boston and Newburyport. Judge Weare's associate on the New Hampshire bench, Judge Dudley of Raymond, had read some part of Shakespeare, and once quoted him effectively to the jury; but literature was not the strong point of lawyers or clergymen in the Revolutionary period. Nor did they or the rich merchants collect books, as the fashion now is. John Hancock's library at Boston and Samuel Langdon's at Portsmouth, would probably make but a poor show compared with Thrale's the brewer's in London, or Franklin's in Philadelphia. Small as my own library is (some ten thousand miscellaneous volumes), it is probably larger than was that of Dartmouth College when Webster was there in 1802, or that of Amherst twenty years later. We now run to excess in libraries, public and private; and come under the censure of old Hobbes, the philosopher of Malmesbury, who said, if he had read as many books as X. and Y., he should have been as ignorant as they were.

In presenting copies of two tracts on John Davenport, Mr. FORD said:

Writing in April, 1634, Griffin Higgs reported to the English Ambassador at The Hague: "Mr. Damport is still a Non-conformist to the Dutch Church, as well as to the

English: in many points: one is the non-baptizing of Infants, vnles he approve the parents faith, and life: wherevpon the Dutch ministers have silenced him, and (without Conformitie to their orders before the first of May) they doe peremptorily reject him."[1] This sums up the issue of a contest between John Davenport and John Paget on the subject of infant baptism, and made it impossible for Davenport to remain in Holland.

On reaching Holland Davenport began to preach in Mr. Paget's church, but soon found that he could not approve Paget's practices in infant baptism and raised objections to the loose ways pursued by the older pastor. The controversy was carried before the Dutch Classis of ministers of the city of Amsterdam, who appointed a committee to prepare a basis of settlement. "This committee of five of the most eminent theologians of Amsterdam delivered their judgment in January (a copy of which was transmitted to Laud, . . .), in which, while commending Davenport's erudition and piety, and approving his zeal in urging the examination of parents presenting children for baptism, they yet leave a large loop-hole for doubtful cases, in which on the whole they would administer the ordinance. Davenport remonstrated, but Paget prevailed, and Davenport desisted from preaching after less than six months' service."[2]

William Best, of Amsterdam, without consulting or even informing Davenport of his intention, printed Davenport's argument delivered to the Classis on the subject in controversy, and added the instructions for the chosen elders of the English church to be laid before the Dutch pastors in Amsterdam. It is this tract which forms the first of the following reprints. So rare is it that when Mr. Dexter prepared his Bibliography of Congregationalism, only two copies were traced, one in the British Museum, and one in the Bodleian Library. From one of these he made a copy in manuscript for his own collection. Since that time a third copy has appeared, and is now in the Library of the Union Theological Seminary in New York. From this copy the photograph of the titlepage was taken.

[1] Proceedings, xlii. 232. See also xiii. 342–344.

[2] Franklin B. Dexter, "Life and Writings of John Davenport," New Haven Colony Hist. Soc. Papers, ii. 223.

Even Davenport resented somewhat the manner of publication, and showed his feeling by issuing a "Protestation," — the second of the following tracts. This is even rarer than the "Ivst Complaint," only one copy being known, and that is in the Bishop Williams Library, London. The controversy was continued by Best, Paget, and Davenport, but enough of personal history is contained in the two tracts now printed.[1]

A Ivst Com- | plaint against | an Vniust Doer. | Wherein | Is declared the miserable slaverie & bondage that | the English Church of Amsterdam is now in, by | reason of the Tirannicall government and | corrupt doctrine, of Mr. Iohn Pagett | their present Minister. | The | Which things are plainly manifested in two certein letters, | the one written by Mr. Iohn Davenport to the | dutch Classis, the other given vp to the English | Consistorie by some of the brethren. With | other briefe passages tending to | the same effect. | Published by one that much pitties them and prayes | dayly for their deliverance. | . . . Printed Anno 1634.[2]

A TRVE REPORT OF PASSAGES BETWENE MR. PAGET AND ME IN THIS BVSINES.

The same reason, which constrayned me to write in latin to the classis, doth now compell me to translate what I then wrote for the satisfaction of the members of the English Church, as then I did not

[1] In his "Fore-speach" to "The Churches Plea for her Right," printed in 1635, Best says of this publication of the Davenport Papers: "Moreover I conceive that it lay upon me (though the meanest of my Brethren) to reply; considering that the *Booke of Complaints* was set forth chiefly by my meanes. Now my conscience for my part beares me witnes, that I did the thing, out of love towards God, his truth and people; and not (as is falsely suggested) of contention and a peeuish mind. And I was thereto mooved the sooner, 1. Because the same was in many mens hands already, and so rather publicke than private. 2. We had waited almost a quarter of a yeare for answer, but could not obtaine it, although *Mr. Paget* was spoken unto, many times about it. 3. It was given out, that hee had writen 12 or 15 sheets of paper against us, and intended shortly to acquaint the world therewith: when this report was brought unto me, I thought it requisite (having the copies by me) immediately to publish them: that so (seeing hee would publikely write in confutation thereof) men might truly understand, what our particular grieveances were. And these causes of great and good regard, led me to doe, what I did." He was a Deacon in Paget's church, but Paget proclaimed him to be a man "that have given great offence, and am become an evill example unto many, by the open violation of the Sabbath in mine [Best's] owne house, and by resorting unto the assembly of the Remonstrants, and have bene admonished by him in the name of the Eldership, and have justly deserved farther Censure."

The titles of this continuation of the controversy are numbered 616, 617, and 623 in Dr. Dexter's "Collections toward a Bibliography of Congregationalism."

[2] Best says the printer was an English printer. — "Churches Plea," 2.

write to them till Mr. Pagets misreport of my opinion (touching the promiscuous baptising of all Infants that are presented thereunto) both to the dutch Preachers and others made it necessary: So I have forborne to translate the same, 3. months together, till by injurious

A IVST COM-
PLAINT AGAINST
AN VNIVST DOER.

Wherein

Is declared the miserable slaverie & bondage that the English Church of Amsterdam is now in, by reason of the Tirannicall government and corrupt doctrine, of Mr. Iohn Paget their present Minister.

The

Which things are plainly manifested in two certein letters, the one written by Mr. Iohn Davenport to the dutch Classis, the other given vp to the English Consistorie by some of the brethren. With other briefe passages tending to the same effect.

Published by one that much pitties them and prayes dayly for their deliverance.

Math. 23. 15.

Woe unto you Scribes and Pharises hypocrites, for ye shutt vp the Kingdom of heaven against men: for ye neither goe in your selves, neither suffer ye them that are entring to go in.

Son. 2. 15.

Take vs the foxes the litle foxes that spoile the vine.

Gal. 5. 12.

I would they were even cut off which trouble you.

Printed Anno 1634.

speaches of Mr. Pagette concerning that writing, both in the consistory, and to severall persons, I have been often provoked thereunto, for peace sake I have desisted, and purposed to sit still, but I may not let the truth suffer, by my silence, for any mans sake, neither am I so weake to be affrighted with great words, or to forsake a truth, because some men say it is an errour — I have said little in comparison of what I have to say, when I am constrayned to say more, I shall shewe the reason, why I have hitherto sayd so little. Be assured that this Eng-

lish coppie, is a true translation out of the latin, and whatsoever I wrote in Latin, is a true report of things as they passed, time will shew that I have been more favourable in the reporte than I had cause to be. [1]

A COPPIE OF MY LETTER TO THE CLASSIS.

It doth greive me not without cause, Excellent and learned men, reverend brethren, that our first meeting happeneth to be in a way of dispute, which that it might have been pleasing and peaceable by the full agreement of our opinions, was my cheife desire: yet my full perswasion of your (not humanitie only but allso) brotherly affection towards me, doth somewhat mittigate that sorrowing, in confidence whereof I will briefly relate to your prudence (reverend brethren) with all due reverence, the cause of the slow proceeding of my confirmation in the ministry, whereunto I seemed to be called.

The calling it selfe I professe my selfe to accept willingly, though not without trembling, and am very readie to discharge that office as I am able: but some things have happened betweene the call, and my confirmation, beyond my expectation, for

1. First I vnderstand that both the worthy brethren, Pastors of the dutch Church, and the reverend Mr. Pagett, did propound, and appoynt, as a condition of my admittance, that I should conforme to the orders and customs, of the dutch Church, whereas I doe not yet vnderstand, what those orders and customs are, for which cause, I propounded to the consistory of the English Church, that some convenient time might be given me, rightly to informe my selfe concerning those canons and customs of the dutch Church, and concerning the state of this English Church, before I should, by taking upon me this Pastorall office, binde my selfe to either of them, this the consistory not only judged equall — but allso with one consent concluded [2] that it should be so; Mr. Pagett only excepted, who would not agree with them in that matter, without consent of the Classis: whereas nevertheles, the Power of every particular Church, is cheife in its owne particular matters, (or in things which are proper to it selfe) as a Synod hath the cheife power, in things that are common to many Churches, witnes Cham. Cent. Bell. lib. 2. With whom agree the canons of these Churches, as appareth in the Harmony of the dutch Synods, where it is decreed that only such things, shall be brought unto the Classis, which can not be ended in the consistory. *Chap.* 7. *Art.* 6. As that which can not conveniently, be decided by the Classis shall be brought into the Provinciall Synod. *Chap.* 8. *Art.* 6.

Secondly it was required of me that I should conforme, unto a particular custom of the dutch Church for the unlimited Baptisinge of all infants, which were presented in the Church, of what nation or Sect

soever, allthough that either of the parents were christians, was no otherwise manifest, then by their (all) answering yea, at the reading of the leiturgy of baptisme publickly, or by nodding their head, or some other gesture, they seemed to be willing to answer.

First I neither did nor doe deny, to baptize their Infants who are members of this Church, which seing it is so, I desire to understand by what right, the Pastour of any particular Church, can be bound to exercise his ministry in any act of it, towards those who are not members of his Church, seing the Apostle Paul required no more of the Pastors of Ephesus, then to take heed to themselves, and to all the flocke, whereof the holy Ghoste hath made them ouerseers. Act. 20. 28. The same is required of Archippus, to take heade to the ministry which he had received of the Lord, (viz. amongst the Collossians) [3] that he fulfill it. Col. 4. 17, as allso Peter exhorteth the Elders, saying, feed the flocke that is amongst you 1 Pet. and 2. If it be objected that all that are under the Classis of Amsterdam, ought to conforme to the custom of the dutch Church in Amsterdam.

Obj.

I answer that, even for that reason, the English Church ought not to be bounde thereunto, it being not nessessary to require it of them, seinge that the dutch Church — (which is in the same cittie) refuseth none, but baptiseth all that are brought, without difference, especially, 2.lie. Seing that the Pastor of the English Church, can not satisfie his conscience, that it is lawfull for him so to doe, yea he greately feareth — least Christ will Iudge him guilty, if he suffer himselfe to be in bondage under such a custom, which is contrary to the canon of the Apostle, let every man be perswaded in his owne minde. Rom. 14. 5. and whatsoever is not of faith is sinne. verse 23.

An. 1.

Secondly in regard of the communion of particular Churches amongst themselves, I neither did nor doe refuse to Baptise their Infants, who are not members of this Church: So that I may be satisfied, by some precise Examination, if otherwise they be vnknowne to me, that they are Christians in deed.

When Mr. Pagett asked me, what Questions I would propound, to such as are not members of this Church — nor otherwise knowne to me? I answered, I will inquire of what religion they are of, and of what Church they are members, and concerning that fayth (which they seeme to professe & wherein they promise to educate their Children. It seemes to me that herein, Mr. Pagett dealt extremely with me, in that he rejected all my labour, for a peaceable composing, prudent accomodating, and brotherly ending of matters betweene him and me privatly, or by the counsell of the Elders of his owne Churche, nor would hearken to my advise for accomodation [4] without consent of the Classis.

At laste the matter was brought to five eminent brethren, Pastors of the dutch Church: Who being desired (as it is sayd) by some of the

elders of this Church, that they would indevour to inclyne, Mr. Pagett to some freindly agreement herein, upon Mr. Pagetts request alone did in writing declare their private Iudgment in this question, yet therein they professed, that they very much approved, of my good zeale, and care concerninge the private examination of the parents or Suertyes of such infants, before the child should be baptized, and that the foresayd examination, ought to be ordayned, as farre as it might stand with the edification of the English Church: (having thus sayd, they add afterwards) but if the parents or suertyes shall refuse to be examined, or if for the shortness of time, or for other Iust cause, it can not be done, or, if, when they doe come they shall not seeme to give satisfaction, to the Iudgment of him that examineth them, the infants whose parents or suertyes, appeare to be Christians, and who doe professe the Christian religion, at the reading of the Leiturgie of baptisme, publickly before the Church, shall not for that cause be sent away, without baptisme.

The day following, Mr. Pagett asked me, whether I would rest in the writing of the 5 Ministers? To whome I answered, the writers themselves doe not require this of me and for ought I can see it would give them content, if an order be made in consistory to put an ende to this controversie. But if any marvell, why I did not rest in that writing, I will tell the reasons, for by what right could it be exacted or expected that I should rest in the writing, when first the wryters themselves professed that it was but their owne privat judgment. Secondly, this their privat judgment was nakedly præpounded, without any proofe from the word of God, whose prerogative it is to be rested in, for its owne Authoritie. [5]

Thirdly such a subjection, is greater then may be yeilded vnto any counsell, whether of classis, or Synods, and where it hath been granted or suffered, it hath been the cause of many mischeifs in the Church, for thereby the writings and decrees of men are made infallible, and equall with the word of God, which is intolerable. Fourthly those reverend brethren, take the word christian more largely then I, for they account all christians which professe christian religion at the reading of the leiturgy of baptisme publickly, before the Church, though it be done only in one word, yea or by bowing the head or body, when they say nothing, yea some of them goe so farre, that they hould that the very offering of the child to Baptisme, giveth it a right thereunto, though the parents be not christians, because (they say) it maybe their grandfather or great grandfather were Christians, and another adds (if my memory fayles not) that infants are holy in the roote, if they be borne where the Gospell is preached. But I take the name of Christians (in this question) in the same sense wherein the multitude of beleevers in Antiochia, were called Christians. Act. 11. 21. 26. So that I account them to be christians children whose parents, at least one

of them, in externall profession, is within the Covenant. *Gen.* 17. 10. *Faithfull. Rom.* 4.11. *Called. Act.* 2.39. *Ioyned to some true Church*: 1. *Cor.* 5.12. Because the seale of the covenant belongs only to those in the covenant — nor can a man be judged to be in the covenant, without faith, nor to have faith unlesse he be called, nor to be called, unles he be taken off, from the world, and joyned to the congregation of the faithfull: whereunto agree the divines of the dutch Church in their confessions, and all the reformed Churches, in the harmony of confessions, read allso, Spe. contr. Pelag. Act. 28.34. Kuchl. de baptism. Thes. 15. Dr. Ames. cas. Con. Cap. 27. to conclude, all divines agree in this. [6] As for that which is objected, concerning particular cases that may happen — that which Beza writes in his Epistle to the ministers of Neocomum, or Perkins, or Ames, in their cases, or the Professors of Leyden, in their Theses, makes nothing against my opinion, if they be taken in a good sence, and made to agree with the Patern of wholesom words.

1. Obj. cas. con: An.

The consequence, which some object, for the avoyding whereof, they would have infants, thus promiscuously to be baptized, doe not trouble me, because I have learned of the Apostle that evill is not to be done that good may come thereof, yet in the interim, consider brethren, whether it be lawfull to drive the Pastor from the flock, that strangers may enter into the fold, or to make the Pastors calling voyd, for their sakes, that are uncalled, or to hinder the making of a covenant betweene the Pastor and his people, because he dare not give the seale of the covenant to those that are not in the covenant, or to remove the Porter from the dore of the Lords house that the gentiles may be suffered to enter into the Temple? yea to bringe a detainment upon the English Church for so smalle a matter, as this seemeth to you to be, and not to regard how much the conscience of your brother is indangered, so your customs may be established: neither is this to be sleighted, that, vnles we be thus difficult in this cause, parents that joyne themselves vnto no Church will content themselves in that estate, and live, and dy libertines, if they may have the Privileges of the Church, as if they were members, which who seeth not what an occation of error, and destruction, it may be both to parents and children, so that I can not be perswaded but that in that cause, the conscience is not at all indangered, by denying baptisme, but by baptizing such very much.

2.Obj. An.

Concerning the troubles, which some object may arise in the English Church, vpon this occasion, which [7] allso one applied to me, as if I should be judged to be the author o[f] them. I propounded to you (reverend brethren) to the English Church, yea, to the whole christian world, to judge, who shalbe accompted the cause thereof, whether he that peaceably and privatly

3.Obj. An.

and quietly, desireth to be satisfied in the things whereof he doubteth, or they that imperiously deny him convenient time for that purpose, and doe bind him to such orders and customs, as he can not thinke to be equall.

Afterwards, without the desire or consent of the consistory, the matter was brought into the Classis, they confirmed the writing of the five ministers, and decreed that conformity thereunto should be required of me as a condition whereupon I should be admitted: but I desired the reverend brethren earnestly; not to binde me to that condition, seing that, first, that practise, is grounded upon no authoritie of God's Word.

Secondly, nor upon any canon of any Synod.

Thirdly, nor is required of any one to be chosen to the Pastorall office, as a condition of their admittance, in any reformed Church.

4.lie. This practice is not so absolute, or unlimited in any Churches, as it is required of me.

5.lie. It is propounded — as a greivance in many Dutch Churches, from whence they would be delivered and freed if they could.

6.lie. It is manifest that the noble and learned Polonian Ioannes Alasco Baron and Superintendent of the Church of Strangers of London,[1] in the reigne of Edw. 6th. Did obtain and that under the broad seale of England, liberty not to baptize any such (as) against whom I except, which libertie your Dutch Church doe now injoy vnder our most mighty Kinge Charles, and is not in any thing bound unto any of the canons of the Church of England. [8]

Nevertheles Mr. Paget propounded to me in the consistory that I should consider and conclude with my selfe, when I should give my last answer, whether I would promise to baptize all infants, that should be presented to baptisme, refusing none, unto which question, the next weeke I gave (in the same place) this answer, I dare not promise to baptize all that shall be offered thereunto: Because the promise of doeing it, is a confession that the thing is lawfull to be done, which I doe not beleeve, yet, because I much prize your love, and desire your

[1] John Laski, or À Lasco, was born in Poland in 1499, educated in Cracow and the University of Bologna, and early reached prominent office in church affairs, though suspected of free-thinking and reforming tendencies. While settled at Emden, in East Frisia, he came out as a reformer of the Swiss school, and introduced the naming of four laymen from the congregation to assist the minister in the regulation of discipline, and the assembly of ministers, meeting at Emden weekly from Easter to Michaelmas to examine into the life and doctrine of its members. On the invitation of Cranmer he came to England to attend a conference, and later (1550) was appointed superintendent of the London church of foreign Protestants, organizing his church on the presbyterian model, and he "must be regarded as the founder of the presbyterian form of church government" in England. An account of his active and varied career is to be found in the Dictionary of National Biography, xxxii. 158.

peace, I will, if you desire it, continue assisting Mr. Paget a convenient time, such as we shall agree upon, wherein I may make my selfe knowne better to the Dutch Pastors, and obtayne that, by their meanes, this question may be layd aside, and your Church may obtaine liberty therin, and I may more fully understand the other Customs of the Dutch Church and the state of this Churche. This proposition was cheerfully imbraced by the Elders, who consulted about allowing a years time for this purpose, whereunto I hope, you, reverend brethren, will assent, which if you do, it shalbe my part to endeavour, that neither you may repent of your benevolence, nor the magistrats of their indulgence, but that many thankes may be given, both to you and them, both by Mr. Paget, and by the English Church, by him, for the continuance of an Assistant (such a one as he is) & by it for the preservation of peace amongst them which all desire, wherunto I pray God to give his blessing, and to inrich you, reverend brethren, with the spirit of wisdom, Christian prudence, and the fear of God, that you may well order this busines. So prayeth

Iohn Davenport Englishman Bachelour of divinitie in Oxford. At present, a Stranger in Amsterdam. [9]

Let the reader judge, what I could say less, or more mildly, beinge to give an account of the passages in such a busines? or what passage herein might justly be thought offencive, considering the premises? And who would not have thought, that the Classis would have approved of the desire of the Consistory, that a years time should be granted me, for the ends aforesayd? yet on the contrary, they seemed to be offended at the writing, threatened to complayn to the Magistrats and after much debate, concluded, that I shall have but a monthes time, in which if I doe not answere, categorically that I will conforme to the orders and customs of the dutch Church, and to this, particularly in question, restinge in the judgment and resolution of the 5. dutch Preachers, and joyne with the Classis, or voluntarily desist, they will complayne to the Magistrats, &c. What remained now to be done, but either voluntary desistance on my part, or violent rejection, on theirs? in this month allso Mr. Paget, both in publick and in privat, shewed his aversenes from my joyning with him more then formerly, wherfore to prevent disturbance in the Church, and further disquietment of my self upon serious consideration and good advise I voluntarily desisted, and left the ensuing Coppie therof in Lattin and English, with the elders, with this liberty, either to shew or conceale the same, as they should judge it most expedient, intreating them in these words, or in words tending to this purpose, to expresse my resolution to the Classis. [10]

CERTEINE INSTRVCTIONS

delivered to the Elders of the English Church deputed, which are to be propounded to the Pastors of the Dutch Church in Amsterdam.

First, the reverend brethren, Pastors of the Dutch Church under the Classis of Amsterdam, are to be intreated not to accuse Mr. Davenport, as the cause of this trouble, that that particular question concerning baptisme, between Mr. Paget is brought unto them, which by his will, should have been privatly ended betwen themselves, and the brethren should not have been troubled, more then was necessary with such questions, who have matters of greater moment to take care for in their classicall meeting.

Secondly, let them be certified that, for many weightie reasons, Mr. Davenport can not rest in that writing of the five brethren, whose judgment nevertheles, he doth very much esteeme, concerning which matter (though he hath much to say, yet passing by other things) this alone he professeth at present, that his judgment is, that Dr. Ames, his opinion herein is most agreeable vnto the word of God, who in the 4th booke of his Cases of Conscience. Chap. 27. Concerning baptisme, (having affirmed that it is necessary that the Infants to be baptized be in the covenant, in externall profession, and estimation, in their parents, and that there is hope, that they shalbe instructed, and educated in that covenant afterwards, and that at least one of the parents is within the Church, not out of it, doth conclude, that their negligence can by no meanes bee excused, who doe [**11**] promiscuously admit to baptisme whosoever is offered and by whomsoever.

Thirdly, let them understand, that Mr. Pagets former delayes in this busines of Mr. Davenports call, and his stifnes in that question concerninge baptisme, without yealding any brotherly moderation to Mr. Davenport, so much as to beare with him in so small a matter, (as this seemed both to them and to him to be) and to take vpon himselfe that which he can doe (if occasion require, with full persuasion,) but Mr. Davenport can not doe with inward peace, and his rejecting all Mr. Davenports endeavours for a peaceable composing and ending of this difference privatly betweene themselves, or with the counsell of the Elders of his Church, and certeine sharpe and biting Sermons preached by him, of late, and his privat conferences with certeine persons doe abundantly demonstrate, that Mr. Paget hath no desire that Mr. Davenport should be his Colleague, but doth indevour the hinderance, rather then the furtherance thereof.

Lastly. Seing peace and a greement between the Pastors doth much conduce to the edification of the Church, and seing that (for the reasons aforesayd) there is no hope of peace and Christian concord betwen them,

Mr. Davenport being studious of the peace of the Church, his mind is wholy turned from taking upon him the office of Pastor in the English Church, in this cittie, and doth voluntarily desist from his publicke ministry in this place, and doth commend vnto God the brethren in every good worke, and commit himselfe wholy to the only wise father, to be disposed elsewhere, as it shall please his infinit wisdom, to his owne glory. [**12**]

April 28, An. 1634.

THAT THESE INSTRVCTIONS were written by himselfe, and by himselfe delivered to the Elders deputed, he witnesseth, by subscribing his name, Iohn Davenport.

Though I have deserved better usage at Mr. Pagets hands for allmost 6. Months assistance of him, and have done and suffered so much to preserve his peace, and the Churches, which if I had not exercised much patience and industry, would certeinly have fallen from him, being overburdened with the losse of so many men, so much desired by the congregation, and other passages, which I will for the present spare to mention, Mr. Paget not content with former Injuries addeth these following.

First he sayth & reporteth, that he hath often desired to dispute or confer with me about this poynt, but that I refused it: whereas he knoweth we were in continuall discourse about it diverse weekes, before others knew of the difference, neither should it ever have ben knowne, if any brotherly love had wrought in him, or my advise and desire might have prevayled. In this time there passed 2. or 3. serious conferences between us, wherein this poynt was disputed, which I have in writing by me, nor did I ceasse till he gave over, and sayd, that seeing his judgment could not prevayle with me, he would leave it now to the dutch Preachers, to see if they could prevayle with me; from which I disswad[ed] earnestly, but in vayne, at last he tould me that he would speake with me alone no more about those matters, from that time I have ceased to come to his house.

Secondly, he reported that I am gone from my promise, for I sayd, I would rest in the writing of the five ministers, but now I will not, whereas he knoweth [**13**] that from the first to the last, himselfe never heard me speake any such word, and the night before they went to the Magistrates for their consent to my call, he apprehended my answer rightly, and tould the Elders that he perceived that I did not rest in that writing of the 5 Ministers, further then it made way for an order to be made in the consistory, whereat he shewed himselfe discontented.

1. Ob. An. But one of the Elders sayd so in the consistory. That elder denieth that he sayd so, and knoweth that I sayd otherwayes to him, that which he sayd, (as I am informed)

was only to quiet Mr. Paget, and therfore told him that some part of that writing with an order to be made in consistory, being ioyned together, would settle things, which is farre from an intimation of any purpose in me to conforme therunto.

2. Ob. An. But Mr. Paget would not have gone else to the Magistrate, if he had not understood it to be so?

It hath been often cleared, that he misunderstood that elder, if he so vnderstood him, and if he would not upon other termes have gone to the Magistrate, the whole congregation and I am the lesse beholden to him.

But he did goe to the Magistrat, and at a time when he was not very stronge, and when he came home tould his wife rejoycing, that now the

3. Ob. busines is ended, which he would not have done, if he had not so understood it, and if he had not desired to have Mr. Davenport for his colleague.

Vpon his going to the Magistrate, the busines was not ended, for the Magistrate shewed himselfe unsatisfied, concerning the cause of my

An. comming over, wherin how little he spake to give satisfaction is evident, yea, what he answered, might serve rather to increase the suspition, that beinge ended, and the Magistrats satisfied by other meanes, it was so brought about by one of the Dutch Preachers interposing, that the Magistrats gave but a [**14**] conditionall consent to my call, and made my conformity to this custom of promiscuous baptisinge, the condition therof, so that now matters were in a worse state than before. It is apparent that if Mr. Paget was at that time content to have me joyne with him, it was but conditionally, that I would doe whatsoever he, or the Classis would have me, upon which termes he is content to have others, whom he hath no cause to desire for colleagues with him.

4 Obj. But Mr. Davenport did purpose to yeald, when he came from England else why would he come over having seene the questions that were put to Mr. Hooker?

He saw the questions in London, above a yeare before his comming over, when he was farre from any thoughtes of comming to Amsterdam,

An. or to any place out of his owne land, and when he did come over he professed, both in England, and here, that he came but for 3 or 4 months, for which time, what need was there of his knowing, much lesse practising or conforming to the customs of the Dutch Church, and when he did consider of that question as it was put to Mr. Hooker, there was not either in the question or answer, sufficient light to informe him of that, which time hath discovered herein, neither can any man from thence, know what in this custom is to be disliked.

5. Obj. But Mr. Pa., did so much in that busines, that he sayth, if that were to doe agayne he would not doe it, which sheweth that at that time he desired to have you.

An. If ever he did desire me, I have given him no cause to repent of it, but to desire it more, vnles he takes offence at this, that I dare not venture vpon doeing that which I account unlawfull, or at this, that I report the truth of things as they passed when I am provoked thervnto.

But it seems to me that he never did desire it, for these reasons. 1. bec[ause] before I came hither, when he heard I was to come over, he preached publickly against my resigning up my place, which afterward he justified, when I related to [**15**] him the cause therof, the carriage therin, and the consent of many worthy devines, and of the congregation it selfe therunto.

Secondly because severall times he shewed his dislike of my comming hither, without his desire or consent in sending for me, though it is apparent that God sent me hither at a needfull time, when without me they would have been destitute, he being unable to preach, or to come to the Church.

Thirdly, because he delayed the calling of me so long, that the Elders began to be impatient of his delayes, for what reasons he best knoweth.

4.lie, because as soone as he found my Iudgm[ent] differing in this poynt from his practice, he discovered how litle he desired me, by refusing all meanes of accomodation, though by them the difference might have been hid, and peremptorily resolving to have it brought into the Classis, though I tould him it would make matters worse, he pretended he might not doe otherwise, though some of the Dutch Preachers, sayd it might be best ended in the Consistory, and wished it might be so, and approved of what I had sayd to Mr. Paget, that matters would be worse else: For it is unlikely that the Classis would make an order in favour of me to condemn their owne customes.

5.lie. He pressed earnestly to have Mr. Balmford of the Hage, though he gave him the same answer to the question which I had done before I came into these parts — and since hath nominated Mr. Roe of Flushing — though he in answer to a letter which Mr. Paget sent to him concerning this matter professed himselfe to be of my judgment.

6.lie. Because he hath allways so much urged to have one that hath lived some years in this country, and hath hitherto opposed diverse worthy men that have come immediatly from England, my hope is at an end, and I must ceasse.

Iohn Davenport. [**16**]

THE GREIVANCES AND COMPLAINTS

of the burthened and oppressed members of the English Church in Amsterdam. Anno 1634. The 18. of October.

Whereas offence hath beene taken, that some of us whose names are underwritten, did absent our selves, from the Lords Supper the last communion day, we thought good to give the reason of our absences in writeing, with our names subscribed therunto, being willing to beare our blame, if it shalbe proved to us out of the Word of God, that we have sinned in so doeing; for which we confesse that the cause thereof was no contempt or sleight account of the Lords Supper, the free injoyment whereof in a right manner, we account an especiall priviledge, and whatsoever hindereth us from it a very grievous affliction.

In which respect we are the more deeply, and inwardly greived with the sinfull proceedings of Mr. Iohn Paget, which deprived us of so great a comfort at that time, for howsoever we doe not thinke that the personall sin of any man can defile the ordinance of God to us, if we be meete and fitte to partake thereof, yet we know that a man may make himselfe partake of other mens sinnes, by neglecting his duty, in seeking reformation, and so communicate unworthily.

Wherefore having waited that something should have beene done by others in this case, but in vaine, we durst not approach to the Lords table till we had in some measure discharged our dutyes in this particular, which we thought we should have a fitt opportunity to doe, when we [**19**][1] should be called upon, to shew the reasons of our absence at that time, which formerly we could not obtaine.

We conceive that Mr. Paget doth administer the Lords Supper to us by vertue of his pastorall office wherunto he hath beene called in this Church. And that amongst communicants, especially Pastour and People, there should be an union in Christian love and affection, and communion in all the fruits thereof, one whereof is seasonable admonition, which in case of publick scandall and offence, must be publick, as we conceive it is in this present case, which we would have borne, if the injury had beene but personall to any one of us, and covered, if it had beene a meere infirmity, or but a private offence, but seeing the matter is a publick injury, and obstinately persisted in, to the great dishonour of God & hurt of the Church, we are not to be silent any longer, but by these presents doe testify to all men, principally to you the Elders of this Church, that howsoever Mr. Paget beareth the name, filleth up the place, and doth many works of a Pastour amongst us, yet he doth not behave himself as becometh a Pastour, neither in government nor doctrine towards us.

That he doth it not in government will appeare in these particulars,

[1] Error for 17.

first he depriveth the Church of that liberty and power which Christ hath given it, in the free choyce of their Pastour, contrary to, Act. 6, 3. and 14, 23.

This we prove by his rejecting, and opposing of the most worthy servants of God (who came out of England for the same cause he did) whome the Church with one consent desired, as Mr. Hooker, and Mr. Davenport of later times, and also Mr. Parker, Dr. Ames, Mr. Forbes, Mr. Peters, &c.

Secondly by his pressing others upon the congregation, abuseing his interest in the Magistrate and Classis to that purpose, to the unspeakeable injurye and grief of the Church, in which course he hath prevailed so farre, as to [**20**] [1] procure that none of our owne nation that com immediately from England, though never so fitt and able, should be admitted, but we must be forced to take one that can speake Dutch, and one in this country, though the Lord hath fought against his course hitherto by the great unfitnes of those who have preached here by his nomination or consent in sending for.

Secondly, Mr. Paget depriveth the Elders of their power in Government, for the good of the Church, which will thus appeare.

First when matters have beene referred to the Elders to determine, he hath rejected their counsel, and opinions, sometimes accusing them of partiality, sometimes of insufficiency to judge, when he thought they would conclude against his purpose.

Secondly, when the Elders have declared their judgment with one consent, he hath protested against it, and caryed it to the Classis, though the matter hath beene such, as, seing it might have beene ended in the consistory, ought not to have beene brought thither, as,

First, when the consistory agreed that an order should be made, that all that were not members of this Church should make themselves knowne to Mr. Davenport, that he might be satisfyed concerning them, before they should present their children to Baptisme in this Church, which order would have ended the difference betweene them, if it had taken place, but Mr. Paget protested against it.

Sec. When the Elders agreed that Mr. Dav[enport] should have a years time to goe on in assisting Mr. Paget in preaching, to see if in that time he could procure that this question might be laid downe, and might be fully informed of all the orders and customs of the Dutch Church, wherunto Mr. Paget would bind him to conforme, as a condition wherupon he was to be admitted to the pastorall office in this Church, Mr. Pa[get] opposed this, as if the consistory could not have power to doe so much without the Classis, and many the like [**19**] things might be brought; as that the would not let Mr. Weles Preache whom he professed he had nothing against, without the leave of the Classis, &c.

[1] Error for 18.

Thirdly, he subjecteth this Church under an undue power of the Classis, which he bringeth it under, meerely for his owne ends, as we conceive, without any warrant from the Word of God, as thus appeareth.

First he giveth them power, to serve his ends in keeping off any Minister, whome he would have kept out, for causes pretended by himselfe, (though he would have had them that to this day hould the same opinion) though such as he keepeth out be knowne to be most eminent, able, and Godly men, and such as abhorre all heresye, and Scisme; which he hath caused the Classis to execute upon Mr. Hooker and Mr. Davenport, which we are confident they would not have done but by Mr. Pagets suggestion to the great greife and hurt of the members of this Church.

Secondly, he giveth them power to make lawes, and orders wherunto whosoever wilbe minister of this Church must submit, as to observe all the orders and customs of the Dutch Church, though some of them are such as the Ministers of the dutch, would cast-off if the vastnes of their Church (being but one in so great a city) did not force them thereunto; of which the promiscuous baptizing of all that are brought without difference, or knowledge of them, is one; for which Mr. Davenport is kept out of this Church, though there is no need of tying the minister of this Church to that custome, the congregation being small, and who can thinke that they would tye us so strictly to all their orders, when one of them said to Mr. Paget. (on occasion of his complaint in the Classis of Mr. Davenport not conforming to their orders) Why? your selfe do not conforme to all our orders; and certainly they would all have [**20**] rejoyced, to have heard that all our differences had beene ended amongst our selves; yea he hath of late as we heard, required of the Elders to make an order in the consistory, that whatsoever Minister shall hereafter be called to this Church, should conforme to a writing which he got 5. Dutch Ministers to make in his owne house about that question, and sent it to Mr. Davenport, which we thinke no Godly man will absolutely be bound unto.

Thirdly, he violently, without consent of any of the consistory, bringeth matters from thence, to the Classis, when he can not have his will injustly satisfyed, and so destroys the power of the Church utterly; often answering, they can doe nothing in these cases without the Classis, of which we reverently esteeme for counsell and advice in all difficult matters, that can not be ended amongst our Consistory.

Fourthly, under pretence of asking and taking advise of the Classis, he subjected the Church under their authority and power, as he calls it, tho the Church never acknowledged any such power to be due, as the scriptures in any place giveth not to such a company of Ministers, nor as becometh any except the Apostles that could not erre, to have.

Fourthly he doth not the duty of a Pastour to the particular members of this congregation, we prove after this manner.

First, when Godly persons make their complaint of those that walke disorderly, and that the censures are not executed against offenders, they that seeke the good of the Church are checked and discouraged by him.

Secondly, when some have beene suspended from the Lords table, they may live many yeares, and dye in their sins, before he lookes after them to reclaime them.

Thirdly the visiting of the members at their houses is [**21**] so farre neglected, that not onely divers members never were once visited by him in divers yeares, but also the visitation of the members against [*ie:* in anticipation of?] the sacrament is wholy left off.

Fourthly whereas it was desired, that the weekly sermons on Wendesdayes, and those usuall before the Sacrament, should againe be begun, and assistance hath beene offered him therein without his charge at least, he neither would performe them himself, nor suffer any other we could get to do it, though the Eldership agreed it should besoe.

Secondly for his Doctrine, we have much against it. But to let passe his sleight Sermons, which be many for a man of his abilityes.

First his self preaching, and misapplying of holy truths, which hath beene done with such bitternes of late, that some of us are discouraged, from hearing him, and all of us are sent home with sad hearts, when those of his side are made glad, and insult, who pretend to cleave to Mr. Paget, out of their enmity against us, and those wayes of Godlines wherin we desire and indeavour to walke.

Secondly for his takeing of text of purpose, fit to stirre up contention, as of late, that of the 5. of Esay about the vinyard upon which five first verses he hath taught a great while, which with what bitternes he hath taught against the Godly, many Passages, and members will witnes, and insinuating things against us, that we never thought of, making us vile before the whole congregation, and to be insulted over by unworthy termes, from those of his side: to our great griefe and continuall vexation, and 10. dayes since strained the 5. verse which tels what God will doe to his vineyned, and spake altogther of mens disorders in the Church.

Thirdly he hath preacht very bitterly and provokingly, against privat meetings, not onely long since, but of late, hath done very unjustly, and manifest injurye to [**22**] Mr. Davenport whom he (plainly enough) reproached in his pulpit, about the meeting of divers to heare him open the groundes of religion, in Catechysing the family where he lived, every Lords day after the sermons were ended, at 5. a Clock at night; where many received much edification, which he hath injuriously now deprived us of, to the great grief of many Godly soules.

Fourthly about the question betweene him and Mr. Davenport, for the baptising of all Children that are brought, though the parents were altogether unknowne, he very reproachfully upbraided Mr. Daven-

port of errour, and gave out that he would answer him in the pulpit, and when the day came wherein we expected the performance of his promise, he avoyded the question betweene them, and fell upon the Anabaptists and Brownists, from both which Mr. Davenport differeth in that poynt, as he hath tould him formerly, and offered him to declare in publick how farre he differed from them therein, is this brotherly dealing, thus to use a minister who hath so loveingly assisted him and us, in our necessity? and to traduce him falsly and injuriously in this manner, and all to the end that he may seeme to justify his keeping of him out of the Church, whom the Church hath so much desired, and bewaileth that they are deprived of him, which the Classis at first consented unto (though they knew the difference) till Mr. Paget brought it againe to them by force, to have them make an order to condemne their owne practice, and therefore wee conceive Mr. Paget the onely cause we are deprived of such heavenly means for our Edification.

Now we pray you our Elders in the feare of God to take these our complaints to heart, and to give your judgment whether it be not fit, and more then time, that some lawfull course be taken for the redresse of these grievances, and to consult which way, it may best be done; that so in that great day of the Lord you may give up your account, [**23**] for the discharge of this Trust committed unto you, with joy, which if you shall upon this our solemne complaint neglect to doe, we doe protest before the Lord, & his Church, to be wholy guiltles of all these evills, having done our utmost indeavour for the redresse of the same; & the sinne thereof, to lay upon Mr. Iohn Paget, our present pastour, as the principall cause of all these evills, and next upon your selves, who have the cheifest authority in the Church, for the redresse of all evils.

So beseeching the Lord to blesse our indevours, and desireing you to cause these our complaints to rest upon record in the register of this Church, that after times may see how these evils have beene witnessed against, we subscribe our names as followeth, desireing also, that place may be left in the register for all others, that hearing hereof, shall desire to have their names underwritten, for the more full witnes of these things, because we have not gathered many names, as we could have done of many, (because you might have nothing to take offence at that way) which we conceive would gladly have joyned with us herein, not onely of men but of many Godly women also, that are of the same mind with us.

W. B.[1]	L. G.
N. I.	T. F.
I. G.	H. P.
I. P.	A. H. [**24**]
I. St.	

[1] William Best.

A PROTESTATION

Made and Publiſhed by Iohn Davenporte *upon occaſion of a pamphlett*

Intitled

A IVST COMPLAINT AGAINST AN VNIVST DOER *publiſhed by a nameles perſon.*

Pro. 26. 17.

He that paſſeth by, and medleth with Strife belonging not to him, is likeone that taketh a dogge by the eare.

Mat. 10. 16. 17.

Be yee wiſe as Serpents, and harmles as Doues, but beware of Men.

Pranted at Rotterdam, by *Iſaac from Waeſbergbe*, upon the Steygher, in the Fame. cIↃ IↃc xxxv.

We who last time, did not with our brethren above written abstaine from the Lords Supper, yet desire to joyne as one with them in these complaints, and Grievances, and therefore have underwritten our names as follow.

S. O.	E. P.
D. B.	L. D.
T. A.	T. P.
R. P.	E. S.
I. H.	F. D.
G. B.	P. L.

After these grievances were given unto the consistory, divers members more hearing thereof, desired to joyn in the same and subscribed their names allso.

Now for conclusion, since the case so stands as is here reported, under such plentifull testimonie, what remains, but that every one that would approve himself to God (if redresse cannot be had) labour to keep himself pure, and not partake of others sins, by continuing the servants of men, against the power and liberty purchased by Christ for his Church of Saincts, knowing the way of the upright is to depart from evill. Stand fast therefore, quitt you like men, in striving for the maintenaunce of this part of the faith, and the Lord wilbe with you if you wilbe faithfull unto him.[1]

A Protestation | Made and Published by Iohn Davenporte | vpon occasion of a pamphlett | Intitled | A Ivst Complaint against an vnivst Doer | published by a nameles person. . . . Pranted at Rotterdam, by Isaac from Waesberghe, upon the Steygher, in the Fame. cIↃ IↃc xxxv.[2]

The third day of this present month of Ian: 1635. New Stile, at noone, the fornamed booke was delivered into my hands, by a Reverent Brother, which when I had received, and read the title page, and considered the drift of the Publisher, I was amased to see my name prefixed and passages, which concerned me, *Published*, without my knowledge, and usshered with such harsh and unsavoury language, and Scriptures so wrested and missapplyed: nor could I have rest in my Spirit, till I had resolved upon this *Protestation*, which I now publish

[1] Referring to this paragraph, Paget said: "a Brownist did print it [the pamphlet], with a schismaticall addition in the end."

[2] An unpaged tract of six leaves. The text is reprinted from a photograph of the original in Bishop Williams's library, London, and the errors are reproduced to show the difficulties encountered in having English writings printed in Holland, by Dutch printers. The copy in the Williams library is the only one thus far traced.

for the declaration, both of mine innocencie in this matter, and of my hearty dislike of this course.

First, therefore, I doe solemnley and sadly protest these three following particulars.

1. That I know not, nor can yet learne, who is the *Publisher* thereof.

2. That he had not my approbation, or consent to this *Publishing* of it.

3. That I doe account the injury done herein so greate, that I know not how the *Publisher* of it shall be able to make satisfaction, other wise, then by revoking his books, burning the whole impression, or printing another, that may passe as publickly, as this is like to doe, in acknowledgement of his fault.

Secondly, what motive set this *Publisher* upon this worke I know not nor, can I [i]magine, unles I knew the man. If the *arrow against the Seperation* Stick still in his side, and cause him‖thus to kick, and fling, let him know that recrimination is no *APOLOGY*, and books are better answered by arguments, then reproaches, and it is more wisdom to heale a mans selfe, then to wound another, to clense himselfe, then to besmeare another. If some other, not ingaged in that quarrail, be the doer of it, I wish him to cõsider seriously, whether some by-respect, or secret distemper have not biassed his spirit a wronge way, or imbittered it too much.

A Booke made by Mr. Paget

A Booke be made by Mr. Paget

Thirdly: seeing the *Publisher* consealeth his name, saying, *Published by one that* &c. I pray him to informe himselfe of three things.

1. Whether that one be not, in this act, an injurious one? If so; had that evill bene a raigning sinne in him, which, I hope, is but, his infirmitie, it would have bene found no small sinne in the punishment, which he may yet escape by repentance 1. *Tim.* 1. 13. 14. 16.

1. *Quære.*

As for my selfe; had I bene Silent in this case; every man would have concluded mee guilty: yea, it is already reported that I am the author of it, and so, besides the injury done to my selfe (being represented to the publick view as a cõtentious person, which I naturally abhorr, and by Grace much more) the injury also would have fallen upon so many persons, as, upon this occasion, should have bene scandalised by evill surmises unjustly received against me, which is Slander in hearte.

2. Whether that *one* be not, in this acte, *one, that soweth discord among Brethren*, which is *one* of the *sixe things the Lord hateth and of* the *seaven that are an abhomination to him. Pro. 6. 16. 17. 18. 19.* For, if this was not the end, or intent of the publisher (as I will hope, it was not) yet, if God doe not, beyond ex-

2. *Quære.*

pectatiõ, mercifully prevent it, it may be the end or event of the worke. But *the Lord rebuke Sathan! The beginning of Strife is as the opening of Waters*, sayth *Salomon pro. 17. 14.* If any man should goe a‖bout to open the sluses, how soone might these NETHERLANDS be drowned, before they could be stopped againe? And, who knoweth not that a little Child may fire an house, which a thousand men cannot quench?

Thirdly. Whether that *one*, be not in this acte, a *Buisy body? 2. Thes. 3. 11. one*, that *Busieth* himselfe *in other mens matters. 1. pet. 4. 15.* For, if the *publisher* be not a member of that Church; what calling hath he to interpose himselfe thus publickly in matters, which properly and only concerne that Church? If he be a member of that Church; what warrant hath any particuler mẽber to publish those grievances to the world, which are by them selves referred to theyre Consistory, before matters have bene there discussed, and determined, or, at least, before the issue, and conclusion, which there shall be put to the question, hath bene sufficiently demanded and expected? who ever he be; who called him to intrude himselfe into matters that appertame to me, so farr as to publish a privat wrighting, with my name to it, withont my knouwledg, and against my mind?

3. *Queere.*

I leave the publisher to satisfie him selfe in these particulers, which whilest he en deavoreth to doe, I wil labour to satisfye all men concerning myne innocencie in the first part of the booke, leaving the second part of the booke to the members of that Church, whom it concerneth.

First, I confesse, that, about sixe months since, having bene often provoked by injurious reports, about my letter to the Classis, and about my Tenet against *promiscuous Baptizing* all that are brought (especially in such a place as *Amsterdam*) and about my desisting, and about passages betweene Mr. *Paget*, and me, and having bene much sollicited by particular freinds, to give my answers to such objectiõs, as were dayly brougt to me, and, being informed that the Duch in that citty, and some of the‖members of that Church, and many of our nation, in other parts of these Contries, were by misreports prejudiced against me, and, seing that I purposed shortly to leave these Contries: upon such necessity, and much importunity, I was constrayned to sett downe those particulars in wrighting, that some freind might be able to speake in the cause of the dumb, and to cleare the trueth in my absence.

Secondly, I professe, that no man hath the originall Copie, but my selfe, and that, for aught I know, I never gave it to more then two to peruse, and whether they both transcribed Copies out of it, or no, I know not, but they both returned myne to me againe, which, I have in my keeping, at this instant, and my intent, in communicating it to those two, was only to inable them to give privat satisfaction to those

that should require it of them, and so to inable those to satisfye others, in a private way, as may appeare, in that I applyed my selfe, in that wrighting, onely to such things as were then objected, concealing other things which I might have added for my further clearing, vn les more publick provocation should make it necessary to publish all together. Which I have hither to forborne, expecting when God would sweetly order, and dispose the spirits of pastor and people, in that Church, to vnity and concord betweene themselves, in some conclusions, and wayes of advancing theyre mutuall good and comfort agreable to the Gospell, and rule, which Christ hath left for his Churches to walke by, which I have hoped hitherto that God would, in time, effect, and doe still hope and pray for it: The grant whereof would be to me, matter of vnfeigned joy and thanksgiving (not with standing al the Injuryes which I have Suffered in that place) wher soever it should please God to pich my tent afterwards.

Thirdly, From hence it will follow, that I am al to-gether innocent in this Matter, which, as I knew not of it, till it was‖brought to me in print, so I vtterly dislike, both for the vnseasonablenes of the worke, and for the vnreasonable, and vncharitable bitternes of the *Publisher*.

Lastly, my request therfore is,

1. to *M. Paget* that he will rest satisfied with my ingenuous profession, and acquitt me (as he aught) of any suspicion of guilt, in this particular.

Secondly. To the publisher, that, seing he omitted to cleare my innocency in his first publication of this *Phamphlett*, he will now do me so much right as to affixe this sheete of paper, in stead of a postscript, to his booke, or disperse it among all persons, to whose hands his booke shall come, or is come. But he will most gratifie me, if he make one good fire of both together.

Thirtly. To all men, to whose hands the other book shall come, that they will spedily send this after it, or stiche this with it: assuring them selfes, that, if I could have forseene this injury, I would have prevented it. For, how soever I have written nothing in that declaration, but the truth (which I am also ready to confirme, as occasion shall require) yet, I affect not to make that publick which may be ended privaty, much lesse to be the first in a contention, whether publick or private.

Now the very God of peace, who also is *Love*, vnite our hearts to himselfe, and one to another in that *Love*, which is out of a *Pure hart, and a good Conscience, and faith vnfeined:* and inable vs to *keepe the vnity of the Spirit, in the bond of peace*, even for his sake, who is *the prince of peace*, and in whom *Wee, who sometimes were afarr off, are made nigh by the blood of Christ, who is our peace!*

Amen.

Mr. FORD also said:

This letter is from the leading follower of Jackson in New Hampshire, and one of the most bitter partisans of the day. It is a political paper of high value because of its characteristics.

ISAAC HILL TO HENRY LEE.

CONCORD, N. H. Sept. 16, 1828

Maj. H. LEE,

DEAR SIR, — Your very kind and flattering letter of the 13th was received last evening. I had anticipated great pleasure in seeing and conversing with you at this place, having had an intimation from my friends at Boston that it was your intention to come here. I shall be under the necessity of going to Washington about the tenth of October, and may then meet you on the way to or at that place.

The estimate I have made before the public of the success of the Jackson Electoral ticket in this State is such an one as I privately entertain. We broke ground and sustained the shock earlier than any other State of New-England: indeed, in this respect we were before New York, where every indication is now favorable to the cause of the illustrious citizen of Tennessee. But we have in this State a more powerful federal party (entirely in favor of Adams, notwithstanding he accused their leaders of treason to Jefferson) than either New-York or any State south, with perhaps the exception of Maryland and Delaware. You know that in every crisis of the republican party, New-England has gone against the united democracy of the nation; and New-Hampshire with the rest. Our first political revolution was not accomplished until 1805, in the election of John Langdon for Governor: in 1798, with the exception of Langdon and a few sterling patriots, there could not be said to be in this State a party friendly to the principles of Thomas Jefferson: in 1809, our commercial difficulties and the embargo again brought up the old aristocracy. We again beat them in 1810, with the aid of the name of old John Langdon. In 1812, at the fall election, the war again brought us under, and so we continued minus about 2000 of 40,000 votes until the peace in 1816. Yet such was our democratic spirit during that memorable contest — I mean the spirit of the minority, for the majority invariably rejoiced at our military reverses — that our little State rendered a more efficient and more durable aid to the country in the ranks of the army than any other of the New-England States. The old republicans — the steady friends of the cause here — have never been office seekers. Hence during our prosperity, those who had left the ranks of the aristocracy embracing the most unprincipled corps of office hunters, contrived to fill all the principal offices and to assume all the consequence of *leaders of the republican party*. In this condition the commencement of the present Presidential

contest found us. Mr. Adams had the art with the aid of Webster, Everett &c. early to enlist this corps: Sam. Bell came home from Washington in May 1826, determined to carry over the democratic party to Adams, and to prostrate all who would not declare for him "right or wrong." His first effort was directed against the New Hampshire Patriot and its editor, to whose labors in his behalf he owed all the political consequence he ever had. The whole clan of office seekers entered the coalition: all of them, while considered republicans, had been sustained by the Patriot; but they now considered the Patriot as the only obstacle in their way. They proceeded to establish *republican* administration papers to aid the numerous federal papers already in existence, and employed agents to make personal application to every subscriber of the Patriot to discontinue that and take theirs, alledging that I had turned federalist, &c. Their success, after expending thousands of dollars, *obtained somewhere*, was much less than might have been anticipated. Instead of putting down the Patriot, their exertions against it had the tendency to increase its circulation during a single year from 3500 to more than 5000!

I verily believe, that even with our "leaders" turned most inveterate traitors, we should have carried the last March election, had not the outrageous falsehood at the very moment of the election been palmed on the people by Sam Bell from Washington, that Madison and Monroe would stand as Adams candidates for Electors in Virginia; and had not at the same time about 100,000 of Binns' vile Coffin Handbills been circulated, to operate among the electors who had not at hand the means of refutation. Two hundred votes rightly disposed would have given us, as it was, a Jackson majority in 220 State representatives, and the same number would have given us a majority in the Executive Council.

Since that time there is evidence of an increase of the Jackson party in every town from which we get information: assurances are made that they will gain enough in the several towns, to give us a majority in November; and such are the indications. But the Adams party fight for their lives — their cause is desperate; and besides the Presidential question, they fight for the State ascendancy. Their recent defeats in the West dishearten them as to the great national result: but the late success of the Adams party in Maine encourages them to persevere and hold on to *New Hampshire* as a New England federal State. Heretofore in the fall elections, we have not polled so large a vote as at the annual elections in March; and the falling off has generally been more on our side than theirs — the aristocracy living in the villages near the polls, and the democracy embracing more of the yeomanry at a distance.

As it is our efficient men are all at work; they are men of principle,

who are not disheartened at reverses, and will persevere. If we had not lost the election in Maine, I should have calculated confidently on the success of the Jackson ticket here in November. As the case stands, I believe the chance to be at least equal. At any rate, this State will be restored next March, if, contrary to all calculation, Jackson and the cause of the people shall not fall before the vast means arrayed against them: in such a case, I should fear that the people will not in the present age again obtain the ascendancy.

Permit me here, sir, to introduce through you to our political friends at the South my own peculiar case. For twenty years, during which I have stood at my present post in this State, I have been under the "wrath and curse" of the vindictive Aristocracy. No effort has been spared to destroy the good opinion which the people have entertained of me. During the war I had "all the talents and all the religion" arrayed against me, and the whole force of New England clannish prejudice to resist. I withstood the enemy as a writer alone here in the centre of the State, and fearlessly repelled the assaults of open and secret foes to the cause of the country, urging every motive to patriotism. The cowardly or *more prudent* rascals who skulked at that time, on the first return of democratic sunshine and prosperity, came in and bore off the spoils, leaving me and such as me to be still "hewers of wood and drawers of water" under the idea that we had been *too decided* and *too open* to be popular! Yet such was the estimation in which the republican yeomanry in my neighborhood held my services, they took me up for the State Senate four years (and I have never pressed myself into the service, having always in view the advancement of principles, rather than personal honor or emolument) and I was elected in spite of the most strenuous efforts of the aristocracy. My greatest triumph over my personal enemies here, however, was in the election as a member of the House of Representatives in 1826 for this town by about 100 majority, where we had during the war 100 against us. That election, strange as may seem, was a greater mortification to my political enemies in this State than had been in other contested elections the loss of their Governor. But every thing that has been done for me has been done by the people: one reason probably has been that I have at no time been an applicant for executive favors. Last March my re-election to the State Senate was prevented, although I received more votes than any successful candidate had ever before received in the same district. The question now was, Jackson and Adams: hired voters were brought into the district to turn the scale against me in this district which was always federal during the war: much money was expended and applied from without; and the result was in the whole 1800 to 2000 votes, being 500 more than was ever before polled in the district.

This presidential contest has brought upon me new trials, and personal sacrifices that I had never anticipated. I found in the early part of 1826, as soon as I discovered the course Bell, Bartlett, &c. were pursuing at Washington, that with me it was "fight or die." And against all the weapons and the means in their hands, I have had to interpose my little personal property as well as all my powers of mind. My extra expenditures in the way of pamphlet publications, &c. in this State for the last year have exceeded $1000. I knew that the State of Vermont was radically democratic: we wanted all the aid of the democracy of New England; and about the beginning of 1826, I went to Boston, purchased press and types, and started a newspaper with a younger brother at Montpelier, the seat of the State government. To the influence of this press I have good reason to believe is it owing that at the election which has just taken place more than half of the State representatives in the northerly half of that State are friends of Gen. Jackson. I have advanced in all for the support of that press little short of $4000. Whether any portion of it will return to me is extremely problematical.

Your personal acquaintance with the leading democrats of the South will enable you to lay before them the hard case of those who have fought the battles in New-England. It should be the policy of a republican administration to foster that *moral courage* which has here stemmed the torrent to brush off those hungry insects who will buzz around Gen. Jackson as though they constituted all the political and moral worth in the North. You will see as soon as the contest is decided those men who have descended to the depths of infamy in search of materials to blacken his name, the very first to fawn around him like spaniels.

Your estimate of Judge Woodbury's popularity may be true at this time in relation to Portsmouth; but, I believe, is not correct in regard to the State. He enjoys a deserved popularity with the mass of the democratic party. To this popularity his zeal and labors (particularly while in Congress, and especially on the bill for the relief of the revolutionary officers) have essentially contributed. The Jackson party in Portsmouth does not embrace the fashion, or what Charles King calls "good society": and with this part Woodbury and family have generally associated. Nevertheless, it embraces not less intelligence and more worth, but is confined to those in more humble and more laborious walks. Woodbury fails there in not mixing more with his friends. Decatur is *sui generis*: we can pardon in him what could be scarcely forgiven in others. He has done much for our cause in one town of Maine, to wit, Kittery. Perhaps he has gained few friends to Jackson elsewhere. Still we may give him credit for good intentions.

I shall send to the care of Dr. Ingalls for you, half a dozen copies of

my address on the 8th Jan, half a dozen Address at Portsmouth — the same number of a pamphlet exhibiting the spirit of the Jacksonians in this State on the 4th July, 1828, and two copies of the proceedings of the Jackson Convention in June, 11,000 copies of which have been circulated. The address accompanying these proceedings was a hasty effort of my own — it can claim no credit for originality; but I think it a successful effort in proving the consistency of those principles I have contended for during the term of twenty five years, having commenced politician when an unlettered apprentice in a printing office at the age of fourteen years!

I shall, if I have not tired you out with this long epistle, be happy to continue a correspondence with the man who has discovered so much and so transcendant powers of mind in defending the most deserving, but most abused citizen of our Republic. Your friend and most obedient,

ISAAC HILL.

The Secretary of the Historical Commission of North Carolina, Mr. R. D. W. Connor, courteously sent a copy of the following letter from a North Carolinian visiting in Boston in 1831:

FREDERICK S. BLOUNT TO JOHN H. BRYAN.

TREMONT HOUSE, BOSTON, June 29, 1831.

MY DEAR BROTHER, — I feel gratified that I concluded some week or two since in New York to visit this City before my return to the South; and I can assure you I feel amply repaid for the time I have spent here in the enjoyment of the refined and intellectual society which one meets with in this city. Mr. Webster was absent when I arrived here; he has not yet returned, and as I shall leave here this afternoon for Hartford I shall not have the pleasure of seeing him. Through the kind offices of Dr. Channing, a medical gentleman of high standing in this city and brother to the celebrated Rev. Dr. Channing I have been introduced into the families of the most eminent citizens. Among them that of Mr. Quincy President of Cambridge who asked many questions relative to his old friend Mr. Gaston; his lady was minute in her inquiries respecting a young Mr. Bryan[1] who accompanied Mr. G. and his daughter Susan, on a visit to this City some two or three years ago. I found a young Mr. Jones[2] of Shocco in our State a Student in the Law School attached to Harvard and in company with him called upon the Ex-President Adams at Quincy. He was cordial in his welcome, and the grand *exposé* lately at Washington was the principal

[1] John H. Bryan, to whom this letter was written.

[2] Joseph Seawell Jones, author of "Defence of the Revolutionary History of the State of North Carolina from the Aspersions of Mr. Jefferson" (Boston, 1834).

topic of conversation. He (very much to my surprise) advocated Mr. Eaton's conduct, and expressed much disapprobation of the manner in which he had been persecuted. He however thought it would have been best if he had retired without putting the character of his lady at issue before the American people. Mr. Adams is very unpopular in Boston, and is treated without attention by many of the first families here. The cause of this coolness towards him originated in the celebrated charge made by him against certain citizens of this city who were members of the Hartford Convention. I understood from a son of Mr. Dearborn that the vindication and appeal of Messrs. Otis &c was the joint production of each one of the gentlemen who were implicated in the charge, and that they all prepared a reply which they embodied into one.

I attended on Monday at 12 o'clock in the lecture room of the Harvard Law School a lecture by Judge Story on Constitutional Law. He discussed the question "Whether the Constitution was a compact, agreement or covenant, touched slightly upon the doctrine so fashionable in South Carolina, and closed with a most beautiful and elegant eulogium on the prosperity & happiness of our federated form of government." I was very much pleased with his simple and unaffected manners — and received from him a very polite invitation to call and spend an evening with him.

The Southern Mail of last night brought us intelligence of the destruction of the State House at Raleigh and the Statute [*sic*] of Washington by Canova. This is a truly distressing and appalling catastrophe, distressing from the carelessness with which those to whom we owe the misfortune, manifested in their conduct, and appalling from the loss of a specimen of art which can never be replaced. Mr. Buxton the minister of the Episcopal Church in Fayetteville is now in this City on his return from the towns to the Northward of this, whither he has been to solicit donations for rebuilding the Church in Fayetteville. He informs me that he has been successful beyond his most sanguine expectations, and has no doubt but he will receive ample means for the accomplishment of his purpose. The citizens here have subscribed largely to the wants of the destitute & suffering inhabitants of Fayetteville and have already remitted them the sum of $10,500.[1] I have visited in the neighbourhood all the scenes which our Revolution have alike made matters of interest and history, Breeds and Bunker Hills, the Lakes in the interior, the Athenæum containing a splendid and valuable Library [*torn*], Medals, specimens of sculpture, natural and artificial [*torn*] &c. &c. They are admirably arranged and kept in a state of fine preservation. The cause of Mr. Clay prospers most gloriously here, and the present administration suffers from daily desertion. The late proceedings at

[1] The town had recently been visited by a destructive fire.

Washington create here no other feelings than those of pity and contempt for the weakness of its head, and the inefficiency of its members. Tender the assurances of my love to all my relatives, and believe me to remain truly and affectionately

Your Brother

FRED: S. BLOUNT.

N. B. The girls here are the most beautiful, engaging and accomplished in the world, — those of North Carolina excepted. I shall be at home by the 25th of July to prepare for Onslow Court.

Address: The Hon. John H. Bryan, Newbern, No. Ca.

NOVEMBER MEETING

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the senior Vice-President, SAMUEL A. GREEN, in the chair.

The record of the October meeting was read and approved; and the list of donors to the Library during the last month was read.

Dr. GREEN announced the gift, by the New England Society of New York, of a bronze medal, recently struck by Tiffany and Company, to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary, in 1905, of the founding of that Society.

Dr. GREEN then said:

My first duty this afternoon is to announce the death of Colonel Theodore Ayrault Dodge, a Resident Member, which took place at his *château* in France, on October 26. He was a native of Pittsfield, where he was born on May 28, 1842. He received his early education abroad, having studied in Berlin and Heidelberg, and graduated at the University of London in 1861. At the outbreak of the Rebellion he returned home and enlisted in the ranks, and served in every capacity from that of a private to a colonel. Later he was given a commission in the regular army, and also four brevets, for gallant services on different occasions, and was placed on the retiring list for wounds received in the line of duty. He was chosen a member of the Society, on May 14, 1896, and later he gave a complete set of his historical and military works, — a valuable addition to the Library. In accordance with custom a tribute will be paid to his memory at the next meeting by our associate Colonel Thomas L. Livermore, his friend, who is to-day temporarily absent from his home.

It is also my duty to announce the death of Henry Charles Lea, an Honorary Member of the Society, which took place in Philadelphia on October 24. He was first chosen a Corresponding Member on October 14, 1875, and later, on October 9, 1892, was transferred to the Honorary list. An active worker in many branches of useful labor, he enjoyed a wide reputation

both at home and abroad. Professor Charles H. Haskins will prepare the customary tribute to him, which will be read at the next meeting. The passing of an Honorary Member is now made a special occasion, when formal and suitable action is taken by the Society. Membership on this roll implies services in historical or literary work of more than usual importance.

I wish to call attention to a new volume of Proceedings, third series, volume II., containing the minutes of the meetings from October, 1908, to June, 1909, both inclusive, which has been received by the members within the last few days. It will be noticed that a change has been made in the numbering of the volume, which is to be known as "Vol. 42" in sequence from the beginning, as well as "3 series II."

In connection with this subject I wish to quote from a letter received from the Hon. John Bigelow, who in a fortnight will be ninety-two years old, and is the last survivor of those who have held important European diplomatic positions during the War of the Rebellion. For some years Mr. Bigelow's name has stood at the head of our list of Corresponding Members, he having been chosen at the February meeting of 1875. Under date of November 6, 1909, he writes me:

> The Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society constitute a body of historical literature many times more valuable than those of any other historical society in the United States, — so far as I know; and by your new Index of the Proceedings for twenty-three years you have fully as many times increased the value of those Proceedings by making them so conveniently accessible to the student. It is a model piece of work of its kind and one which any student can pore over with interest and profit, even though he has none of the volumes to the contents of which his attention is invited.

JONATHAN SMITH read the following paper:

THE MASSACHUSETTS AND NEW HAMPSHIRE BOUNDARY LINE CONTROVERSY, 1693–1740.

In 1628 the Council of Plymouth granted to Sir Henry Roswell and five others, and to their associates, the land lying between a point three miles south of the Charles River and a point distant three English miles to the northward of the river called Monomack, otherwise Merrimack, "or to the northward of any and every parte thereof." In 1677 Charles

II and Council, upon the report of the Lord Chief Justices, in a controversy between the Colony of Massachusetts Bay and Mason and Gorges, concerning the line, defined the boundary in the same language. Again, in 1691, in the charter of William and Mary creating the Province of Massachusetts Bay, the northern boundary of the Province was fixed at the same place by identical language. The description of this north line, in the decree of 1677 and also in the charter of 1691, is obviously copied from the charter granted by the Council of Plymouth, dated 1628. At the last date the true course of the Merrimack River was unknown. In 1677 and in 1691 the people of the colonies knew its direction. Evidently the King and his advisers cared very little about the facts, or at least took no steps to discover them, and were content simply to reaffirm the line as originally described. Their conduct in the matter shows how indefinite the knowledge of the English authorities was relating to colonial geography and their loose and careless methods of transacting business connected with their New England possessions.

In this instance the ignorance or carelessness of the granting power gave rise to a bitter controversy between the two provinces which lasted for forty-eight years, brought suffering and heavy loss to many deserving people, and inflicted wounds which were not healed until the Revolutionary War.

In the controversy New Hampshire took the ground that when the grants were made, the earlier as well as the later, the English authorities supposed the general course of the river to be easterly from its source to its mouth;[1] that the line was fixed under mistake of a very material fact, and that it should be finally established where, under the wording of the charters, it would be if the river had an easterly direction through its whole length. Massachusetts clung to the strict letter of the grants,[2] and as far as the language describing the line went had right upon its side. Under a well-known rule of equity law, however, the justice of the case was upon the side of New Hampshire. It was a vital matter with our northern neighbor, and meant to her much more than the twenty-five hundred square miles of territory involved in the dispute, for her very existence as an independent province

[1] N. H. State Papers, xix. 243; [2] 299.

was included in the issue, and this was probably the key to her conduct in the premises. The action of Massachusetts, taken possibly to strengthen her claim to the disputed territory before the King and Council, and the consequences of that action to her grantees and those claiming under her, concern this paper.

In 1693 New Hampshire took the initial step by appointing a commission to run the line between the two provinces, and invited Massachusetts to join in the work.[1] The request was declined.[2] From that time forward for twenty-three years, interrupted, it is true, by several Indian wars, she renewed repeatedly her efforts to settle the matter, and each time was defeated by the Massachusetts authorities. At last, in 1726, the State appealed directly to the King and Council.[3] This move stirred the Bay-State officials to vigorous action.

Prior to 1726 this State had granted but three townships, or parts of townships, in the disputed territory. It had also made many grants of land in plats varying from one hundred to one thousand acres each, to soldiers in consideration of military duty done, or to their heirs, to officials for valuable public service, and to Massachusetts towns on account of their burdens of taxation, or for schools and public improvements. Up to that date, 1726, it had granted but eleven townships in whole or in part in the preceding one hundred years in what is now New-Hampshire territory. These had been given to actual settlers, and as a general rule no conditions had been attached to the grants. When it was found that by the appeal the question would have to be settled by a tribunal in England, the Massachusetts authorities entered upon a more radical policy, taken, it is reasonable to believe, in order to strengthen their cause before the court which was to decide it. It was apparent to them that if this controverted territory was settled by Massachusetts citizens, bound to her by ties of nativity, business interests and title to the soil, it would furnish a strong, if not conclusive, reason for a judgment in their favor. It is to be frankly said that no declaration by any Massachusetts official has been found which avows that to be the reason for this action following the appeal of New Hampshire in 1726. But that such was

[1] N. H. State Papers, XIX. 181; [2] Mass. Archives, III. 479.
[3] N. H. State Papers, XIX. 200.

the real motive, concealed though it was, the evidence does not seem to admit of much doubt. The fact is shown by the manner Massachusetts dealt with this land after the appeal in comparison with the way it had dealt with it before. The New Hampshire authorities so believed, and openly charged it in their papers and arguments at the trial.[1] Some of the historians of the period openly suggest it[2] or admit the existence of such a belief,[3] and when the commissioners gave their alternative decision to the King and Council in 1739, they had the facts of these grants and the many settlements made under them inserted in the papers of the Massachusetts case when it went to the higher tribunal.[4]

The reason publicly given for many of them was, however, very different. It was said that this disputed territory might be employed to form a barrier against Indian raids.[5] The Canadian Indians in their attacks upon the settlers entered the country either by the head waters of the Connecticut, or else by the Champlain valley, crossing Vermont by trails from the lower end of the lake to the Connecticut River; and they either passed down the Connecticut valley, or crossed by another trail to Lake Winnipiseogee and thence marched down the Merrimack valley. It was thought that if a line of towns was granted and settled between Dunstable and Northfield thence up the Connecticut to Bellows Falls, across the country from Bellows Falls to Penacook, and thence down the Merrimack to Dunstable, a barrier against savage invasion would be created that would make life and property comparatively secure.

On April 30, 1726, the New Hampshire legislature voted to instruct its agent in London, Henry Newman, to lay the question of the boundary line before the King and ask him to settle it.[6] In December of the same year a committee, previously appointed, reported to the Massachusetts legislature that, "considering the Forwardness of the great Number of the Petitioners to Settle themselves and their Children" on lands,

[1] N. H. State Papers, XIX. 235–238, 536, 537; IV. 844; V. 928.

[2] Douglass, Summary, I. 424; Hutchinson, II. 344.

[3] Hutchinson, II. 299.

[4] N. H. State Papers, XIX. 403.

[5] Mass. House Journal, Message of Gov. Dummer, May 29, 1724, of Gov. Belcher, June 1, 1732, and May 28, 1736.

[6] N. H. State Papers, XIX. 201.

and "the shortning the Western Frontiers more than Sixty Miles, if a Line of Towns were settled between Dunstable and Northfield and thereby the Charge of the Government in time of War would be sunk."[1] The House voted to survey and lay out a line of towns, each six miles square between these two points. There were differences between the House and Council over some details of the Act, and the measure was put over till the following year, when it was enacted by the legislature.[2] At the same time it was voted to lay out a line of towns between Dunstable and Penacook, and three towns next to the Connecticut River.[2] In these resolutions the House asserted that the settlement of these towns would "Vastly lessen the Charge of the Defence of this Government in time of War."

The towns laid out on the south line were never granted, but in 1728 two towns on the eastern line were.[3] The others were not voted until 1735 and 1736, when the legislature granted not only three towns on the Connecticut River but also a line of nine towns from Penacook straight across the State to Bellows Falls.[4] Between 1728 and 1736 the subject was kept before the legislature at every session. In his message, in June, 1732, Governor Belcher called special attention to the subject, and again, in 1736, said: "I hope this Court will give all proper Encouragement for a Speedy settlement of those Lands, which will fix such a Barrier for that part of our Frontier, as will be of great Safety to the Province upon any Rupture that may happen with our Neighbours."[5] Such conditions were coupled with these grants as, it was hoped, would secure their speedy and permanent settlement. The grantees were required within a limited period to lay out sixty-three lots in their several townships; to settle upon them within three years sixty families; each family was to build a house at least eighteen feet square and seven feet in the stud; and to clear, fence and bring under cultivation six acres of land. The grantees were further required to set aside one lot for the ministry, one for the first minister and another for the school; and to build a meeting house and settle an orthodox minister

[1] Mass. House Journal, Dec. 9, 1726; [2] June 14, 1727.
[3] Mass. Province Laws, XI. 355, 378; [4] XII. 225.
[5] Mass. House Journal, Messages of Gov. Belcher, June 1, 1732, and May 28, 1736.

within the same period.[1] Furthermore in many grants each of the settlers, or, in some instances, the grantees were ordered to give bonds of £20[2] and in some cases £40 to perform these conditions.[3] As far as related to these towns the effort did not wholly succeed. In three of them[4] the land was found to be so sterile and rocky that the grantees refused to accept the gift and later asked for and obtained land in other States. In other instances the Indian war of 1744 and the doubt about the title led to the total abandonment of the settlements and compelled the settlers who returned to their grants to begin anew under another authority.

But the granting of these so-called "line towns" was only one step in the plan pursued. Pretences were encouraged and even sought after to entitle persons to qualify as grantees. Many petitions for soldiers were laid before the legislature asking grants of wild land which furnished an outlet for the spirit which seemed to have possessed the governing bodies of the Province. In 1728 two towns had been given to the soldiers of Lovewell's War of 1725, and in 1735 the territory now covered by the city of Manchester was voted to the men who served in the Indian war of 1703 and 1704. Within two years of the latter grant the legislature voted nine townships, three of which were in this disputed area, to the soldiers, or their heirs, of the Narragansett War of 1675 — one township to every one hundred and twenty persons entitled. This grant was made fifty-nine years after that war closed and when but twenty-nine out of the whole number of two hundred and thirty-two men serving, survived, less than one in ten. In 1735, 1736 and 1737 nine towns were also voted out of this territory to soldiers, or their heirs, serving in the expedition against Canada in 1690. These do not include a large number of gifts to individuals on grounds of special service or special hardships and loss in those and other campaigns against the public enemy.

Besides all these, seven towns were voted directly to speculators who, through purchase, also acquired title to many of the towns already demised. From 1728 to 1738 inclusive, Massachusetts granted thirty-one entire townships out of this debatable territory, and this does not cover the whole of its

[1] Mass. Province Laws, XII. 226; [2] 144; [3] 225.
[4] N. H. State Papers, XXIV. 1–6, 154.

prodigal policy. As before intimated, there were large numbers of gifts on petition to private individuals, — soldiers, public officials and persons who had fallen into distress. These petitions reflect the conditions of the time and the general poverty and hardships of the people. Ephraim Hildreth and others asked for a township on the ground that they had served the Province as volunteers in the Indian war in the year 1703, "performed a very difficult and hard march" in the winter season "as far as Winnipissiokee-Lake and killed six of the Indian Enemy," that the said company were the "first that attempted to March against the enemy with snow shoes," [1] "since which the same method had been followed with great success against the Indians."

Again, William Lund desired four hundred acres because being in the service of the Province "he was taken by the Indian Enemy" and carried into captivity, where he suffered great hardships and was obliged to pay a great price for his release and his estate was very much hurt and diminished in his absence.[2]

And so Peleg Wiswall wanted three hundred acres on account of the services and sufferings of his father Rev. Ichabod Wiswall in the employ of the Province.[3] Another asked for three hundred acres because the military company to which he belonged had killed or captured thirty-one Indians and that he "was now old and had a numerous family and no lands to settle them on." [4] Robert Rand alleged that he was grand-nephew of Thomas Goffe, who in England had given valuable service to the colonies and had died on his passage to this country and had never received any land; that he (Rand) was in low and necessitous circumstances and would the Legislature have compassion on him and give him some land.[5] His prayer was answered with a donation of one thousand acres. Among the objects of the legislative bounty were Governors Endicott[6] and Belcher,[7] Treasurer Jeremiah Allen,[8] and Samuel Sewall,[9] the famous diarist, in

[1] Mass. House Journal, Dec. 13, 1734; [2] Dec. 5, 1734; [3] Jan. 28, 1736-37.
[4] Mass. Province Laws, XII. 76, 102.
[5] Mass. House Journal, March 1, 1733-34.
[6] Mass. Archives, XLV. 227.
[7] Mass. Province Laws, XI. 515; Mass. House Journal, Jan. 5, 1735-36.
[8] Mass. Province Laws, XII. 598.
[9] Mass. Court Records, Nov. 29, 1695.

right of his wife to make good a previous grant to her father, John Hull.

In addition to all this, there were lavish grants to Massachusetts towns. A large tract was given to Uxbridge on account "of the great number of bridges in said town";[1] and to Cambridge, Duxbury[2] and Charlestown[3] for the support of schools. The town of Malden asked for four thousand acres, giving as reason that the bounds of their town were "Exceeding streight; the most of our Improved Lands and Meadow being limited About two Miles in length and one in Breadth; . . . That hitherto we have had no Enlargement from the Countrie; . . . That our Charges to the Countrie & Ministry much Exceedeth Sundry others. . . . Our Teacher Allso hath been long visited with verie great weakness from which it is much feared he will not be recovered."[4] There was hardly a town in Massachusetts then organized, if, indeed, there was a single one, which did not ask for and receive liberal gifts of wild land and many of them were from this area claimed by the two provinces. Out of two hundred and twelve Acts passed by the Massachusetts legislature at its May and November sessions of 1736, fifty-seven related to grants either to individuals or Bay State towns.

The speculative spirit, as might be supposed, was sharply stimulated by this action. There grew up a body of men whose sole occupation was dealing in wild land. Whenever possible they obtained grants of townships directly to themselves, and in other cases they bought out the grantees for a nominal sum and assumed the conditions. They laid out the necessary number of lots, sold one to the settler and promised him another when certain improvements were made, built houses, bridges and roads and often a church and mill. John Hill, of Boston, was a type of these speculators. Between 1730 and 1739 he was either grantee or became part proprietor of eight towns in southwestern New Hampshire, and John Fowle, of Woburn, another of the class, was sole or part owner of six towns in the same section. This does not include their transactions in land in western Massachusetts, nor in Maine during the same or subsequent years. Not only was

[1] Mass. Province Laws, XII. 248; [2] XI. 740; XII. 82.
[3] Mass. Col. Records, Nov. 12, 1659, p. 400.
[4] Mass. Archives, CXII. 147.

the traffic fever increased, but serious consequences followed. "The settlement of the Province," says Hutchinson, "was retarded, a trade of land jobbing made many idle persons, imaginary wealth was created which was attended with some of the mischievous effects of a paper currency, idleness and bad economy, and a real expense was occasioned to many persons."[1]

If the real purpose of this action of the Massachusetts authorities was to strengthen their case before the King and Council, the attempt failed completely, for on March 5, 1740, the case was decided in favor of New Hampshire, and the final decree gave to that State above seven hundred square miles of territory more than she had ever claimed.

Whatever the object of this land policy was, the final result was most disastrous to the Massachusetts grantees and those claiming under them. In a few instances the townships were abandoned without effort to settle them, and the grantees were given equivalent townships in Maine. In most cases, however, strenuous efforts were made to fulfil the conditions of the grant and the owners expended large sums, often several hundred pounds and even more, to carry out their agreements. King George's war of 1744–48 seriously complicated the situation. The settlers of some of the towns abandoned their houses and fled to the older places in Massachusetts. In others they not only suffered from savage incursions, but were put to heavy expense in constructing forts and blockhouses. Where the grants were deserted, all the money which had been expended became a total loss, and everything had to be done over again. Before the war closed, the Masonian proprietors, successors to the title of John Mason, had asserted their right to two-thirds of the disputed lands, and had to be reckoned with before a resettlement could be made or a good title secured. Every Massachusetts grantee lost his land, and the forfeiture cost some of them dearly. John Hill before named, one of the grantees of Hillsborough, in his petition to the Masonian proprietors for confirmation of his grant, said that he had been at near £20,000 charge in the attempt "of Setling that Remote Wilderness."[2] In another memorial to the same proprietors in

[1] Hutchinson's Hist. Mass., II. 299, 300.

[2] N. H. State Papers, XXVII. 351.

behalf of himself and co-grantees of New Boston, he represented that they had laid out a township, built a meeting-house, saw-mill, sixty dwelling-houses, two bridges and many roads, to the amount of £4500, which would be a total loss through Indian wars and defeat of title.[1] In case of another town it was asserted they had done these things and settled thirty families on the lots. In 1760 the proprietors of Rindge presented a memorial to the Massachusetts legislature which, after stating their loss of title, asked leave, among other things, to raise the sum of £1282 6s. 9d. by a lottery, alleging they had paid £682 6s. 9d. in taxes on their grant and £600 at the lowest computation "which hath been Expended in Buildings and Bringing forward Settlements."[2] When the Masonian proprietors had title, they were asked for regrants, which in most cases were given, the proprietors reserving to themselves large sections of what was supposed to be the best land in the town. In other cases grants in a few instances were obtained from New Hampshire, and, in others, from Massachusetts out of its eastern lands. In all cases within the contested area the title of the grantees and settlers under the Massachusetts acts proved entirely worthless.

The hardships and loss entailed upon the individual settlers were very severe. The fruits of all their previous expense and labor were put in jeopardy, and the doubt and uncertainty of their titles occasioned bitter distress and anxiety. Some deserted their claims entirely; others asked for grants of other lands or besought the Masonian proprietors to confirm their titles. These petitions are pathetic for their rude but vigorous descriptions of the grievances under which the settlers were suffering, and reflect the social and economic conditions of the time. Rev. Ebenezer Flagg, of Chester, thus writes to the Masonian proprietors: "I need not tell you that Country Ministers Are generally pretty poor, And their Small Salaries forbid them thinking to lay up Anything for their Children that way; this is *So obvious* — Therefore I took this Scheme that my Children After me might Not be Beggars or Idle, but to get An honest living with the Sweat of their faces, Obtained five Rights in Hales Town [now Weare] the Duty of which Rights I proposed to perform According to ye Genl Courts Act. But now I find the property belongs to Yourself

[1] N. H. State Papers, xxviii. 51; [2] Mass. Archives, cxvii. 611.

. . . I have Already Expended considerable Money & have a SawMill fit for Business, A house not quite fit to live in And have cleard About Eight or ten Acres of land And to lose all this must be hurtful to me & my children Therefore I Intreat your favour that I might yet hold those Rights."[1]

John Hale says in his petition to the same proprietors: "Your Memorialist about 24 Years ago Purchas'd . . . a Proprietors Share in the Township called Rowley Canada [Rindge] . . . And Entred upon it Built a House and Cleared about 30 or 40 Acres of Land and Paid the Taxes on it And possess'd it for Some Years Not Doubting but he had a Legal Title to Said Lands and that on your Extending Mr Mason's claim to those Lands he gave them up whereby He Suffered Great Loss Having Expended more than An one hundred Pounds Lawful Money on them: And others Under Your Grant Recd the Benefit of his Cost & Labours He Therefore Prays Gent: that you[1] take the matter under Consideration (his Loss and Interest on it Amounting to More then Two Hundred Pounds Lawful money)."[2]

The grantees of Manchester asserted in 1751 that they had been harassed by lawsuits since 1742, every suit had been decided against them except one, and that they and their grantees had been ejected from their lands or had to repurchase them, at an expense of several thousand pounds in defending their rights beside the loss of all their labor and improvements.

There was a great deal of litigation. The suits were brought by New Hampshire claimants against the Massachusetts holders, in the New Hampshire courts, and were tried by New Hampshire judges and juries. There could be but one outcome and the verdicts were uniformly in favor of the New Hampshire claimants. Where the Masonian proprietors regranted the townships they in many instances guaranteed the title but this did not aid the Massachusetts holders. The legislature in February, 1736, perhaps with probable litigation in view, but professedly that the settlers might "know in what County they be, in Order to have their Title Recorded, the Kings peace preserved, and Common Justice done them," assigned the townships among the four northern counties of this State.[3] Sometimes the defeated litigants not only lost

[1] N. H. State Papers, XXVIII. 453; [2] 206.
[3] Mass. Province Laws, XII. 342.

their title, but were imprisoned on the executions issued.[1] Scattered through the Province Laws for several years following 1748 are many acts granting lands to petitioners who had been ejected from their holdings by the New Hampshire courts. Two cases growing out of the famous Bow controversy were appealed and had their final trial in London. In both, the judgments of the New Hampshire Courts were reversed and the tenants held their lands. The first was one determined in 1755 by the King and Council, in which the Massachusetts claimant had Sir William Murray for his Attorney. The second decided by the Court of King's Bench was not ended until 1762. In the meantime Murray had been appointed Chief Justice of the Court of the King's Bench and himself gave the opinion. He held that whoever first settled on a grant from either State his possession, followed by occupation and improvement, gave a good title.[2] This equitable principle of law would have sustained every Massachusetts grant, but it came too late to be of help to any save the parties to that action. The Massachusetts settlers had either abandoned their claims or already repurchased them from the Masonian proprietors or of the New Hampshire grantees. But for twenty years following the establishment of the boundary there was constant litigation in which the expenses bore heavily on the losing parties,[3] and left a feeling of anger and bitterness, which lasted many years. It is not an attractive chapter in provincial history.

Mr. Thayer read a paper entitled:

An Italian Nobleman's Glimpse of Boston in 1837.

We Americans have certainly never lacked the advantage of knowing what our neighbors have thought of us. Instead of being humbled, however, I fear that we have been made either self-complacent or stubborn; for we have too often had reason to suspect that our foreign critics spoke from ignorance or from condescension, — which is a peculiarly offensive variety of ignorance. Travellers' impressions possess, however, at least one positive value — they reveal the character of the traveller.

[1] N. H. State Papers, xxiv. 291.
[2] Joseph B. Walker, Bow Controversy, 1901, 28.
[3] N. H. State Papers, xxiv. 48.

When a distinguished English "literary lady" at a tea in Cambridge recently said to her hostess, "This sandwich is very nawsty," we learned more about the manners of that literary lady than about the sandwich.

Not long ago, I was turning over the journal of an Italian nobleman who travelled in the United States in 1837. The book, so far as I can discover, has never been read or even mentioned over here. There is no reference to it in Mr. John Graham Brooks's "As Others See Us," — that shrewd and enlightening survey of our foreign critics' indictments; nor have I seen it noted elsewhere. The author, Count Francesco Arese, came of a family of Lombard patricians. Born in 1805, he was early banished for his Liberal opinions. In his youth he became very intimate with a fellow-exile, Louis Napoleon, three years his junior, and their friendship lasted unbroken till death. Indeed, after Napoleon thrust himself on the throne of France, Arese was unquestionably the Italian whom he most trusted; and in more than one crisis, when the life of the nascent kingdom of Italy hung in the balance, Arese hurried to France to bespeak the Emperor's good will.

But his American journal dated from many years before that. Count Arese's visit to the United States had a noble and romantic motive. In 1836 Louis Napoleon made his fatuous attempt on Strasburg, was arrested, imprisoned, tried, and sentenced to perpetual banishment across the Atlantic. When Arese heard the news, he hastened to Liverpool, took passage for New York, and was on the wharf to welcome the homesick young pretender, as his ship arrived. That such a Damon-and-Pythias attachment should flourish with Louis Napoleon as one of its members, is the best thing that can be said of him.

After staying in New York for a while, the two friends set out on their travels; but the Prince soon returned to Europe and settled in England. Arese, on the other hand, made a tour not only of the Atlantic seaboard, but into what was then the far West. His descriptions of life with the Indians and of the frontier conditions are among the most interesting parts of his journal. There is nothing actually novel in them, I suppose, but there is much that well repays reading. They are also unique, because no other highly cultivated, much travelled and observant Italian has left any similar account of

our country as early as the thirties of the last century. Arese's "Notes," as he modestly called them, might be worth translating and publishing entire. I have translated the page or so that relates to Boston. The original, in French, was never polished or even written out by the Count, — indeed, it first appeared in print after his death, — so that it has all the brevity and slurs of syntax that we expect to find in a traveller's memoranda hastily jotted down. I have not attempted to be smoother than the original.

I left Providence by railroad and after having traversed an insignificant country I arrived at Boston.

Boston is a beautiful and large City; many persons, above all the Bostonians, regard it as the handsomest city of the United States; for myself, I prefer Philadelphia, and above all, New York. Boston greatly resembles an English town, and in its finest quarters you might easily believe yourself in London. The panorama one enjoys from the top of the City Hall [State House?] is wholly beautiful.

Boston is built, so to speak, on an island, and is united to the neighboring mainland by only six or eight bridges. The town [is] called the Athens of America because its inhabitants are more intelligent than those of the other cities, who take their revenge by taxing the Bostonians with coldness and stiffness. I could not judge for myself, having stayed there too short a time. The Dry Dock, a basin perfectly constructed entirely of stone, serves for taking ships out of the water in order to copper-bottom them. When I was there the frigate *Ohio* was about to be coppered.

The Bostonians are proud of what they call their Père-la-Chaise, which they have the audacity to put on the same level with, or even above that of Paris; "blessed are the poor in spirit," says the Gospel: there is their epitaph ready made; it is quite true that the situation of this cemetery is magnificent, and that the view one enjoys from the highest point is very extended, but so far as the monuments go the boundary posts of the postal routes in Italy would here be admired not only for the beauty of their granite but also for their good taste as architecture.

I went to several booksellers' shops, which I found well stocked with foreign works, there being magnificent editions of these made in Boston which could bear comparison with the best English and French editions, and which were certainly superior to what is engraved and printed in the rest of Europe; but the somewhat high prices of these books prevented me from purchasing as many as I should have wished.

I visited the Athenæum and Museum, an establishment founded by

the subscriptions of the citizens. Among other things one finds there casts of our best statues and groups, a collection of coins, and a considerable library. The director,[1] whose name I greatly regret to have forgotten, showed me some precious manuscripts, and, among the most beautiful works, he showed me that of my compatriot, Giulio Ferrari; if I am not mistaken the title is *I costumi di tutti i popoli della terra.* My national pride was so much stirred by the pompous eulogies which he made on the work of Italy and on the Italians that I could not refrain from telling him that I belonged to that beautiful and unhappy country. Then he added things very agreeable to the ear of a true patriot, and informed me that the Americans owe to an Italian, to Carlo Botta, the best history of their country.

I visited the Market and other things of little importance. I attended the representation of a tragedy, very well played, in a fairly pretty theatre, and before a public composed of a better class than one generally meets in the New York theatres. I went to see the University at Cambridge. I made a trip to Bunker's Hill, where was won the first battle against the regular troops of Great Britain by simple American farmers, — a victory which inspired a confidence in the Americans and which served as an opening to the great drama of which we see now the gigantic results.

When the Americans read in the travels of Fanny Kemble that a gentleman (if indeed one can designate him by this name) seeing another in a steamboat brush his teeth, begged him to lend him the brush when he had finished, which the latter did very politely, but when the brush was returned, he threw it overboard; the other took umbrage and asked whether he thought his mouth was cleaner than his own (and that, possibly, from the proverb that there is nothing cleaner than the tongue of a dog); happily, the affair was settled amicably: the Americans, I say, on reading this little episode, utter shrill cries, "that's infamy! that's calumny!" In fact, that appears to be a false accusation, a farce, a poor bit of pleasantry. As for myself, in all honor and conscience, I believe the thing, if not true, at least possible and even probable, for in Boston, preëminently the civilized city, and at the Tremont House, the best and most fashionable hotel, there is in every chamber a nail-brush and a tooth-brush for the use of all travellers; let honor be rendered to the truth. [2]

These are the sights to which an intelligent traveller who visited Boston in 1837 was conducted: the State House; the Faneuil Hall Market; the Athenæum, which then occupied the

[1] Probably Seth Bass, M.D., Librarian, 1825–1846.

[2] R. Bonfadini: *Vita di Francesco Arese* (Roux: Turin, 1894), 445–544. "Notes d'un voyage dans les prairies et dans l'intérieur de l'Amérique septentrionale" par le Comte François Arèse en 1837.

house in Pearl Street given to it by Mr. James Perkins; Bunker Hill, which had not yet its completed monument; Harvard College; the Dry Dock at Charlestown Navy Yard, and Mount Auburn Cemetery, consecrated in 1831. Being a studious man, Count Arese naturally wished to see the booksellers' shops: and being an Italian, he listened gratefully to the praise of his countrymen. The first volume of Bancroft's "History" had appeared in 1834, but Carlo Botta — if that amiable librarian, whom I have not identified, spoke the truth — was still regarded as *the* historian of America. That Boston was already accepted as the Athens of America may seem strange to those of our time who imagine that her reputation was founded on the works, now classic, of Emerson and Longfellow, Lowell and Motley, Prescott and Parkman, not one of whom, in 1837, had achieved fame. It brings that day and ours together to remember that if our late associate Dr. Hale were here to-day, as only a few months ago it seemed probable that he would be, he might have told us that it was he who, as a Junior, showed Count Arese round Harvard College, or listened at the Athenæum while the genial librarian extolled Carlo Botta. Count Arese died in 1881. His "Notes of Travel" were printed in 1894.

Dr. GREEN communicated a paper as follows:

COLONEL WILLIAM PRESCOTT; AND GROTON SOLDIERS AT THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL.

The French and Indian War was the school where the chief actors in the Revolution learned their first lessons. Artemas Ward, who was the commander-in-chief of the American army until the arrival of Washington at Cambridge, on July 3, 1775; Richard Gridley, the engineer who laid out the works on Bunker Hill and planned the fortifications around Boston; and William Prescott, the commander at the Battle, — these officers and many others received their early military education during this period. The French and Indian War was the last and severest of the intercolonial struggles, and the Indians fought on each side, though mostly with the French and against the English. The first conflict of arms took place in May, 1754, and the war continued until a treaty of peace was made in February, 1763.

Among the manuscripts belonging to the Historical Society

is a paper which gives the names of twenty-five men who were enlisted by William Prescott in a regiment to be employed for the removal of the Acadians, though no place of enlistment is given. To any one familiar with the home of Prescott the omission to mention the place of enlistment is of little importance, as the family names of the men furnish the desired information. Without doubt they all belonged in Groton and its neighborhood, and there are many descendants still living there. Job Shattuck, whose name appears in the list, thirty years later became a conspicuous character in Shays's Rebellion. It has long been known that William Prescott was a lieutenant in the Provincial army sent in the spring of 1755 to remove the neutral French from Nova Scotia; but this record shows that he had already been active in enlisting men for that purpose. At that period of time the township of Groton spread over a much larger territory than it now covers, but since then by legislative enactment it has been materially dismembered and has lost several towns from the original grant. One half of the men mentioned in this list served in the War for Independence; and, of course, during these intervening years others had died.

The aforesaid paper is found in a volume marked on the back "Winslow Papers 1737–1755" (p. 87); and the list of names is as follows:

A List of the Men Inlisted by William Prescott in a Regiment of foot to be Employed for the Removal of the French Incroachments in North America Whereof His Excellency William Shirley Esq^{r}. is Colonel and John Winslow Esq^{r} Lieutenant Colonel

Isaac Green	Phinehas Barron
William Spaulding Jun^{r}	James Lessley
Eleazer Spaulding	John Lessley
John Kemp Jun^{r}	George Lessley
Jabez Kemp	Amos Whiting
Jonathan Shedd	Eliphalet Dinsmore
William Shedd	Asa Dinsmore
Eleazer Whipple	Jonathan Melvin
Isaac Williams Jun^{r}	Job Shattock
Samuel Fisk	Simeon Lakin
Nathaniel Sartwell	Abraham Boyenten
Simon Lakin	Moses Woods

Oliver Eliot

February 28th. 1755

It was in the spring of 1755 that the territory of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, fell under British authority; and the conquest was followed by a terrible act of cruelty and violence. The simple Acadians, unsuspicious of any untoward designs of the English leaders, were assembled in their churches in obedience to military proclamation; and thence, without being allowed to return to their homes, were driven at the point of the bayonet aboard ship to be scattered through the English colonies in America. This was done with so little regard to humanity that in many instances wives were separated from husbands and children from parents, never to see one another again. It was upon an incident connected with this act of tyranny that Longfellow's poem of "Evangeline" is founded. Our pity for these unfortunate people will be stronger when we reflect that in their exile they were miserably poor, among a race who spoke a strange language, followed other customs and abominated their religion.

In the report of a Committee, dated April 18, 1761, which was appointed by the General Court to distribute French Neutrals among the towns of Middlesex County (Massachusetts Archives, XXIV. 468) it is stated that they have assigned to

Groton	Rain Bobbin	[aged] 37
	Marg^{t} his wife	39
	John his son	13
	Matturen D^{o}	11
	Joseph D^{o}	8
	Eliz	5 weeks
Pepperil	Marg^{t} Marichal	18
	Mary Bobbin daugh^{t} of Rain Bobbin	3
Townsend	Paul Oliver Bobbin	7
	Peter Bobbin son to Rain Bobbin of Groton	5

The surname, perhaps, is spelled wrong, as people in those days were not used to writing foreign words; very likely it should have been Beaubien. Other families were sent at the same time to Dunstable, Westford, and Littleton.

In connection with the reference in this paper to William Prescott, it may be of interest to note a fact that bears closely on the question of the commandership at the Battle of Bunker Hill. The circumstances surrounding the army at the

beginning of the Revolution were such that there may have been only slight formality in assigning a command, but there is no evidence that Prescott ever received any order from others in that memorable engagement, while he himself acted under orders from General Ward. In modern times certain captious critics have tried to deprive the old Revolutionary soldier of the credit of this command; but it was the universal testimony of his army comrades, that the supreme authority in that action rested with him alone. The fact alluded to at the beginning of this paragraph is found in a letter from General Ward to John Adams, written four months after the battle was fought; and by the courtesy of the Adams family I am enabled now to print it, as follows:

Roxbury Camp, October 23, 1775.

Sir, — Yesterday I Rec^{d}. your favour of the fifth Instant, a week after the arival of M^{r} Lynch,[1] although I had been twice in his company before. I have indeavoured to treat the Gentlemen Committe with Decency and Politeness, I invited them to Roxbury twice. The day after I invited them M^{r}. Lynch came to Roxbury, but did not dine with me, he being Ingaged to dine with Genl. Washington as he said. The next day I was at Cambridge, and mentioned to Washington his and the Com^{tee} dining with me. He answered they could not untill they had finished their business and he would let me know when they would come and dine with me. Major [Samuel] Osgood informs me Gen^{l}. Washington told the Com^{tee} that I depended on their dining with me this day.

This day Gen^{l}. Gates wrote to the field officers of y^{e} Connecticot forces, that the Com^{tee} did accept their invitation to dine with them, and accordingly came and dined with them. When they came I informed them I expected they would have dined with me, they said they thought till then, that accepting of the one invitation, was accepting the other; that is they were one and y^{e} same invitation. I afterward invited them to dine with me tomorrow. They told me if they did not set out on their Journey they were Ingaged to dine with Gen^{l}. Putnam. I think I have given a true state of facts, and now Judge whither, I have been deficient in inviting, and whither I have not been Ill treated. What would not some men do, to make this Colony and the Inhabitants thereof appear ⁷contemptible?

[1] Thomas Lynch, member of the Continental Congress from South Carolina and at this time one of the special committee sent by Congress to report upon the army. The other members of the committee were Benjamin Franklin and Benjamin Harrison.

Oct. 30, 1775.

They do not boast so much of the Riflemen as heretofore Gen[l]. Washington has said he wished they had never come; Gen[l] Lee has damned them and wished them all in Boston; Gen[l] Gates has said, if any capital movement was about to be made the Riflemen must be moved from this Camp.

I am in great concern about the raising a new army, for the Genious of this people is different from those to the southward. Our people are Jealous, and are not Inclineable to act upon an Implicit faith, they Chuse to see and Judge for themselves. They remember what was said of them by some that came from the Southward last summer, which makes them backward in Inlisting or manifesting a willingness to Inlist.

Its my opinion we should have began a month ago to Ingage men for another Campain. If the present armys time should be out, and no other secured I fear the Enemy will take advantage thereof. I wish Gen[l]. Frye might be provided for, I think him a good man for the service, and am very sorry he has not been provided for by the Continental Congress before this time.

Some have said hard things of the officers belonging to this Colony, and despised them, but I think as mean as they have represented them to be, there has been no one action with the enemy, which has not been conducted by an officer of this Colony, except that at Chelsea, which was conducted by Gen[l]. Putnam. [Italics mine.]

I am this moment informed, that Major Tupper of this Colony and off the army hath seized two vessels at the Vineyard loaded with oyl, Belonging to [Benjamin M.] Holmes, and [John] Coffin in Boston two Tories, and has Carried them into Plymouth, he having been dispatched for that purpose. He now desires to resign his command in the army, and take the command of one of those vessels, when fitted out for a Privateer.

You mentioned the scene is thickning, I hope as that thickens our deliverance approaches. I have no doubt, but we shall finally come off victorious, if we continue persevering. There has not been one action with the enemy, without a signal appearance of Divine Providence in our favour. If so what reason can we have to doubt of success more than when we began.

I should have wrote you before, but was prevented by Indisposition and frequent avocations of a publick nature, and probable you may think I had better have spent by [my] time some other way than in writing the above. I hope you will excuse all the foregoing Inaccuracies and honor me with a line, in the mean time I rest your affectionate friend and humble servant

ARTEMAS WARD.

Honorable John Adams Esq[r].

The pith of the evidence lies in Ward's statement that every action with the enemy thus far has been conducted by an officer of this Colony, except that at Chelsea, when Putnam was in command. The statement is found in the fourth paragraph of that part of the letter which is dated October 30, and says inferentially that Putnam did not command on June 17. In the reprint this paragraph has been italicized. No better authority on this question could be given than General Ward, as he was the commander of the Provincial army at the time of the Battle of Bunker Hill, and continued as such until the arrival of General Washington on July 3. The skirmish at Chelsea took place on May 27, three weeks before the action on Bunker Hill.

Interested for various reasons in the town of Groton I am desirous that the record of her soldiers, who took part in the battle, should be correctly made; and to that end with no apology I offer the following facts.

One commissioned officer and ten enlisted men, residents of Groton, were either killed or mortally wounded in the battle. The roll of honor comprises the names of Lieutenant Amaziah Fassett, who fell wounded and died a prisoner in Boston, a short time later, on July 5; Sergeant Benjamin Prescott, eldest son of the Hon. James Prescott, and nephew of Colonel William Prescott, the commander on the American side; and Privates Abraham Blood, Chambers Corey, James Dodge, Peter Fisk, Stephen Foster, Simon Hobart, Jonathan Jenkins, Robert Parker, and Benjamin Woods.

This loss was the largest suffered by any one town in the battle, and shows the patriotic character of the citizens at that period. These soldiers were serving in five different companies of Colonel Prescott's regiment, and their names now appear on the bronze tablets which have been placed near the scene of action by the city of Boston in memory of the brave men who fell in that historic engagement. It is highly probable that Amos Fisk, killed in the battle, was another Groton soldier who fell on that day, but his name does not appear in the list, as there is a trifling doubt connected with the fact. In a newspaper account his Christian name is given as Amasa, which is wrong. The name of David Kemp is given on the tablets, but for reasons stated below has been omitted by me in this paper.

Colonel Prescott, the commander of the American forces, was a native of Groton, and at least three of the Pepperell soldiers who lost their lives in the fight were also natives.

In connection with the names that are given on the tablets set up by the city, there is a singular error worth noting. David Kemp, of Groton, is named as one of the men who was killed in the action, though fortunately he was only captured, and afterward taken to Halifax. By mistake he was reported as dying on September 10, while a prisoner in Boston, and for a long time his family mourned him as dead. It is not recorded when they first heard of his safety, but probably it was many months after the battle.

In "The Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal" (Watertown), July 29, 1776, it is said:

> Last Tuesday Evening came to town from Halifax, Lieut. Scott of Peterborough, in New Hampshire Government, who was wounded and taken Prisoner at the memorable Battle of Bunker Hill the 17th of June, 1775, and has been a Prisoner ever since. He informs, That he with 13 others broke Goal about 5 Weeks ago and betook themselves to the Woods where they seperated; that Captain Martindale and his first and second Lieutenants', John Brown Rifleman Leonard Briggs of Ware [Wareham?], and himself arrived at Truro at the head of Cobbecut river, after a travel of 3 days, where they procured a boat and got to the Eastward; that Richard Carpenter formerly Barber in this town, Philip Johnson Peak, David Kemp of Groton, and Corporal Cruse of Virginia, and two others took the road to Windsor where they were apprehended and confined in irons; that Benjamin Willson of Billerica, one of the Bunker Hill Prisoners died lately in goal; and that he left Master James Lovell still confin'd, in high health and spirits.

From the foregoing newspaper account it appears that David Kemp did not die in Boston on September 10, 1775, as is recorded in the Company Return among the Massachusetts Archives (LVI. 70); and furthermore, that he was alive nearly one year after the memorable engagement. The following petition, printed in the Journal of the Massachusetts House of Representatives (page 104), September 13, 1776, gives the exact date of Kemp's escape as well as other interesting facts:

> A petition of *David Kemp*, of *Groton*, setting forth, that his son *David Kemp*, jun. a soldier in Capt. *Parker*'s company, in Col. *Pres-*

cot's regiment, was taken prisoner at the Battle at *Bunker*'s-Hill, the 17th *June*, 1775, and carried to *Halifax*, where he remained till the 13th *June* last; that he was not made up in said *Parker*'s roll, only to the 17th *June*, therefore praying that his wages to this time may be allowed him.

Read and committed to Capt. *Kimball*, Mr. *Ingals* and Mr. *White*.

In connection with the facts here given it may be interesting to note the action of the General Court, taken nine months after the battle. It is printed in the Journal of the Massachusetts House of Representatives (page 23), and shows the accuracy — or the inaccuracy perhaps — of an official publication, though in this case there were good grounds for the statement.

Thursday, March 21, 1776 (Afternoon).

An Account of *David Kemp*, for Loss of Cloaths and other Articles, sustained by his late Son *David Kemp*, taken in the Engagement on *Bunker*'s-Hill, on the seventeenth of *June* last, and since dead.

Among my earliest recollections of boyhood was seeing a few old men who were known as "pensioners," but what that word meant, or why it was applied to them, I was wholly in the dark. Later I learned that they had served in the Revolution. For the most part such persons wore low-crowned hats with broad brims, like other old men of that period. Some of them, I remember, wore cues, but as their hair was not over-abundant, the crinal appendages were both short and thin. These recollections carry me back to the men who took an active part in the Revolution, though then they were not much older than those who served in the War of the Rebellion are now. To some of us the men who served in the campaigns of 1861-65 do not seem old, though they are no longer young. Doubtless the boys of to-day look upon these later veterans with very much the same feeling as we looked upon those of a former generation. To me the events connected with the Rebellion were burned so deeply into my very being and have left such clear outlines on my memory that they seem rather recent. I could readily believe that the first Battle of Bull Run was fought long after the Great Fire of Boston which took place thirty-seven years ago this very week.

Mr. NORCROSS communicated the following note on the portrait in the Society's Cabinet long supposed to be that of the Rev. John Wilson, minister of the First Church in Boston, written by Frank E. Bradish, to accompany a recent paper by him read before the Bostonian Society:

The portrait in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society has been many times reproduced by engraving as the likeness of Rev. John Wilson, but its authenticity has long been questioned. It was given to the Society, according to their records, by Henry Bromfield, February 1, 1798. In September, 1867 (Proceedings, x., page 41), Doctor John Appleton stated his reasons for thinking that this was not a likeness of Rev. John Wilson; first, because the work bears the characteristics of a period later than Wilson's death; secondly, because the costume is that of a later period; thirdly, because it seemed to have been painted in Europe; fourthly, because Cotton Mather, who had been baptized by John Wilson, was on intimate terms with Edward Rawson, who was supposed to be the first owner of this portrait, and Mather less than thirty years after Wilson's death recites the story, probably told him by Rawson, of Wilson's emphatic refusal to allow his picture to be drawn, even at the urgent request of Rawson himself. John Wilson the younger was one of the appraisers of Rawson's estate, and we may assume that if he had found a portrait of his father there, it would appear in the inventory.

In December, 1880 (Proceedings, XVIII., page 264), Mr. Winthrop read to the Society a letter written to him by President Quincy, May 19, 1857, which had escaped the files of the Society and had been apparently overlooked by Doctor Appleton. In this letter Mr. Quincy states that this "portrait of the Rev. John Wilson, the first Clergyman of Boston, now in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society," had been presented to the Society at his instance by Hon. William Phillips, on the death of Miss Elizabeth Bromfield in 1814. "I deem it proper, therefore, to state to you, as President of that institution, that the portrait in question was carefully preserved from the earliest times, among his descendants in the Bromfield family, certainly for more than a century." Mr. Quincy remarks that Edward Bromfield married, in 1683, Mary, daughter of Rev. Samuel Danforth, and grand-daughter of Rev. John Wilson, and he adds that he has stated these facts, "that there may be no longer any doubt concerning the authenticity of that portrait."

Rev. John Wilson died in 1667, which was eighty-four years before the birth of his great-great-great-grandson, Henry Bromfield, the donor of the picture; seventy-two years before the birth of Henry's sister, Elizabeth Bromfield, of whom Mr. Quincy speaks; and one hundred

and five years before the birth of President Quincy, who was himself John Wilson's great-great-great-great-grandson; to all three of them a picture much later than John Wilson's time would seem ancient, and a very slender thread of tradition in their youth would grow into a strong chain of evidence in their old age.

The public records, however, furnish even a more solid basis for Doctor Appleton's doubts. The inventory[1] of the estate of Edward Bromfield, the emigrant, was taken February 11, 1734–35 and one of the items is "Dr. Owen's picture," valued at seventy shillings; no other portrait is inventoried.

Dr. John Owen was a distinguished theologian, whose personal appearance was familiar to all well-read Puritans of that time, but his fame had not entirely overshadowed in Boston that of Rev. John Wilson, whose incomparable services to the founders of New England were still fresh in the memories of their children. Had Mr. Bromfield possessed a portrait of Mr. Wilson, his executor would not have failed to exhibit it to the appraisers, and they would certainly have named it in the inventory with the likeness of the great Oxonian; that it does not appear in that list proves that Edward Bromfield did not own such a portrait at the time of his death. Whether the picture owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society is a likeness of Dr. Owen is not germane to the subject of this paper, and is a question requiring extended and careful investigation.

Mr. Howe, in preparing his "Life and Letters of George Bancroft" from the collection of manuscripts now deposited with the Society, was struck by the value of the papers here printed, but did not consider them appropriate to the biography. On his behalf Mr. Ford brought them before the Society. They relate to two interesting events, the so-called Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, of May 20, 1775, and the annexation of Texas.

Negative evidence is often even stronger than positive evidence in historical treatment. Outside of North Carolina, and even outside of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, the general consensus of opinion is that there was no declaration other than that of May 31, 1775. Andrew Stevenson, when minister to the Court of St. James, saw in the British Archives the documents and despatches sent from North Carolina at the time, and found no such Declaration as is claimed by its advocates. Ten years later President Polk asks Bancroft, then minister to England, to make an examination of the

[1] Suffolk Probate.

same documents. Not only was Polk keenly interested in the subject for personal as well as historical reasons, but Bancroft, who owed so much to Polk in his public career, had every reason to gratify his wishes and establish a fact that would so greatly have redounded to the reputation of the Polk family. It is unfortunate that Bancroft's replies to Polk have not been traced; but it is known that he found nothing to support the claims of the Declaration of May 20, 1775.

The second correspondence relates to Polk's attitude on the annexation of Texas. A similar inquiry was made of Buchanan, who was Secretary of State in Polk's cabinet, and the reply is printed in "Works of James Buchanan," VIII. 240. The same question was sent to other members of the cabinet, but the answers are not to be found.

Polk to Bancroft.

Washington City, June 17, 1848.

My dear Sir, — The accompanying papers and printed volume, have been transmitted to me, by *Ex. Governor Swain*[1] of N. Carolina, now President of the University of that State, with a request that I would forward them to you. *Mr. Swain* has been for some time engaged in making researches into the early history of the two Carolinas. The Declaration of Independence by the people of Mecklenburg on the 20th of May, 1775, and their Resolves passed on the 31st of the same month are interesting events. *Mr. Swain* whom I saw a year ago, when on a visit to the University of N. C., thinks it more than probable that the Reports of the Colonial Governor (Martin[2]) to this Government, may be found among the archives of the British Government. If he is right in this, and you could obtain copies, or the substance of these Reports, they would be very interesting, especially to the people of the two Carolinas.

I have not written to you for many months, first because I had nothing of interest to communicate, and secondly, because there has been no relaxation of my labours since you left. Every moment of my time is occupied and I am compelled to neglect almost entirely, my correspondence with my friends.

It may I think be regarded as certain that there is peace with Mexico. A despatch received from *Messrs Sevier and Clifford*,[3] under date of

[1] David Lowrey Swain.

[2] Josiah Martin, the last of the royal governors of the Colony, who served 1771–1775.

[3] Ambrose Hundley Sevier and Nathan Clifford, commissioners to Mexico to exchange ratifications of treaty of peace.

the 25th ultimo at Queretaro, announces the fact of the ratification of the Treaty by both branches of the Mexican Congress. All that remained to be done, was the formal exchange of ratifications, which would probably take place in two or three days from the date of their despatch.

The Presidential contest promises to be a violent one. Factions of each party are not satisfied with their respective nominees. The New York *Barnburners*[1] are producing great embarrassment in the Democratic party. They are highly excited and I fear irreconcilable. The great probability is that their course will insure the vote of N. York to the Whig Candidate. I am however confident that the Democracy can elect *Genl. Cass* without the vote of New York. I hope they may be able to do so.

I am rejoiced that I shall soon retire from the incessant labours, cares and anxieties of my office, which as you know have been very great during my whole term.[2]

With the respectful salutations of *Mrs. Polk* and myself to *Mrs. Bancroft*: I am, my dear Sir, Your friend etc. etc.

JAMES K. POLK.

P. S. As Mecklenburg N. C. is my native County, I take a lively interest in all that concerns the early history of that part of N. C. Yours &c. J. K. P.

POLK TO BANCROFT.

Private and Unofficial. WASHINGTON CITY, Sept. 15th, 1848.

MY DEAR SIR, — I wrote a long letter to you, a few days ago, and hope to receive your answer as early as you may find it convenient to give it. I was gratified to learn that you had succeeded in finding in the Brittish Archives, evidence fully confirming the fact of the Declaration of Independence, made by the people of Mecklenburg, and the movements for liberty in that part of North Carolina, as early as May, 1775. The authenticity of these bold and patriotic proceedings, though long since established by satisfactory proofs, had still been doubted by some. The fact which you state that "Governor Sir James Wright of Georgia, was the first to send from America a Copy of the Mecklenburg Resolves" and that this "copy is still in its place," is a very important one. I must request the favour of you, to procure for me a copy of the Resolves, and especially a copy of the official communication of the Governor, made to his Government in transmitting them. You state that "connected with the Mecklenburg Resolves, are two or three

[1] The Van Buren wing, which ran an independent ticket, in order to defeat Lewis Cass.

[2] Buchanan asserted that in the four years of office Polk became an old man, and was killed by its anxieties. — Buchanan, "Works," VIII. 453, 458.

little passages in letters and journals" of which you will send me copies, if I desire them. If it shall not put you to too much inconvenience to procure them, I shall be gratified to receive them, and also to receive a synopsis of the proceedings of the "Regulators," to which you refer.[1] Being myself a native of Mecklenburg, and many of my ancestors having taken an active part in these Revolutionary proceedings, I take a peculiar interest in all that relates to them.

I am much gratified at the assurance you give me, in your letter of the 5th ultimo, of the "great advancement which the American name, has in the last three years made in the respect of all Europe, and in the affections of all lovers of free Government." It has so happened that during my administration a succession of great and important public questions, foreign and domestic, have arisen, involving high responsibilities, great labour, and constant anxiety and vigilance. If I have been so fortunate, as to be reasonably successful in their management, I can only attribute that success, to an honest purpose, a strict adherence to principle which has ever been my guide, and to the patriotic support which I have received from the people. If I can close my administration, leaving the country prosperous, the measure of my ambition will be full. You are right in your observation, that all the old issues which divided the political parties of the Country in 1840 and 1844, have been virtually settled. The party opposed to the Democratic policy upon these issues, manifest an unwillingness further to agitate them, or to resist the settlement of them which has been made. The only remaining subject giving rise to any considerable excitement and division of opinion is that to which you allude in your letter, and relates to the organization of Governments in the territories recently acquired from Mexico; and this would be readily settled (and I hope will be during my time) were it not for the agitation of the delicate and distracting question of slavery. Much excitement existed in Congress, upon this subject, during the last weeks of the late Session. An act was at length passed, providing a Territorial Government for Oregon, and I deeply regret that Governments, based on principles of concession and compromise on the slavery question, had not also been established over New Mexico and California. Had this been done, the agitation of the Slavery question, so far as practical measures are concerned, would have ceased. In view of the excitement which existed, threatening to array the country into geographical parties, which could not fail to destroy the harmony, and might endanger the existence of the Union itself, I felt it to be proper to accompany the announcement of my approval and signature of the Oregon Bill, with the Message

[1] The story of the "Regulators of North Carolina (1765–1771)" is very fully told by John Spencer Bassett in the American Historical Association's report for the year 1894, 141.

which you have doubtless seen.[1] In that Message the reasons for yielding my official sanction were succinctly given. The question of difficulty which was involved was not an original one, arising for the first time. Had it been, my opinion and my action might have been different. But it was a question which had been twice adjusted by my predecessors, upon principles of concession and compromise, between the North and the South, — once in the case of *Missouri*, and again in the case of *Texas*, and all sections and all parties had acquiesced in the Compromise for more than a quarter of a century. It would have been a momentous responsibility, and one which might have involved the integrity of the Union itself, to have disturbed this compromise by an Executive veto. My Message, at the same time, that it expresses my well considered convictions of duty, under the circumstances, which existed; it was hoped would tend to allay the excitement in the different sections of the Union. I am flattered with the belief, that it has to some extent, at least, produced that effect. Before my official action on the Oregon Bill was known, I was strongly urged to with-hold from it my sanction. A Southern convention, I was informed, was openly spoken of by Members of Congress. I gave my approval to the Bill, and protested against such a Convention, as calculated to do no possible good, but on the contrary to widen the breach between the North and the South, upon a question which I believed and still believe ought to have been, and can still be, settled by a satisfactory compromise. Since the appearance of the message I have heard nothing further of the project of a Southern Convention. I have now, reasonable ground to hope, that the question may be settled at the next Session of Congress, by extending the *Missouri* and *Texas* compromise line west to the Pacific. If this compromise shall not be adopted, the subject may be referred to the Judiciary, as was proposed by a Bill passed by the Senate, or some other compromise may be agreed upon, which if not entirely satisfactory to all sections, will be acquiesced in by the country. When the Presidential Election shall be over, I have great confidence that the question can be adjusted, and from all I hear I think it will be, at the next Session.[2] It cannot I think be doubted that some of the leading men of the Whig party, North and South, preferred to have no settlement of the Slavery question at the late Session of Congress, but desired to keep it an open issue, with a view to political agitation, calculating upon its effect upon the Presidential Election. The establishment of a Territorial Government over Oregon has deprived them to that extent of the wicked use, which they may have designed to make of so delicate and dangerous a question.

[1] Message of August 14, 1848, in "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," IV. 606.

[2] The compromise measure of 1850 pretended to determine the controversy.

There is less excitement upon the Presidential Election than is usual. There is every prospect at present of *Genl. Cass's* Election. Indeed I consider this result as almost certain. The whole contest is between *Genl. Cass* and *Genl. Taylor*, the regular nominees of their respective parties. *Mr. Van-Buren*, it is true, is the Candidate of the *Barnburners* and *Abolitionists*, and received their nomination at their Convention at *Buffalo*, but he stands I think, no possible chance of carrying a single Electoral vote, out of New York, and every day diminishes his chances of success, even in that State. Three distinct tickets for Electors, and possibly a fourth (for *Clay*) will be run in New York, and a plurality will decide the vote of the State. I deplore the great error, which Mr. *Van-Buren* has committed, in suffering himself to occupy his present false position.

With the kind salutations of Mrs. *Polk* and myself to Mrs. Bancroft. I remain Very faithfully Your friend

JAMES K. POLK.

POLK TO BANCROFT.

Private. WASHINGTON CITY, Jany 22, 1849.

MY DEAR SIR, — Before I received your letter of the 29th ultimo, I had written to you and had anticipated the request you make, that I would give you my advice, whether you had better resign on the 4th of March, or await your recal, should it be the pleasure of the President Elect to recal you. It was, and is, my decided opinion that you should not voluntarily relinquish your mission. In my letter I assigned the reasons for this opinion. I may add that you have been eminently successful in all the negotiations intrusted to you, and the whole country, of all parties, are abundantly satisfied that an abler and more faithful Representative could not succeed you. Your *postal Treaty* and your successful efforts to procure the release of American citizens imprisoned in Ireland, are very popular throughout the country, and your recal could be attributed to no other cause, than that you belong to a different political party, than that of the President elect. That the next Administration will be proscriptive, notwithstanding the protestations to the contrary before the election I do not doubt; still I doubt whether you will be disturbed, at all events during the early part of the next term. Should I be mistaken in this, your recal could do you no possible injury.

I thank you for the *Mecklenburg papers* which you sent to me. *Gov. Swain*, President of the University of N. Carolina, I see communicated to the Governor of that State, a letter from you and a portion (perhaps all) the papers which you sent to me. The Governor laid them before the Legislature and your letter to Mr *Swain* has been published.

Your agency in bringing these papers to light has rendered you very popular in N. Carolina and indeed in all the Southern States. The *main paper* connected with the proceedings of the people of Mecklenburg you have not given. It is the formal *Declaration of Independence itself*, which was adopted on the 20th May, 1775. This paper was forwarded to the General Congress at Philadelphia, by *Capt. Jack*, a person employed specially to bear it. *Governor Martin* in his despatch to the Home Government, which you have sent to me refers to it. In his Proclamation issued, I believe, in the autumn of 1775, when the Governor was on board the ship to sail for England, denounces it as treasonable. The Resolves which you have sent to me, were passed a few weeks after the formal *Declaration of Independence* was made. This Declaration was doubtless transmitted or carried in person to England by Governor Martin. If it is to be found in the Brittish Archives, it will be conclusive evidence of the fact of such Declaration having been made, a fact which *Mr Jefferson* more than doubted. I dislike to trouble you further on the subject, but must request that you will cause a further search to be made for the *Declaration* of May 20th, 1775, which is the main-paper and the leading proceeding of the patriotic people of Mecklenburg. To aid you in any further researches you may have it in your power to make, I inclose you extracts of two letters, which I have received on the subject from *William H. Winder Esqr.* of Philadelphia. *Mr Winder* is the son of the late *Genl. Winder* of Baltimore, and that you may understand the reason of the interest he takes in the matter, I inform you that his mother was a *Polk*, descended from the same stock with myself. He is preparing a genealogical Tree of the *Polk* family, and as several of its members participated actively in the proceedings in Mecklenburg, he desires to show their connection with the interesting events which took place in Mecklenburg. To me the subject is peculiarly interesting, for though the vile slander which was heaped upon the memory of my Grandfather, in the Presidential canvass of 1844, has been sufficiently refuted by other testimony, yet any thing which establishes the authenticity of the Mecklenburg proceedings, will tend still more clearly to put to shame the revilers of his memory. I have now in my possession a printed copy of the Journal of "The Provincial Congress" of S. C., held at Charles Town in June, 1775, at which *Ezekiel Polk* (my Grandfather) was a member. By that Congress he was appointed a *Captain* and I have in my possession his original Commission on parchment, under which he served in the Revolutionary War. He represented a District in "The Provincial Congress" of S. C. adjoining Mecklenburg, and was present, at Charlotte, and was among those who adopted "the Declaration of Independence," on the 20th of May, 1775. The copy of the Journal which I have, was sent to me by an aged man in

N. Carolina, since I have been President, who stated to me in a letter which accompanied it, that he had found it among the old papers of his father, who was also a member of the Provincial Congress. He sent it to me as containing a conclusive refutation of the slander which the recklessness of party had invented against the memory of *Ezekiel Polk*, for the purpose of injuriously affecting his Grandson, when a candidate for the Presidency. The copy of the Journal which I have, is a small printed pamphlet, and is the only one I have ever heard of. As it is probable that but few copies were printed, it may be the only copy now to be found. It is a curious as well as a valuable document. It may possibly be of use to you, in the further preparation of your history, and if so, I will furnish you with the original or an exact copy of it, should you desire it.

With kind regards to Mrs. Bancroft. I am Truly yr friend,

JAMES K. POLK.

[Enclosures.]

WILLIAM H. WINDER TO POLK.

23 Sep., 1848.

. . . I have given some little attention to the pamphlet received by me from Mr Hill of Raleigh, being the one printed by authority of the Legislature of North Carolina.[1] My attention was called to this matter some years since and the result was that the testimony was not conclusive and satisfactory. And this second perusal has not removed the disappointment and doubt. On this account I very greatly rejoice that Mr. Bancroft has obtained access to the *original documents*, which I am of opinion will prove to differ from those in this pamphlet. . . .

Again Gov Martin's proclamation issued from on board ship to which he had fled, denounced the proceedings of the convention in the strongest terms, thus giving official evidence of the existence and proceedings of the Convention. In that proclamation he bitterly denounced some letters written, by the members from North Carolina in the National Congress, which endorsed these proceedings and recommended them to all patriotic Citizens. The names of those members were Hooper, Hughes and Caswell.[2] Their letters were published in the Cape Fear Mercury of the 14th July 1775. This paper with other documents Gov. Martin took, with him to England. As Mr Bancroft has been successful in getting access to the American archives in England, it might be very desirable to have him avail himself of the indulgence, to obtain the Cape Fear Mercury, or authenticated copies of such portions as have a bearing upon our National History, as another Ministry might

[1] "The Declaration of Independence by the Citizens of Mecklenburg County. . . . Published by the Governor," Raleigh, 1831.

[2] William Hooper, Joseph Hewes and Richard Caswell, all members of the Continental Congress from North Carolina.

not afford an opportunity. You are probably aware that the Hon John Forsythe of Georgia took a warm interest in the matter, and sought access to British Archives of American History, and that his efforts were unsuccessful.

Col. Thos. and Ezekiel Polk, one or both, were members of the Congress which framed the test oath of Loyalty.

William H. Winder to Polk.

11 Jany, 1849.

Sir, — You were kind enough to do me the honor to say that when you should receive from Mr. Bancroft a copy of the original account of the proceedings of the Mecklenburg Convention, you would allow me to see them, and to avail myself of them to make a complete history of that important and contested event, so interesting to our (the Polk) family, several members of which were among the earliest movers and most active participants in that early patriotic movement. So long a time has elapsed since Mr Bancroft promised to forward these documents, that I fear important national matters of more pressing moment, may have caused this matter wholly to escape his recollection. The short period which will intervene between this and your retirement to that private peace which you so covet, that I fear the matter may be wholly unattended to. These together with the fact that Mr Forsythe had in vain sought access to the American Archives in England have induced me to bring this subject again to your mind.

I pray you Sir pardon me for the liberty I am taking, and to which I am emboldened by a desire to place incontrovertibly upon all future historic annals, the true history of a most interesting event, in which the honor and distinction of several members of our family will be made clearly to appear.

While I am trespassing upon the courtesy which heretofore has received favorably similar suggestions, I will go so far as to request that if you should have occasion to remind Mr Bancroft of your wishes on this subject, that you would include in your instructions, such numbers of the Cape Fear Recorder [1] as he can procure, containing an account of the Convention, the letters of the Delegates to the National Congress, and particularly the number containing the proclamation of the Governor of North Carolina. All of these will be found among the archives in London, and are very important in making a full and complete history, such as I purpose to write on receiving the documents and papers referred to above.

In my last respects to you I gave some details of matters connected with not only the Mecklenburg Convention, but the particular information you sought as to how I ascertained that Ezekiel Polk was Capt. of the Whig Rangers. . . .

[1] Probably an error for "Mercury."

POLK TO BANCROFT.

Private and unofficial. WASHINGTON CITY, Sept. 9th, 1848.

DEAR SIR, — I invite your attention to two publications, which made their appearance in the *New York Evening* Post of the 28th of July, and were re-published in the *National Intelligencer* of Washington on the 1st of August last, the one bearing the signature of *Benjamin Tappan*, and the other that of *Francis P. Blair*. A printed copy of these publications, cut from the *National Intelligencer*, is herewith enclosed.

A few days after my arrival in Washington in February, 1845, I invited you to accept a place in my Cabinet. After you had intimated a willingness to accept the position tendered to you, I was upon terms of confidential and unreserved intercourse with you. That you might be fully informed in advance, of my views and the principles on which my administration would be conducted, I read to you the Inaugural Address which I had prepared in Tennessee, and which I afterwards delivered to my fellow-citizens on the 4th of March, 1845,[1] and conferred freely with you in relation to public affairs. No opinions which I entertained upon any public subject, about which we may have conversed were with-held from you. As it may become proper that I should at some future day, notice the publications of *Messrs. Tappan & Blair*, I desire that you will furnish me with a statement, of any opinions, views or acts of mine, relating to the subject of the annexation of Texas to the United States, both before and after my Inauguration as President, which may have come to your knowledge.

I have not the slightest recollection of ever having held a conversation with either *Mr. Tappan* or *Mr. Blair* on the subject of the annexation of Texas. If I did, it is certain that I was wholly misunderstood. When I arrived in Washington on the 13th of February, 1845, the subject of the annexation of Texas was pending before Congress. That was one of the main issues, upon which I had been elected President of the United States. I was anxious that Congress should at its then Session, pass some measure for annexation, if Texas would consent. I believed that unless some measure with that object, was passed at that Session, there was danger that the "golden moment," for securing Texas as a part of our Union, might pass, and that fine territory be lost forever.

My opinions on the subject were freely and publickly expressed in the Hotel where I was, to all who chose to converse with me on the subject. I was, as you know, almost constantly surrounded with company from the day of my arrival in Washington until the day of my Inauguration. I had no opportunity to examine, and did not examine the particular *form* of the different propositions which were before Congress. I learned generally in conversations with several persons,

[1] "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," IV. 373.

and I think it likely among others with yourself, that there was some difficulty in reconciling the two Houses of Congress, or in procuring their concurrence upon *any one proposition*, though there was believed to be a majority of each House in favour of the measure *in some form*. I remember that I entertained and expressed the opinion and the hope, that if the measure could not pass in *one form*, it was better to pass it in *any form*, than not to pass it at all. I may have said in conversation and probably did, for such was my opinion, that if the *form* of annexation by negotiation, through the agency of commissioners, which as I was informed had been suggested, should be the one adopted by Congress, or if the measure should pass in the alternative, and that *form* should be selected by the President, that then the ablest men in the country should be appointed the Commissioners. But that I ever decided in advance, and before I had examined and compared the different propositions which were spoken of, in favour of the *form* by negotiation, in preference to that of the House, or authorized such a purpose to be communicated to Senators, is wholly inconceivable under the circumstances which existed. If I was so understood by any one with whom I may have conversed, I was misunderstood. This however is stated in the publications of *Messrs. Tappan & Blair*. For what purpose and with what object it is stated at this late day (after the lapse of nearly three and an half years,) I leave to others to determine. I know how difficult it is to prove a negative. Fortunately circumstances exist in this case, which go far to establish the error of their statements. One of these circumstances is this. The Resolutions for the Annexation of Texas, were approved by *Mr. Tyler* on the 1st of March, 1845. On that or the next day Mr. *Calhoun*, then Secretary of State, called and conversed with me in relation to the election proper to be made, as between the alternative propositions embraced in the Resolutions, informing me that *Mr. Tyler* was deliberating on the subject. I have since learned that *Mr. Calhoun* reported to *Mr. Tyler* sitting in Cabinet Council, the result of his interview with me. It was in substance that I had informed him (*Mr. Calhoun*) that I had been so much occupied with Company and other engagements, that I had not even read the Resolutions which had passed Congress, and could therefore give no opinion upon the subject, and that until I had entered upon my duties as President, and had my own Cabinet advisers around me, I could not undertake to decide on the subject, and that I left it to *Mr. Tyler* to decide for himself, what action, if any, he deemed it proper to take on the subject. *Mr. Tyler* made the election of the alternative embraced in the House propositions, as they were called, and dispatched a special messenger, bearing his decision and instructions to our Chargé d'Affaires to Texas, before he retired from office. On the 6th of March, *Genl. Almonte* the Mexican Minister made his communication, de-

manding his passports.[1] It was not until the 10th of March that the subject was considered and finally decided on by me in my Cabinet. When the subject was considered, I had before me the Resolutions of Congress, the Election of alternatives which had been made by *Mr. Tyler* and his instructions given to our Minister. The whole subject was fully examined and carefully considered in all its bearings. The confirmation of your nomination as Secretary of the Navy, was delayed for some days by the Senate, but in anticipation of it I had invited you to attend the Cabinet meetings, and my impression is, that you were present on the occasion referred to. Your memory will doubtless enable you to determine how this was. The Cabinet were unanimously of opinion that *Mr. Tyler's* election of alternatives should not be reversed, but should be confirmed. It was so confirmed and with my full assent and approval, and accordingly Mr. *Buchanan* addressed a despatch to that effect to our Chargé d'Affaires to Texas.[2] During the whole consideration of the subject, not an intimation was given by me of a preference for the alternative *form* of annexation by negotiation, or that I was embarrassed by any such pledge as that now attributed to me by *Messrs. Tappan* and *Blair*. It is impossible that all this could have occurred, if I had understood myself as having given any such pledge.

Another circumstance which goes far to negative the allegation is this. The Senate continued in Executive Session until the 19th or 20th of March, when they adjourned. If I had decided to elect the alternative of appointing Commissioners to negotiate, it would have been necessary to nominate these commissioners to the Senate for the confirmation of that body, before its adjournment. No such nomination was made and therefore every Senator and the public, must have known that the alternative of negotiation by the appointment of Commissioners had not been adopted, and yet there was no complaint from any Senator or from any other quarter, that I had acted in bad faith or violated any pledge.

Another circumstance is this: Texas accepted the overture which was made to her, and in my annual Message of December, 1845,[3] I communicated to Congress all that had been done by *Mr. Tyler* and myself, and accompanied my Message with all the correspondence on the subject, which was published. *Messrs. Tappan and Blair* were then silent. Texas was shortly afterwards admitted into the Union as a State. The Senators referred to by *Messrs. Tappan & Blair* made no charge or allegation that they had been deceived by pledges, as to the *form* of effecting her annexation which would be adopted. They made no opposition to her admission as a State, and they continued long

[1] Juan N. Almonte.

[2] Polk probably has in mind the instructions to Donelson.

[3] "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," IV. 385.

after that time to support my administration, including the declaration and prosecution of the War with Mexico.

I might add other facts and cogent circumstances, but it is unnecessary, and I will not weary you, by a recital of them. You had my full confidence at the time referred to, and I would have been as likely to converse with you without the least reserve, as with any other person. Neither *Messrs. Tappan* or *Blair* possessed my confidence. It may become necessary for me to vindicate myself before the public. At all events I desire to be prepared to do so. Were this the only object I do not know that I should trouble you. But a higher motive impels me to vindicate my official course in regard to the annexation of Texas. That was an event of the highest National importance conceived and consummated, with pure and patriotic motives, and it is due to the truth of history, that the action, and the motive of action of the public functionaries intrusted with its management should be fully known. With this view I address you this letter. I wish in your answer that you should be full, stating all you may remember of my views, or of any conversations you may have held with me on the subject of the annexation of Texas. To protect myself from misconception or misrepresentation and to vindicate the truth of history is all that I desire. I will request like statements from the other members of the Cabinet, of what they know or remember. I will not use them before the excitement of the pending Presidential election has passed, and not then unless, it shall appear to be proper and necessary.

I will add that I was much surprised on seeing the publications of *Messrs. Tappan* and *Blair*. I had not the slightest intimation of an intention to make them, until they appeared in the New York Evening Post. I was the more surprised from the fact, that *Mr. Blair* had previously expressed his approbation of all the leading measures of my administration, which of course embraced the first, and among the most important of these measures, the annexation of Texas, which had been consummated by the policy which I had pursued. He once expressed this approbation to me, in strong terms, in your presence. As *Mr. Blair* had been superceded by *Mr. Ritchie*, in conducting the leading Democratic paper at Washington, and as I had reason to believe he had been dissatisfied at this circumstance, I regarded the voluntary opinion which he expressed, as magnanimous, and I was gratified to have it. It made so deep an impression on my mind, that on the same evening, I made a note of it. It may not have made so deep an impression on you, and you may not remember it. I will recal to your recollection the occasion on which it was made. On the afternoon of the 15th of August, 1846, I took a ride with you in your carriage. We drove to *Mr. Blair's* house, some five or six miles in the country. We found him alone, his family being absent from

home. He received us very cordially and was very friendly. During our stay of an hour he took occasion to remark to me, that I had been universally successful in my administration, and that he approved all my leading measures. In speaking of the tariff he entirely approved the act which had recently passed, and said he had been more anxious for its passage than some of the members of Congress who had voted for it. He said he had argued with *Senator Haywood*[1] and had endeavoured to convince him that he ought to vote for it, and that he had dissuaded him from resigning his seat in the Senate. He made other remarks which are not material. You will of course remember our ride to his house. If you remember his expression of approbation of the measures of my administration, and you see no objection to it, I desire that you will state your recollection of it, in your answer to this letter.

I have written so long a letter that I will not trouble you with much that I might say in relation to public affairs, but will postpone this to some future period.

I have received your letter in answer to mine enclosing to you a communication from *Gov. Swain* President of the University of N. Carolina, and I am glad that you have been able to find in the Brittish archives, some evidence confirmatory of the fact of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence in May, 1775. I will write you on this subject soon. I am very faithfully, Your friend & obd. Servt.

JAMES K. POLK.

P. S. I might have said much more than I have done, upon the subject of Texas annexation, and the reasons which influenced my action upon it. I will only make one additional remark. I think the wisdom of the choice of alternatives which was made, must long since have been manifest to the whole world. If the other alternative had been chosen, I think there is abundant evidence to prove that Texas would probably have been lost to the Union. If negotiations had been opened by Commissioners, much delay would necessarily have taken place, giving ample opportunity to *Brittish* and *French* intrigue to have seriously embarrassed, if not defeated annexation. It was not until after I had entered upon my duties as President, that I had an opportunity deliberately to consider of the two propositions and to decide between them. When I decided, I had Mr. Tyler's instructions and Mr. Almonte's letter before me, and the dangers of delay by protracted negotiations, had that mode been selected, were apparent. I acted upon my own best judgment, and in conformity with the unanimous advice of my Cabinet, and the result has proved that I was right. Yrs. &c. J. K. P.

[1] William Henry Haywood, of North Carolina.

[Enclosures.]

Tappan to Evening Post.

Steubenville, July 21, 1848.

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

Dear Sir, — Since the admission of Texas into the Union was consummated, I have thought, with you, that my vote on that occasion required explanation. I was in favor of receiving that State into the Union as soon as it could be done on fair and just terms, and with the consent of Mexico; and I believed, from all I could learn, that this might be accomplished at less expense than it would cost to wage a war of one year's duration for obtaining it. So disposed, I had not only voted against Mr. Tyler's treaty of annexation, because it was exceptionable in its terms, but, in violation of a rule of the Senate, from an imperative sense of public duty, had published it, and the correspondence with which it was accompanied, because *it appeared to me that the whole affair afforded evidence of a daring conspiracy to divide the Union, by arraying the free and slave States against each other;* evidence which considerations entirely paramount to all Senatorial formulas required to be immediately divulged.[1]

The inquiry is a very natural one — how men who desired the admission of Texas and voted against the treaty of annexation, could afterwards vote for the resolution brought into the House of Representatives by Mr. Milton Brown,[2] which was more exceptionable in its terms than the treaty. Now that the war with Mexico is ended, and the public interest cannot be injured by answering this inquiry, I give you the following statement, premising that the public history of this transaction is in the Congressional Globe, vol. 14, page 358 to 363, and the Congressional Globe of February 24th, 1847.[3]

When the "joint resolution declaring the terms on which Congress will admit Texas into the Union as a State," was before the Senate, it was soon found that a number of the Democratic members who were favorable to the admission of Texas would vote against that resolution. I was one of them. In this stage of the matter it was proposed that, *instead of rejecting the House resolution, we should amend it by adding, as an alternative proposition, the substance of Mr. Benton's bill to obtain Texas by negotiation.* I had strong objections to this plan, for I did not see the necessity or propriety of passing the House resolution either with or without the proposed amendments, but it was urged that the

[1] Tappan apologized to the Senate, and was severely censured. — "Senate Executive Journals," vi. 268.

[2] Representative from Tennessee.

[3] The first reference is to the discussion in the Senate on February 27, 1845, both afternoon and evening, in which was adopted the joint resolution determining the terms on which Congress would admit Texas into the Union as a State. The second reference is to speeches made by Senators Benton and Calhoun.

session was so near its close that the measure would be defeated if we substituted Mr. Benton's plan for the other, whereas if we made it an additional article it would readily pass the House in that form. This reasoning did not satisfy me, but finding that my friends were all satisfied with such proposed arrangement, I acceded to it — provided that I could have satisfactory assurance that the plan proposed in such amendment would be the only one used and submitted to Texas.

Mr. Polk was in the city; it was understood that he was very anxious that Congress should act on the subject before he came into office; it was also understood that the proposition to amend the House resolution originated with Mr. Polk. It had been suggested that, if we did so amend the resolution, Mr. Calhoun would send off the House resolution to Texas, and so endeavor to forestal the action of Mr. Polk; but Mr. McDuffie,[1] his friend, having met this suggestion by the declaration that he would not have the "audacity" to do such a thing, it was no more thought of. One difficulty remained, and that was the danger of putting it into the power of Mr. Polk to submit the House resolution to Texas. We understood, indeed, that he intended to submit the Senate proposition to that Government; but, without being satisfied that he would do this, I would not vote for the resolution, and it was well ascertained that, without my vote, it could not pass. Mr. Haywood, who had voted with me, and was opposed to the House resolution, undertook to converse with Mr. Polk on the subject, and did so. He afterwards told me that he *was authorized by Mr. Polk to say to myself and other Senators that, if we could pass the resolution with the amendment proposed to be made, he would not use the House resolution, but would submit the Senate amendment as the sole proposition to Texas.* Upon this assurance I voted for the amendment moved by Mr. Walker,[2] containing the substance of Mr. Benton's bill, and voted for the resolution as it now stands on the statute book.

It is matter of history that Mr. Calhoun did have the "audacity" to send off a special messenger with the House resolution to Texas on the 3d of March, a few minutes before he went out of office; and that *Mr. Polk adopted and confirmed this act of Mr. Calhoun's, so admitting Texas into the Union, and placing the United States in a state of war with Mexico.*

Knowing that my esteemed friend, F. P. Blair, had taken a deep interest in this subject while it was before Congress, I addressed a note to him, requesting a statement of his recollections of the way the Texas question was got through the Senate. The following is his answer. I am, sir, yours.

BENJAMIN TAPPAN.

[1] George McDuffie, of South Carolina.
[2] Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi.

Blair to Tappan.

Silver Spring, July 7, 1848.

Dear Sir, — Your letter of the 1st instant asks me to state what I know "as to the way the Texas question was got through the Senate." I comply, and will not incumber the narrative with immaterial details.

When the resolution passed by the House of Representatives for the annexation of Texas reached the Senate, it was ascertained that it would fail in that body. Benton, Bagby, Dix,[1] Haywood, and, as I understood, you also, were absolute in opposition to this naked proposition of annexation, which necessarily brought with it the war in which Texas was engaged with Mexico. All had determined to adhere to the bill submitted by Col. Benton, for the appointment of a commission to arrange the terms of annexation with Texas, and to make the attempt to render its accession to our Union as palatable as possible to Mexico before its consummation. It was hoped that this point might be effected by giving (as has been done in the late treaty of peace) a pecuniary consideration, fully equivalent in value for the territory desired by the United States, and to which Texas could justly assert any title. The Senate had been polled, and it was ascertained that any two of the Democratic Senators who were opposed to Brown's resolution, which had passed the House, could defeat it — the whole Whig party preferring annexation by negotiation, upon Col. Benton's plan, to that of Brown.

While the question was thus pending, I met Mr. Brown, (late Governor of Tennessee, then a member of the House,) who suggested that the resolution of the House and the bill of Colonel Benton, preferred by the Senate, might be blended, making the latter an alternative, and leaving the President elect (who alone would have time to consummate the measure) to act under one or the other, at his discretion. I told Mr. Brown that I did not believe that the Democratic Senators opposed to the resolution of the House, and who had its fate in their hands, would consent to this arrangement, unless they were satisfied in advance by Mr. Polk that the commission and negotiation contemplated in Col. Benton's plan would be tried, before that of direct legislative annexation was resorted to. He desired me to see Colonel Benton and the friends of his proposition, submit the suggestions he had made, and then confer with Mr. Polk, to know whether he would meet their views. I complied; and after several interviews with Messrs. Haywood, Dix, Benton, and others, (Mr. Allen,[2] of Ohio, using his influence in the same direction,) finding that the two plans could be coupled and carried, if it were understood that the pacific

[1] Arthur P. Bagby, of Virginia, and John A. Dix, of New York.

[2] William Allen.

project was first to be tried, I consulted the *President elect on the subject.*

In the conference I had with him, *he gave me full assurance that he would appoint a commission, as contemplated in the bill prepared by Col. Benton, if passed in conjunction with the House resolution as an alternative.* In the course of my conversation with Mr. Polk, I told him that the friends of this plan were solicitous that the commission should be filled by distinguished men of both parties, and that Col. Benton had mentioned to me the names of Crittenden and Wright[1] as of the class from which it should be formed. *Mr. Polk responded, by declaring, with an emphasis, "that the first men of the country should fill the commission."* I communicated the result of this interview to Messrs. Benton, Dix, Haywood, &c. The two last met, on appointment, to adapt the phraseology of Benton's bill, to suit as an alternative for the resolution of the House, and it was passed, after a very general understanding of the course which the measure was to take.

Both Messrs. Dix and Haywood told me they had interviews with Mr. Polk on the subject of the communication I have reported to them from him, and they were confirmed by his immediate assurance in pursuing the course which they had resolved on in consequence of my representation of his purpose in regard to the point on which their action depended. After the law was passed, and Mr. Polk inaugurated, he applied to Gen. Dix (as I am informed by the latter) to urge the Senate to act upon one of the suspended Cabinet appointments, saying that he wished his Administration organized immediately, as *he intended the instant recall of the messenger understood to have been dispatched by Mr. Tyler, and to revoke his orders given in the last moments of his power, to thwart the design of Congress in affording him (Mr. Polk) the means of instituting a negotiation with a view of bringing Texas peaceably into the Union.* Your friend.

F. P. Blair.

Bancroft to Polk.

London, 13 October, 1848.

My dear Sir, — I have received your letter of the 9th of September, 1848, and have read Mr. Tappan's printed letter to the Editor of the Evening Post of the 21st. of July last and that of Mr. Blair to Mr. Tappan of the 7th of July.

On your arrival at Washington in February, 1845, I joined you there at your request, took lodgings in the same hotel, and was very often with you. The subject which mainly engrossed the attention of Congress was the annexation of Texas. That measure was one of the

[1] John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, and Silas Wright, of New York.

issues, on which the people had decided by your election; you expressed yourself to me anxious that the declared wishes of the Democratic party should have effect. A division of opinion on the proper form of annexation prevailed in the Senate. You were indifferent as to the form, provided the substance was secured. You advised conciliation and union, the adoption of a form of resolution which would produce harmony and successful action, and you gave as your motive for this advice, your deep interest in the passage of the measure itself. You looked at the possible rejection of the measure, as a blow in advance at your administration. You seemed to me indifferent whether the house resolution prevailed or a substitute. I never heard you express an opinion about the details, or form of the measure: and when an option of forms was proposed and accepted by the Senate, you applauded the spirit of harmony which it manifested, but took care never to hazard the success of the measure itself by siding with either of the parties on questions of form. I remained to the last ignorant as to which of the two forms you would adopt; and had no reason to suppose that either was dissatisfactory. I never myself heard you discuss the relative merits of the two forms; still less did I ever hear you express a preference; nor did I hear in conversation with others, that you had done so.

My nomination as one of your cabinet was not confirmed till the tenth of March. As soon as I heard of this, but not before, I repaired to your mansion, and was shown into the room where the cabinet had been deliberating. The election of the first and second sections of the Joint resolution had been already approved, and Mr. Buchanan was on the point of going away in order to forward a despatch to Mr. Donelson.[1] Conversation ensued, and I was informed, that the decision which had been made before I was a member of the cabinet, had been the result of the unanimous advice of the other five members. The reasons which were given for their preference were: That Mr. Tyler and Mr. Calhoun had already made an election, which, it was found, could not be disturbed without some confusion, that Mr. Donelson[2] was a remarkably prudent man, who might be relied upon under Mr. Buchanan's instructions to conduct his part in the affair quietly and without irritating; that the first and second sections of the Joint Resolution were more favorable to peace with Mexico, as they expressly reserved to the general government full power to negotiate a boundary with Mexico: that Almonte had already by demanding his passports on the mere passage of the resolution, rendered prompt action on our part imperative: that to delay action by the tedious process of a commission was but opening the way to Mexico to inflame the public mind: that

[1] This despatch, dated March 10, 1845, is in "Works of James Buchanan," VI. 120.

[2] Andrew Jackson Donelson.

the delay would be almost an invitation to England and France to employ commissioners on their part to prevent the consummation of annexation: and that the appointment of commissioners on our side to treat with Texas on the terms of annexation would be almost a temptation to Texas to make exorbitant and unreasonable demands, which the administration, pledged as it was to the measure of annexation, would have found it most difficult to resist.

I never heard from any one a hint, that the consultation of the Cabinet or your own decision, was in any [way] embarrassed by any previous declaration as to the option which you would make.

On the contrary, I always understood that the united Democratic party in the Senate intended and desired to leave your judgment free; and when on the tenth of March, 1845, Mr. Berrien attempted to draw from the Senate an expression of opinion in favor of the third section of the resolution, the Democratic Senators on the eleventh of March signified their unwillingness to embarrass you by postponing Mr. Berrien's motion indefinitely.

Your approval of the election which Mr. Tyler had made, was immediately known. It did not change Mr. Blair's willingness to be the confidential editor and organ of the administration. He remained desirous of that post.

I remember well our summer's drive, a year later, to Mr. Blair's house at Silver Spring. His reception was most cordial, as I had expected. He walked with us over the grounds nearest the house, and showed us his various improvements. Of your administration he expressed himself in terms, such as I had repeatedly heard from him, and such as were most gratifying to me to hear in your presence. He congratulated you on your good fortune in carrying out your measures, of which he expressed his approbation without qualification and without reserve. I never heard any man give a tribute to your administration more comprehensive or that seemed more from the heart.

I will add that in all the stormy days which I witnessed in Washington, and among all the complaints which always will follow the exercise of power, I never heard of this complaint of Mr. Tappan, nor any fault found with your course on the annexation of Texas, except by those who did not want it annexed at all. I remain, my dear sir, very faithfully yours.

Bancroft to Polk.

Private. London, 13 October, 1848.

My dear Sir, — I send you to-day my reminiscences on the annexation of Texas, as far as your opinions were concerned.

I add two considerations. Tappan says your election of the House resolution *placed "the United States in a state of war with Mexico."* The man is beside himself. The Senate's section was quite as unmind-

ful of Mexico, and even more so. This shows how Tappan's memory and judgment are both at fault.

Next. For Senators to have voted a compromise on which you were to be arbiter, and to have solicited your decision in advance, would have been dishonest. The compromise implied freedom of election on your part. It would have been a fraud on the majority of the Senate, to have passed a resolution with an alternative, when there was to be no alternative at all. Mr. Tappan's charge lies heaviest on himself. I do not think the subject merits much of your attention. The calumny is foolish. In substance the two modes proposed are identical. Each annexes Texas, and with or without the leave of Mexico.

I most ardently hope for your sake, for the sake of the country, for the sake of Europe, for the sake of the world, that Cass may be elected. The whole conservative force of England prays for his defeat. His success will be your own triumph. I wish I could witness it.

Pray find time to write me, but above all, in your last message, do not fail to speak in words that will make Europe leap. Speak specially in favor of the federative principle. In Austria a plan to have the Ban of Croatia come and take Vienna, has led to a new and a more determined insurrection.[1] The bad faith of kings, at a time, when if they were honest, they could do great good, leads to convulsions, and will lead alas! through bloody scenes to republican forms of government. If France would but learn the benefit of States Rights, of provincial liberties, she would redeem Europe.

Best regards to Mrs. Polk. Shall you come to Europe after the close of your wearisome but most glorious struggle? Ever most truly yours.

Perhaps it might be well to read to the Cabinet my narrative of their statement of their reasons of their advice. I think Marcy, Buchanan, Mason and Walker must all remember it. As to Johnson [2] I do not so distinctly remember about him on that day, but think he was with you.

[1] The Viceroy of Croatia was known as Ban or Pan, the Slavonic word for Lord. The Ban at this time was Baron Joseph Jellachich, who had first been appointed to the office by the Emperor of Austria, but in May, 1848, had refused to obey a summons to come to Vienna, and had been confirmed as Ban by a Slavonic Diet at Agram. For this he was declared a rebel, but made his peace with the Emperor, fearing Hungarian rule more than that of Austria. Kossuth was the Hungarian Minister, and under him the Magyars were intent upon punishing the Croats whom they regarded as rebels against Hungary. In this contest Jellachich received secret aid and encouragement from Austria, and this is the breach of good faith to which Bancroft refers. October 3, the Emperor placed Jellachich in command of the troops intended to restore order in Hungary, but an insurrection arose in Vienna itself, where the Hungarians had many sympathizers, and was suppressed by a combined movement of Austrians under Prince Windischgrätz and Jellachich. The Emperor Ferdinand resigned the throne in favor of his nephew Francis Joseph. Hungary was invaded, and Kossuth became a fugitive.

[2] Cave Johnson, postmaster general in Polk's cabinet.

Mr. Norcross communicated from his own collection of autographs two letters of Noah Webster, to which have been added such other letters as are in the Society's collection. Except where noted, they are addressed to Timothy Pickering.

Pickering to Webster.

Philadelphia, October 19, 1785.

Sir, — Some time since I met with the two first parts of your grammatical institute of the English language; and was so well pleased with the plan and execution, that I wished to have them introduced universally into the schools in America. Being a subscriber to the funds for supporting the Episcopal Academy lately established here, I took the liberty to recommend your institute; but one of the trustees informed me they were fearful of injuring the school if they should introduce a spelling book with which the people were totally unacquainted. No one, I believe, took the pains carefully to examine your institute. Had the trustees been convinced (as I am) of its superiour excellency to any other used in America, I think for the honour and interest of the acadamy they must have adopted it.

I was pleased to see the spelling book and grammar printed in separate volumes. The reason you give for it is a good one: but the same reason induces me to propose your making a division of the *spelling-book*. The master of one of my children was so obliging as to let him use your spelling book: but before he had learnt his letters and a dozen of the tables the book was worn out. 'T is true he was a careless boy: but there are many such boys. I therefore earnestly wish you to think of such a division. The key for pronouncing the vowels, arranged in the clearest order, and fully explained; the alphabet, the double letters, and about half a dozen tables of words most proper for children to begin with, perhaps would be enough for their primer. These would be comprehended in a few leaves: but the leaves should be of thick, strong paper, and of a tolerable fineness, to take a fair impression from a large and good type. That called [*blank*] appears to me most suitable. For the letters ought to be perfectly fair and acurate to enable a child to distinguish them. The utility of such a primer will be obvious: but I have this further view in requesting you to undertake it. In the first place the pronunciation and spelling will be formed on true principles. In the next, as nothing of the kind is extant, there will be no Dilworth,[1] or any other imperfect spelling book to interfere with it; and being comprized in a few leaves, its cheapness will recommend it to parents. Then, your principles and plan being once adopted in the

[1] Thomas Dilworth.

primer, I think the introduction of your whole institute will follow of course.

In the preface to the 2d Edition of your spelling book, you mention Perry's dictionary [1] and Sheridan's rhetorical grammar [2] as books which had enabled you to correct several errors in the first edition. The slight examination I have made shews that their modes of pronunciation in many words materially differ from each other, and both from the practice in America, especially in New England. Sheridan's Thoozdy, Virtshoo &c. you will hear in Maryland and other Southern States; and instances of the same pronunciation are not uncommon in this City. Here also may be heard (*hurd* I should say) Perry's weel, weat, wat, wen, &c. (for wheel, wheat, what, when, &c) both which modes I exceedingly dislike. The former, I suspect, may have originated in the sound given to the letter u,[3] which, in learning the alphabet, we are taught to sound *eyoo:* then joining it to t, it becomes teyoo; and from virteyoo, teyoozdy, &c. pronounced rapidly, come virtchoo, tchoozdy, &c. Some gentlemen here sound dew as if it were written deyoo. There are many words in which that sound is universally given to u: but they do not appear to be clearly pointed out. In your first table, what sound would you direct a scholar to give to du, nu, ru, tu, wu? Some consonants easily unite with u in the sound eyoo, but others not without much difficulty. Being a perfect stranger to you, Sir, you may think I have used much freedom in thus addressing you: yet the nature and design of this letter will I hope be a sufficient apology. I knew not that you was at Baltimore until my nephew, Mr. Gardner, lately mentioned his having been there in your company. If business should lead you to Philadelphia I shall be happy to see you. Mr. Samuel Blanchard at Baltimore will hand you this letter, and make me known to you. I am, Sir, etc.[4]

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

SIR, — I have just had the satisfaction of receiving your favour of the 19th Current: and acknowledge myself honoured by your attention to my publications. I have ever been a little surprised that the Institute [5] found little or no sale in Philadelphia, the first City in

[1] William Perry, who prepared a "Royal Standard English Dictionary" (1775).

[2] The Rhetorical Grammar was prefixed to his Dictionary (see p. 124, *post*), but was separately printed in Philadelphia in 1783. It retained some of its popularity, as a third edition appeared in 1789.

[3] Note by the writer: "I do not know but you have some where made a remark to this effect."

[4] Pickering Papers, v. 375*a*.

[5] The Spelling Book and Grammar, which formed the first and second parts of the "Grammatical Institute."

America; when it is generally received in the Northern States, in New York and in Charleston, S. Carolina. I must impute it to inattention. Your idea of dividing the first part, strikes me favourably and it is probable will have its effect. The edition you have seen is the second; the third and the fourth are printed in larger types, — *Pica*, which is probably the type you left a blank for in yours. Your remarks on Mr. Sheridan's Dictionary [1] are just and I shall yet prove a troublesome critic to the Author. No person has ever opposed the corruptions of the English Theatre; and it is impossible to determine what may be the effect of candid criticisms, founded on the principles of pronunciation and the real harmony and elegance of the language. So much is certain, — I have read a short course of lectures in this town, which I have just finished. My criticisms have the approbation of the best judges in this town, who attended the Lectures and who advise me to proceed in my plans. My remarks extend to Bishop Lowth [2] and to other Grammarians as well as to Mr. Sheridan. Their works appear to me capable of improvement and in many instances of great corrections. My criticisms are *new* and no person here is capable of disproving my remarks. I have begun a reformation in the Language and my plan is yet but in embryo.[3]

I have some business in Richmond, Virginia, where I shall travel in a few days; on my return, I shall make some stay in Philadelphia. I hope to be there by the first of December, and probably shall read my Lectures in that city. As I am the first American, who has entered on such important plans and a youth, as well as a Yankee, I shall need the countenance of Gentlemen of your established Character. In order to prepare the minds of people for such an event, I could wish that a paragraph may be inserted in a Philadelphia paper, informing that I may be expected to read a course of Lectures on the English Language, sometime this winter. I shall then have an opportunity of satisfying your enquiries in a more particular manner. I have the honour to be with the highest respect, etc.[4]

Baltimore, October 28th, 1786.

Sir, — Before I went into Virginia, I had the honour of receiving a Letter from you, which I could answer in a few words only. I have

[1] Thomas Sheridan's "Complete Dictionary of the English Language," London, 1780.

[2] Robert Lowth, whose "Short Introduction to English Grammar" was issued in England in 1762.

[3] This took the form of a reformed spelling, on which he corresponded with Benjamin Franklin, and in 1790 issued a volume using his new methods, which did not find acceptance. This volume is entitled "A Collection of Essays and Fugitiv Writings," Boston, 1790. See p. 129, *post*.

[4] Pickering Papers, xviii. 291.

now finished my business in these States, having secured the copy right of my works and introduced them into the schools. I have also read Lectures in the Principal Towns in Virginia and Maryland, and tho' I most pointedly oppose Dr. Sheridan and Bishop Lowth in some particulars, I find no opposition. I convince the judgment, tho' I may not reform the practice. My success has encouraged me to proceed, and I shall risque my reputation in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, upon the merits and strength of my criticisms. I shall make one *General* effort to deliver literature and my countrymen from the errors that fashion and ignorance are palming upon Englishmen. The question will then be, whether the Americans will give their opinions and principles as well as their purses to foreigners, and be the dupes of a strolling party of players, who, educated in the school of corruption, have no profession, but to make people laugh, and who, dependent on opinion, for subsistence, must conform to caprice at the expense of every principle of propriety. I must wait on the Legislature of Delaware, and shall, I expect, be in Philadelphia by the tenth of February. Two circumstances will operate against me. I am not a *foreigner*; I am a *New Englandman*. A foreigner ushered in with titles and letters, with half my abilities, would have the whole city in his train. But let my fate be what it will, I am convinced I am right, and have had the good fortune to convince every good judge who has heard me, that I proceed on true principles. They tell me that my plan will certainly succeed. I have the honour, etc.[1]

Baltimore, January 20th, 1786.

Sir, — The President and Officers of College in Princeton, and all the students express a wish to hear my Lectures; but on takeing subscriptions we find but 16 students who will attend. Two reasons may be assigned; the students are reveiwing the studies of the Year, for examination which will begin the week after next, and they have no cash. Just *after* a vacation they would all attend.

I shall not read Lectures on such prospects, but to day move on to N. York.

Please to present my compliments and respects to Mrs. Pickering and Sister, Mr. Hodgdon,[2] and believe me, etc.

Princeton, March 24th, 1786.

P. S. I shall be obliged, if you will send me a copy of the Primer as soon as finished.[3]

[1] Pickering Papers, xix. 6.

[2] Samuel Hodgdon, who had been associated with Pickering in the Commissary Department in the last years of the Revolution.

[3] Pickering Papers, xix. 21.

New York, 9th April, 1786.

Sir, — Thursday evening I read my first Lecture. Dr. [David] Ramsay, chairman of Congress, Dr. [William Samuel] Johnson, etc. attended and have spoken so favorably of my design, that I am informed, many of the Delegates will attend in future.

Mr. Nichols, a native of Connecticut, but resident in this City, an approved instructor of youth, wishes to know the real prospects of succeeding in a Commercial school in Philadelphia. He wishes to know what men will support him in the attempt, what room can be procured, at what price. I can recommend the Gentleman, if you can satisfy him in these particulars. My Respects to your family, the mail is waiting. Yours, etc.[1]

Sir, — Yours with the Primer and Pamphlet were received yesterday; for which please to accept my sincere thanks. There is a capital error in the end of the 5th Table. The number *8* has no place in the Primer. The words placed under it are besides of different sounds, and not one comes under figure 8. Please to erase it. In Table 9th, the word *corollary* I believe is usually accented on the 2d syllable. *Jocularly* should be *jocularly*. The note at bottom might have been dispensed with, as *heterodox*, etc. are omitted in the Table. I have not examined critically for other mistakes. The work in general pleases me. I wish you had been particular in pointing to the words in which your practice differs from mine.

With respect to the Grammars, Sir, I shall [make] many alterations and amendments, and I wish not to have it introduced before they are made. Suppose a short paragraph were inserted in the public paper, informing those that have called for it, that I wish to make many amendments before it is republished.

I wish some of the Primers could be sent to Wilmington. I have many friends there and they would promote the sale. The copyright, if necessary, may be secured in Pennsylvania, by leaving a copy with the Prothonotary, Mr. Smith, and taking a certificate in my name.

I am improving my Lectures. I have added another. I have regularly about the same number as attended in Philadelphia, among [whom] are many of the first characters in Congress and the Citizens. The design is well received.

I am surprised that you never told me of my great fault in speaking, pitching my voice on too high a key. It was almost the sole cause of the other fault which you took so much pains to correct. They cured me here the first evening. And I speak now so as to please myself tolerably well, which I did not in Philadelphia. This week I finish. I have received requests to read Lectures in Boston and Portsmouth. I propose to read in Hartford, in May, during the Session of the Legis-

[1] Pickering Papers, xix. 27.

lature, in New Haven, the beginning of June, and then proceed to Boston.

A duel was fought last Friday evening between Mr Curson and Mr. Burling, the former can not recover of his wounds. The latter escaped, as Mr. Curson did not fire.

The paper money bill is a law. The Impost passed the Assembly, under too many restrictions; it is expected the Senate will make some amendments, and we do not despair that the Assembly will comply with them.

Please to present my most respectful compliments to Mrs. Pickering, Mr. Hodgdon, and Miss White, and believe me, etc.

New York, April 25th, 1786.

P. S. The reception of your former letters I forgot to mention. Mr. Nichols will move his family this spring and waits for some information from Philadelphia to govern his determinations.[1]

Sir, — Yours by Mr. Hurd was received just as I was setting off for Albany. Your last, with the Primer, was forwarded from N. York by Dr. Johnson.

Mr. Nichols will be in Philadelphia in June, and I will give him a letter to you.

I like very well the method you have taken with the erroneous column in the Primer. It is now reprinting with nearly the same amendments; substituting three proper words for figure 2. In this manner you have corrected it, it may be sold in Philadelphia.

It appears to me that your pronunciation of *bone* and *behold* is singular; I am inclined to reject the distinction of o^1 and o^2. It is so trifling in all words that it is perhaps unnecessary; altho it is most obvious in *whole*, *bolt*, etc.

I would not infringe my general rule respecting *e* final by marking it in Italic. Its effect in softening c and g should have been mentioned; but the omission will not probably occasion mistakes.

Dose, to slumber, I supposed was right. I have no authorities with me to decide the question.

Your opinion respecting *has*, *hath*, etc. appears to me singular; but I may be wrong.

Dera²nge is a mistake. I believe it is corrected in the last editions of the Institute.

I never heard *plant*, pronounced pla⁴nt, etc.

Butterfly etc have a second accent, but its not being mentioned can occasion no mistakes. Nice distinctions would rather perplex, than assist the young pupil. I conceive that the omission of the half accent altogether in this work, would not have been material.

[1] Pickering Papers, xix. 44.

Obduracy I shall always accent on the first syllable, our practice has analogy with it. *Celibacy*, the same.

Teat we shorten, *tit*, but perhaps improperly.

In table 2 Lesson 2 I substitute *stroke* for *cloke*.

The distinction between Cruise, a voyage, and cruse, a cup, appears to me well established in practice and very useful.

Our practice is in many respects, so different that it is almost impossible to reconcile our opinions. It will probably never be done till our alphabet shall be reduced to perfect regularity. I have a plan of the kind in contemplation. Dr. Ramsay, Chairman of Congress, has advised me to lay it before Dr. Franklin, and if approved, to have it come regularly before Congress.

The plan is very simple and undoubtedly practicable. The idea is well received in New York and many of the most discerning Gentlemen in Congress are its warmest advocates. They have done me the honor to attend the Lectures and stand corrected in some particulars.

As soon as I can complete the plan of a reformed Alphabet, I will direct it to you to be laid before Dr. Franklin.

I have made a little tour up the Hudson, with particular views, and at the request of a few friends, am reading Lectures in this City. In a few days I shall proceed to New York and then to Hartford.

Accept my thanks Sir, for your attention to my particular concerns and believe me, with respects for yourself and family, Your much obliged and very humble servant.[1]

Albany, May 12th, 1786.

Sir, — On Saturday evening I returned from Albany. I have had the pleasure of receiving your favor by Dr. Craigge. I am in haste, and can only observe, that the mode of education you have described is generally agreeable to my ideas. I wish it might be adopted in all our commercial towns, and shall use my influence for this purpose.

Mr. Nichols proposes to be in Philadelphia next month. He is capable of conducting a school well, and will want nothing but the countenance of influential men to push his exertions. I have seen Mr. Thomas's advertisements and shall make the design a matter of some attention when I travel eastward. With every acknowledgement for your attention, I am Sir, etc.[2]

New York May 21st, 1786.

Sir, — Enclosed is a Letter to Dr. Franklin covering the Plan of a Reformed Alphabet.

I am in some haste, preparing for a journey to the eastward and consequently have not time to be very explicit. You will be so kind as

[1] Pickering Papers, xix. 50; [2] 54.

to wait on His Excellency and will then have an opportunity of examining the plan. I wish Sir, you would continue your freedom in making remarks and suggesting new ideas.

The advantages expected from a reformation of the Alphabet are:

1st. It will render the acquisition of the language easy both for natives and foreigners. All the trouble of learning to *spell* will be saved.

2. When no character has more sounds than one, every Man, woman, and child, who knows his Alphabet can spell words, even by the sound, without ever seeing them.

3. Pronunciation must necessarily be uniform.

4. The orthography of the language will be fixed.

5. The necessity of encouraging printing in this country and of manufacturing all our own books, is a political advantage, obvious and immense.

6. A national language is a national tie, and what country wants it more than America?

Many other advantages will readily be suggested to your mind; and I must think the scheme practicable.

Please to direct Letters for me at Hartford, even when I am in Massachusetts or New Hampshire. I am Sir, with the highest respect, etc.[1]

New York, May 25, 1786.

Sir, — I presume that you must have seen Mr Nichols before this time, as his business required him to be in Philadelphia about the 15th of this month. I should have given him a Letter, but did not see him at Hartford in May, as I expected.

I read my Lectures to a few friends in Hartford, but most people paid no attention to them. I was at home. In New Haven I have about 70 hearers, consisting of the best families in town, and a few scholars; a greater number in proportion to the size of the town than I have had before; and they seem more pleased with the plan than any audience I have had.

Next week I go to Boston; where I shall be happy to hear from you. I shall probably lodge at Mr. [Joseph] Ingersolls, in Queen Street.[2]

I have received a letter from Dr. Franklin in answer to that which I sent him enclosing the scheme of a Reformed Alphabet. He deems the plan practicable and will give it all his support. He wishes me to go to Philadelphia soon and confer with him upon the subject; his ideas being very similar to mine and it being difficult to discourse

[1] Pickering Papers, xix. 56.

[2] The name of the street was changed, July 4, 1783, to Court Street.

about sounds on paper. But I cannot go till I have visited Boston and Portsmouth, as I had previously engaged to read lectures in both, before I received his Letter.[1]

Please to present my respects to Mrs. Pickering and the family and believe me your very obliged and most humble servant.[2]

New Haven, June 30th, 1786.

Sir, — Your favor of the 30th past was received yesterday. I know not what reason can be assigned for Mr Nichol's conduct; he was express in his declaration that he should be in Philadelphia in June. Some unexpected event must have prevented him. Many Good Characters may be obtained at Yale College, especially at this season, just before Commencement. But I shall not be there till October.

My lectures will probably be ready for the press the ensuing winter. I am collecting everything from books and men which will confirm my principles or improve the work. I shall not however finish them till I see Dr. Franklin which will probably be the last of October or beginning of November. He has written to me twice on the subject of some reformation and requested an interview with me, as soon as I have read Lectures in these Eastern Towns. Men of Literature and particularly the clergymen, who are liberal and sensible in their parts, are in favor of my ideas. But the people in Boston did not attend the lectures. I had but 30 generally, and never more than 60. Among these however were the most influential of the literati. In Salem I have 40 constant hearers; and next week I proceed to Portsmouth.

I must procure my paper for the Lectures in Philadelphia and I shall want about 80 Reams of the finest *Demi* (I believe they call it) which can be made. It should be equal to the best writing paper. I propose to print 1500 copies, large Octavo, and it will make, probably 400 pages. I must request you, Sir, to contract for the paper and have it made before cold weather. I expect to pay cash and at least half in hand.

I wish some New England masters would open school in Philadelphia; they would give a new turn to the mode of education in that City. I will do what I can to encourage them.

There is a political ferment in this State. Some towns are disposed for a Convention to redress Grievances, the principal of which are *taxes* and the existence of a Senate in the legislature. People wish to get rid of these evils immediately. Sutton has burnt its tax bill, and another town has voted not to pay taxes. Storms of this kind are sudden and transient; men of sense and judgement will never oppose

[1] Franklin to Webster, June 18, 1786.—"Writings of Benjamin Franklin" (Smyth), IX. 518.

[2] Pickering Papers, XIX. 64.

the execution of laws which are made by the body of the people, and which the leading characters judge salutary. It is a fact, demonstrated by correct calculation, that the common people in this Country drink Rum and Tea sufficient every year to pay the interest of the public debts, — articles of living, which so far from doing them any good, injure their morals, impair health and shorten their lives. A man has a right in a political view to make himself sick or drunk when he pleases, provided he does not injure himself or his neighbors; but when by these means he renders himself unable to fulfil the duties of society or comply with the laws of the State, very little indulgence should be granted to his vices. The best way to redress grievances is for every man, when he gets a sixpence, instead of purchasing a pint of Rum or two ounces of tea, to deposit his pence in a desk, till he has accumulated enough to answer the calls of the Collector. Every man who does this sacredly, redresses his own Grievances. I am Sir, with gratitude and respect, Your humble Servant.[1]

Salem August 10, 1786.

Advertisement.[2]

To-morrow evening, At half after seven o'clock, in Mr. Hunt's School-House, Mr. Webster will begin a short Course of LECTURES on the *English Language* and on *Education*. The course will consist of Six Lectures; the heads of which are the following.

I. Introduction. Origin of the English Language. Derivation of the European Languages from the ancient Celtic. General History of the English Language. Its Copiousness. Effect of this. Irregularity of its Orthography. Causes of this.

II. Elements of the English Language investigated. Rules of Pronounciation. Different Dialects of the Eastern, the Middle and the Southern States.

III. Some Differences between the English and Americans considered. Corruption of Language in England. Reasons why the English should not be our Standard, either in Language or Manners.

IV. Prevailing Errors in the use of Words. Errors of Grammarians in the Arrangements of the Verbs. Consequences of these in the most correct Writings.

V. Poetry. Principles of English Verse explained. Use and effect of the several Pauses. Effects of different poetic Measures illustrated by Examples.

VI. General Remarks on Education. Defects in our mode of Education. Influence of Education on Morals, and of Morals on

[1] Pickering Papers, xix. 74.

[2] From the "Massachusetts Centinel," July 12, 1786. A complimentary notice of the first lecture appeared in the Centinel of July 15.

Government. Female Education. Connection between the Mode of Education and the Form of Government. Effects of an European Education in America. Tour of America a useful Branch of Education. Conclusion.

☞ Tickets to be sold at the Post-Office, and at Mr. Battelle's Book-Store in Marlborough-Street, at 12s. the course, for Gentlemen, 6s. the course for Ladies, and 3s. a Ticket for an evening.

After the course shall be finished, a lecture will, if desired, be delivered for the benefit of the poor; consisting of remarks on the population, agriculture, literature, climate and commerce of the United States, taken mostly from actual observation. After the first lecture the evenings proposed are Monday, Wednesday and Friday; the evening after Commencement excepted.

Those who purchase a Ticket for the first evening may afterwards take a Ticket for the course at 9s. *Boston July* 12, 1786.

Boston, September 13, 1786.

Sir, — From Salem I proceeded to Portsmouth, and on my return I read Lectures in Newbury Port; in these towns I had about as many hearers as in Boston. I had about 30 in Boston, 40 in Salem, about 30 in Portsmouth, and 25 in Newbury Port.

Since I have been Eastward, some Gentlemen in this town have obtained subscriptions for a repetition of one or two of my Lectures. If a few more should be added this day, I shall read on Monday evening.

My books are gaining ground, and there are editions now in the press in New York and Boston. I shall next week proceed to Providence.

This State is in great tumult. The Court of Common Pleas has been stopped in Hampshire, Worcester, and Middlesex. In Bristol General Cobb had orders to raise the militia, which he did and took possession of the Court House and the Court was regularly opened and adjourned. Cobb had about 300 men, with a field piece, the mob amounted to 500 men, about 40 of whom had arms; but their arms disappeared on sight of the militia. The people were not outrageous, and it is believed that decisive measures, taken in season would have enabled the other Courts to sit or at least to have adjourned as they did in Taunton. The mob is headed by some desperate fellows, without property or principle. Many well-meaning people are led into opposition merely by false information and the *truth*, diffused among the people at large, would soon restore tranquillity. I am, etc.[1]

[1] Pickering Papers, xix. 78. A long letter from Webster to Governor Bowdoin, of Massachusetts, on the continental finances, dated March 15, 1787, is in 7 Coll. vi. 173.

To Jeremy Belknap.

Hartford, September 19, 1789.

Sir, — I have contracted for the finishing of Winthrop's History, and will thank you to forward it, well enclosed, by the first conveyance. There are two Gentlemen from this town in Boston, I believe at Mr. Archibald's [1] behind the Old Brick [Church]. Your compliance will oblige, your most obedient etc.[2]

Hartford, October 10th, 1791.

Sir, — After the great favors I have received from you and the confidence you have gained in my esteem, the subject of this letter will not be surprizing to you. The Copy right of my Institute in Pensylvania and the neighboring states is again in my own hands. The terms of Contract with Mr. Young did not please me and I have purchased his right, or rather his pretensions to right. At present I wish to publish the work myself, tho' I have hardly capital to spare for the purpose. I have an addition of a dozen pages to make to the Spelling book, viz. a Moral Catechism. The work then will consist of about 160 pages. The Selections abridged will make about 200 or 220 pages. This abridged edition has taken place of the other here, and is very saleable. I wish to supply New York market with this part, from Philadelphia, and the sale *there* is about 600 or 700 annually. The sale of the Spelling book by Mr. Young has been about 7000 a year.

The expense of an impression of 5000 Spelling books is thus

70 Reams of paper a 14/	£ 49. 0. 0	Penn.
Printing 61–2 sheets a £5	32. 10. 0	Curr'y.
	£ 81. 10. 0	

This calculation is high, for paper, I believe, of a suitable quality may be purchased at 12/ or 13/, and I think £5 a sheet for printing is too high; but of this I am not a competent judge.

5000 Copies in Sheets @ /7 £129. 3. 4.

I shall not bind the books, but sell them in sheets at /7*d.* which I believe is the customary price, tho of this I am not certain; I wish to keep them at the usual price.

Now, Sir, if your business will possibly admit of your calling on some printer, or bookseller, (I have sent Mr. [John] Fenno a line on the subject) to know whether any of them will undertake to print the

[1] Francis Archbald, Church Square, Cornhill, who took in "gentleman boarders."

[2] Belknap Papers, II. 24. Another letter to Belknap, on the publication of Winthrop, is in 6 Coll. IV. 430. Webster, in February, 1788, planned to publish a magazine. See same volume of the Collections, 385.

books on their *own* account and allow me a share of the profits, or on *my* account and charge me with the printing and paper, selling the books in sheets, and crediting me the net proceeds, taking a commission for the business, I should be very glad indeed. If it is necessary for me to advance a part of the money, I will do it. The printers I should prefer are Mr. [John] Fenno, Mr. [Joseph] Crukshank, Mr. [Benjamin Franklin] Bache, Mr. [Francis] Bailey; but this I leave to you, excepting that for the sake of Mr Fenno and family, I wish to give a preference. It might require some trouble and time, tho I should imagine not much, to make a contract in the first instance; but after that, no trouble at all. I would allow ten per Cent on the proceeds of sale to any person transacting the business and advancing the money; and five per Cent for transacting the business without advances.

I hope, Sir, your official business will not prevent your assisting me in this matter; as I do not repose the same confidence in any other man. Otherwise, you may appoint a person you can rely upon to do this business and I shall acquiesce.

I am very happy in your late appointment, believing it must be agreeable to your family as well as acceptable to yourself.

With respects for Mrs. P. and your friend, I am etc.[1]

HARTFORD, December 18th, 1791.

SIR, — Your obliging favor of the 8th Current has been recd. No apology was necessary for your delaying an answer to mine. I know your heart, Sir, too well to ask for one in any case. I supposed good reasons for your delay, and wrote to Mr. Ely to make some enquiries for me; but have yet received no answer from him. The price of printing is so much higher in Philadelphia than here, that at present I shall relinquish the plan of getting work done in Philadelphia. I *can* get the Spelling book printed here for *four* pence, *Pennsylvania* Currency, paper included; and any of our printers would do it for less than *five* pence. I should however be under no apprehension of not selling the book at a profit even giving *six* pence, were it not for Campbell whose conduct, in striking off 50,000 at the close of his term, I was before apprized of, and which *deserves*, and may hereafter *receive*, serious notice. On this subject however it is necessary to observe silence. But he may push thousands into the Philadelphia market at a very *low* price, he almost certainly will, altho he has no more right, than any of the New England Printers, so to do. However I have an additional half sheet for the work, which will contain what I call "A Moral Catechism, or Lessons for Saturday." This I think will be a valuable addition to the work, and give my impression

[1] Pickering Papers, XIX. 215.

a decided preference in market. As Campbell cannot print this little pamphlet to add to the Spelling book, I hope to obtain in part that sale for my impression which his integrity would not give me in the Philadelphia market, which is now wholly my right.

I shall early in Spring send some books from Hartford to some bookseller in that City. I suppose the market is at present supplied.

My *dissertations*,[1] which cost me a large sum of money, lie on hand, and must, I believe, be sold for wrapping paper. Some of my Essays found sale, perhaps a third; the remainder will probably be a dead loss. Mr. Dobson had 100 of each, and I am almost afraid to ask for his account of sales, for fear he will bring me in debt for binding.

Have you seen the Prompter?[2] A small impression here sells rapidly, it probably would in Philadelphia. I sent a Copy to Mr. Wolcott, desiring him to give you the reading of it. If an impression of 1000 or 1500 would sell in Philadelphia, a license for printing it might be obtained; and the author stands in need of any little profit that would arise from the sale.

Of your obliging attention to my requests, be assured of my sensibility, as well as my respect for your character; and that no man is readier to serve you than, Sir, your most obedient and most humble Servant.

P. S. I should be happy to know whether my answer to the Review of my Essays has appeared in the Columbian Magazine.[3]

HARTFORD, March 10th, 1792.

SIR, — Enclosed with this I send you a Copy of the Prompter, which I will thank you to get printed in Philadelphia. Experiment proves it will sell. One impression here is gone, another at Albany is selling rapidly. I am willing to take the risk of an impression of 1500 or 2000 in Philadelphia. Please to get it done in the cheapest and best manner, but on a smaller letter and in a less size. My opinion is that it should be done in *sixteens* and on a *small pica*. In that manner it will make about the same number of pages, or *three sheets*. A ream of paper to 1/2 a sheet will make about 900 complete copies. Six reams then will make that number of books. I believe it will be safe to print *two* reams in a *half* sheet; so that 12 reams will complete 1800 books. If it is necessary to advance money for the paper, please to draw on me for it at a short sight. I wish the paper to be very good and the letter also. The binding I wish to be in *marble paper*, but as they may be

[1] "Dissertations on the English Language . . . with an Essay on a reformed Mode of Spelling," Boston, 1789.

[2] "The Prompter; or a Commentary on Common Sayings and Subjects," which passed through many editions.

[3] Pickering Papers, XIX. 245.

bound as they are called for, little money need be advanced for that; indeed they may be sold in sheets, at a price we can fix, when the expense of the paper and printing is ascertained. If the printer will not wait for his money till the books sell, I will pay a draft for it. But I conceive there can be no difficulty on this score. I calculate the expense of paper and printing and binding not to be higher than 7 cents, or 8 at farthest. Perhaps it will.

If I am not known generally to be the writer of the book, I wish to be concealed, especially in Philadelphia. The writer, while unknown, has been called in that city a very *wise man*, but should it be known among my enemies that Noah Webster wrote it, I am confident both the writer and the book will be abused. With sentiments of respect, I am, etc.

P. S. Which of the Booksellers, in your opinion, Sir, may be best entrusted with a commission of books?[1]

HARTFORD, March 31, 1792.

SIR, — I thank you for yours by mail. I highly approve of your employing Mr. Cist to print the Prompter, and cannot say his terms are unreasonable. Paper is higher in Philadelphia than here. I must suspend the printing at present for want of money, merely on account of the low price of bills on Europe. I sent one to New York; just at Mr. [William] Duer's failure, and my agent will not sell it, nor do I choose he should, till the price rises. And as I have no other *present* resource, the work must be suspended, if the printer expects ready pay, which I suppose he does.

I am also doubtful about so large a number as 1800. Will it not be prudent to publish a smaller number, at first. On this head, I wish for the opinion of yourself and some of the booksellers who have seen some of the numbers.

I will let you know when I can pay for printing, that the work may proceed.

Mr. [Mathew] Carey has republished some of the numbers from the papers; if convenient, please to suggest to him, from the author, the impropriety of his continuing them since the work is placed under the protection of Law. I am, Sir, with great friendship and respect, etc.[2]

HARTFORD, August 26, 1792.

SIR, — I must request you, if I do not trouble you too much, to enquire of the Brick-makers in Philadelphia their manner of manufacturing their *best* brick. It is certain their bricks are much better than we have made in Connecticut. Whether their clay is pure or mixed with

[1] Pickering Papers, XIX. 258; [2] 263.

sand; how they pulverize it and mix it with water; how long they let the brick dry before burning; whether the bricks when dry are put into the moulds a second time; whether the moulds are lined and with what; how the bricks are burnt, etc. are inquiries I wish to have made; as some information on this subject may assist our manufacture of this article. I want early intelligence on this subject, as we are about building a large Court house in this town of the best materials. I hope I do not trouble you too much and am with great respect, etc.[1]

HARTFORD, November 11th, 1792.

SIR, — By last evenings mail I received 50 dollars from Mr. Cist on account of sales of my *books*; but he does not say *what* books. I have no way for accounting for this, but by supposing he has printed the *Prompter*; if so, I am indebted for it to your negotiation, and beg you will accept my thanks.

The bearer of this, Mr. John Leffingwell, is a Joiner (or in Pensylvania dialect) a house Carpenter, who has contracted to perform that part of the Court House in this City. He has some business in Philadelphia, and perhaps you can help him to some information that may be useful to him.

Your letter on brick-making, Sir, was duly received and its contents communicated to the Superintendants of the proposed Court House. They are, I believe, not public-spirited enough to *hire* such a workman as you mention; but they agree with you in opinion that such a manufacture would be useful. I wish some enterprizing master-workman would come here and *begin* the business, for a *beginning* only is wanted to make it flourish. Our clay is so good and in such abundance, labor and wood are so much cheaper than in Philadelphia, that our manufacturers might afford stock brick lower than those in Philadelphia. We should supply New York, and lower the price in Pennsylvania. Had I capital, I would patronize the undertaking, but *vires desunt*. I will thank you to point Mr. Leffingwell to some of the manufacturers of brick that he may communicate on the subject. I am, etc.

P. S. Mr. Bradley has called on me and explained the matter of the bills enclosed. I shall be happy to render him any civility and you, any service in my power. I have given him my opinion as to *one* method in which I suppose depredations have been committed, with[out] any fraud in the Post masters.[2]

HARTFORD, April 10th, 1793.

SIR, — In order to carry into effect the plan proposed, it is necessary to have from you an order or warrant to all the Post Masters between

[1] Pickering Papers, XIX. 271; [2] 276.

New York and Hartford, to open the bag between these two places, during your pleasure or mine. The plan we have formed, if prosecuted some weeks or months, will ensure success, if any crime is committed during that time; and the wickedness is not in the Offices, which, I believe, is not the Case.

I propose to be in New York next Sunday or Monday, where I shall wait for your orders to the post masters, as above, which please to enclose to me at that place, as soon as you receive this. The expense of this business will not, I hope, exceed that of one Journey to New York. I am, etc.[1]

HARTFORD, April 22d, 1793.

SIR, — I have just arrived from N. York. Our plan will begin this week, it is highly agreable to *those* to whom it is communicated. I will thank you to be silent on the subject, except to me or Mr. *Beauman*;[2] and for safety it may be best not to write explicitly on the subject at present. Your draft on Mr. Bauman was paid, he told me he would return the bill, *paid*, the next day; this will be my receipt. When do you set out for Sandusky? I am, etc.[3]

NEW YORK, January 8th, 1794.

. . . I believe Mr. Young has the last edition of my S[pelling] Book; the last Connecticut impression, I believe, is the 13th or 14th. Please to enquire for that which has the "Moral Catechism," and if it is not in Philadelphia, I will send you what you may want.

My principal view in forming my present plan of business was to print my own books, correctly, and take the benefit of them. We shall have out an edition early in Spring.

I have a sincere desire that postage may be taken from carriage of newspapers, except a small duty of perhaps 1/2 Cent to the postmasters. I find it a great objection to the taking of papers in the country: And I cannot see the policy of it, when the revenue must be trifling. Excuse this freedom; my opinion is probably different from yours. I am, etc.

P. S. By a vessel from Liverpool we learn, the late Queen of France has followed her husband.[4] Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat![5]

[1] Pickering Papers, XLI. 125.
[2] Sebastian Bauman, postmaster at New York.
[3] Pickering Papers, XLI. 130.
[4] Marie Antoinette was executed October, 1793.
[5] Pickering Papers, XIX. 307.

New York, November 24th, 1796.

Sir, — Permit me to ask you as a private man and a friend, how long the *delicacy* of our government will suffer every species of indignity from the agents of the French nation in this Country? Why are not the details of the negociation of 1783 given to the public? Why not inform our fellow citizens of the Imperious demand made by the Committee of Safety through Mr. Munroe, of a "Copy," of the Treaty with Great Britain, before it was ratified?[1] Why not collect and publish evidence of the bribery of the agents of that nation in America? Our people *do not know* the extent of their intrigues, nor the base treatment our government receives and has received from them. I feel much mortified at the abuses received; and regret the strength of the French party in our country. Could not the French minister, in case of a civil disturbance, command force enough in the City and County of Philadelphia to drive every honest man away and lay waste the city? I firmly believe it. Are we then to be split into parties to become the convenient tools of foreign intrigues? For mercy's sake let the government assume a decided tone. We had better surround our Country with a wall of brass, than to be thus torn into factions by the agents of powers, in whose rivalries we have not the smallest interest. Pardon my earnestness, and believe me, etc.[2]

New York, December 8, 1796.

Sir, — I have received yours of the 6th and thank you for it.

I once conversed with Mr. King on the subject of publishing the material facts in the negociation of 1783. He said, a motion had once been made in Senate for the purpose; but was not carried through, on account of the delicacy of disclosing some things that implicated certain American characters. Now this, in *my* mind, is one of the most substantial reasons, why the whole ought to be published. I think it should be a main object of government, to arrest every attempt to introduce an improper foreign influence; and that no measure will better answer this purpose, than that of *making examples* of American citizens, who yield to that influence. It appears to me, that the exigency is the same, as that which would induce the Commander of an army to make a public example of the *first Deserter.*

If permission can be obtained from the Executive of the United States, I would undertake to examine the papers relative to the Negociation of 1783, and select for publication such parts, as are necessary to exhibit the real views of the powers then at war, their cabinet intrigues and designs on the United States. To effect this, it would

[1] The Jay treaty.

[2] Pickering Papers, xx. 414.

hardly be necessary to apply to the records in the office of State, as Governor Jay has copies, I believe, of all the principal papers. Some of them I have read, and have his permission to read the whole, for my private information.

I am the more anxious to avail myself of those documents, as I intend to devote a considerable portion of time, this winter, in developing the history and views of the French nation. I am convinced that they formed as early as 1792, the vast project of a general Revolution, and have since added to their views the design of Conquests as extensive as the Roman Empire, in the plenitude of the Greatness of her power. I am astonished, on running over the papers of 1792 and 3, to see how evidently this project appeared, and how little apprehension it has excited in America.

I submit to you the propriety and expediency of laying my request before the President. In the present posture of affairs, prudence will suggest the impolicy of irritation; at the same time there is no question, that the great mass of Citizens of the United States, are utterly ignorant of the *real views and character* of the French Government. In the case of further troubles with France, how are those steady and intelligent men, who constitute the yeomanry of our country, and who are its *strength* and *defense*, to know exactly the merits of the controversy, and to form a just estimate of that nation, without being informed of the Cabinet transactions of France from the beginning of our Revolution? It is beyond a question, in my mind, that the *French Strength* in our country, rests principally on a *general ignorance* of the views of that nation.

From Great Britain, I see no reason to fear. The vexations suffered from her Cruisers on the seas, (which indeed are provoking enough) will be the amount of what we are to apprehend from her. The Government treats ours with respect, and I believe no nation on earth but the French attempts to excite disaffection to the government, in every country where her citizens are permitted to reside. With great respect, I am, etc.[1]

New York, May 22, 1797.

Sir,— Your favor of the 19th is duly received, and the paper requested enclosed. I have first taken an attested copy of the original French of Mr. Jefferson's letter to prevent accidents.[2]

I believe the translation I have given and which you have seen in the papers, will be found substantially correct. It is possible some

[1] Pickering Papers, xx. 419.

[2] Jefferson's letter to his friend, Philip Mazzei, dated April 24, 1796. Jefferson complained to Madison that the letter had suffered in translating, and much political capital was made of it by the Federalists.

errors might have crept into the letter, on its first translation into Italian or French from the original. I presume the word "legislature" is thus improperly used for Constitution or Government, as I have translated it — as the original makes the *judiciary* a branch of the legislature. I am, etc.[1]

New York, May 30th, 1797.

Sir, — The paper containing Mr. Jefferson's Letter to M. Mazzei, makes part of a file belonging to a Mr. Jones, a friend of mine, who has this day called for them. If you have no further use for it, I will thank you to send it to me. Perhaps you will think it prudent to take an attested copy.

I wish to know, Sir, whether the translation made from the French into the Minerva,[2] has done Mr. Jefferson any injustice. If so, a fresh and authentic translation will set all right with the public. I presume there is no longer any doubt of its genuineness. I am, etc.[3]

New York, July 2, 1797.

Sir, — In my absence, a letter from you was received at our office and opened by the Company.[4] I thank you for the public business, and trust it will be done to your satisfaction.

I have advertised for Colden's History,[5] as I want a copy for myself, and trust I shall be able to procure one for each of us.

I will thank you to write hereafter to the *Company*, on business of the office, as I do not allow Mr. Hopkins to open my letters, and I do not attend at the office in person. I find it necessary to rid myself of office drudgery, to devote my time to my other duties as Editor. Private business please to direct to *me*, and I shall esteem it a pleasure to serve you.

Can you without trouble send me a Copy of the History of the U. States No. 5,[6] advertised in Fenno.[7] Mr. Hamilton and myself wish to see it, and *one* copy will answer for both, as by the advertisement we see it contains downright lies. I am, etc.[8]

[1] Pickering Papers, xxi. 127.

[2] The federal organ in New York, of which Webster was the editor. The first issue was made December 9, 1793.

[3] Pickering Papers, xxi. 137.

[4] The Minerva Company, Hopkins being the business head of it.

[5] Cadwallader Colden's "History of the Five Indian Nations," first issued in 1727.

[6] James Thomson Callender's "History of the United States for 1796." The fifth part contained the charges against Hamilton which called out his "Observations on certain Documents contained in No. v and vi of," etc.

[7] John Fenno, editor of the "United States Gazette."

[8] Pickering Papers, xxi. 162.

New York, July 7, 1797.

Sir, — I thank you for the pamphlets, not that they are worth anything, but because the sending them has caused you some trouble and is a proof of your readiness to oblige me. Colonel Hamilton has reason to be angry, and expresses some intention of pursuing the authors. The lies told about *me* are too inconsiderable to rouse resentment. But I believe such a pack of scoundrels as our *opposition* and their *creatures*, was never before collected into one country. Indeed they are the *refuse*, the sweepings of the most depraved part of mankind, from the most corrupt nations on earth.

I enclose you Colden's History, which please to accept from me, and believe me, etc.

P. S. The late discoveries of Patriotism and the attempt of one Keeler to abscond, occupy our attention. We want to know the whole truth.[1]

New York, September 20, 1797.

Sir, — Mr. Taylor[2] informs me that you have answered the Chevalier's Letter, and that your answer is in the press. Will you be good enough, Sir, to send me a Copy, as soon as it is published. I suppose it will appear in the papers, and I wish to be early in giving it to my Subscribers. With much respect, I am, etc.[3]

New York, September 23, 1797.

Sir, — I thank you for your letter of the 21st and the inclosures. I have read your Answer to the Chevalier, with pleasure and satisfaction. I never had but one opinion on the points of Controversy, and it is evident, that the French and their creatures in this country *contrive* subjects of controversy, precisely as they do in Europe, when they mean to come to an open rupture with a state. In this manner, the French in Italy have, I say it on good evidence, *occasioned* the violences and disputes, which were intended as *pretexts* to apologize for war, and the revolutions they had projected.

I have called on Mr. Cox,[4] the Gentleman who left New Orleans in August. He informs me that he saw Mr. Ellicott,[5] July 24, who told him, that he expected to be put in possession of the posts very soon.

[1] Pickering Papers, xxi. 173.

[2] George Taylor, Jr.

[3] Pickering Papers, xxi. 251. It is endorsed by Pickering: "Answered 20. Sent him the letter to Yrujo, informing him it was not *published*, and it was only for the private information of himself and friends, etc. etc." See "Life of Timothy Pickering," iii. 405.

[4] Daniel William Coxe, a brother of Tench Coxe.

[5] Andrew Ellicott, commissioner under the treaty with Spain, October 20, 1795.

But Mr. Cox tells me, *he* does not believe the event will take place.[1] He saw and conversed with the Baron de Carondelet,[2] and with Governor Gayoso.[3] They appear to be friendly enough to the United States; but declare that the grant of a free navigation of the Mississippi to the English in the American Treaty, is the main obstacle to a fulfilment of the treaty by the Spanish Government. (It is strange that men of common understanding should lay stress on a point which you have refuted, but which on the face of the Treaties, of 1763 and subsequent, is utterly absurd.)

Mr. Cox tells me, Captain Guion,[4] with his detachment, passed New Madrid, when he was going down, with drums beating and colors flying. He thinks there has not been a good understanding between the Baron [Carondelet] and Gayoso,[5] on the points in dispute. Indeed he speaks of it with certain knowledge. This may account for some contradictory orders and indecision among the Spanish Officers at different posts. Mr. Cox heard nothing of Blount's affair[6] in that country, nor until he arrived in New York. By which it appears that it is not a subject of conversation among the Spaniards. It seems that the people had surrounded the Governor's house, but were easily diverted from any acts of violence. All is quiet.

Such are the scraps of information I have obtained from an intelligent Gentlemen, but who appears to have no official information. He brought dispatches to the Spanish Minister, which may contain further information.

I have cast my eye over the answer to Pastoret.[7] It is a proof, either of a direct communication between our Jacobins, and the writer, or of a common spirit appropriate to Jacobinism all over the world. It is hard to say which to admire most, this writer's ignorance or his malevolence.

We hardly know what charge to make for publishing the laws of the United States. I had supposed the charges of other printers were made by the square, but Mr. Fenno tells me, not. The charge is made by the page in the printed copy of the Laws. Will you, Sir, be good enough to give me the rule or practice? It will oblige, Sir, your most, etc.[8]

[1] For difficulties raised by the Spaniards, see Gayarré, History of Louisiana, III. 366.

[2] François Louis Hector, Baron de Carondelet.

[3] Gayoso de Lemos, governor of Natchez.

[4] Captain Guion, sent by General Wilkinson to take command at Natchez. Gayarré, III. 391.

[5] In the fall of 1797 Carondelet left for his new post at Quito, and was succeeded by Gayoso, who was installed in office August 1, 1797.

[6] The so-called conspiracy of United States Senator William Blount.

[7] Claude Emmanuel Joseph Pierre, Comte de Pastoret.

[8] Pickering Papers, XXI. 257.

New York, October 31, 1797.

Sir, — Inclosed is a letter which came to me from Mr. [Rufus] King, who says not a word on the subject, nor what he sent it for. If authentic, it is of importance, as throwing light on late Conspiracies. It probably is; but I find that the date is July, 1793, and the writer speaks of a letter written to him by General [George Rogers] Clarke, of the *second of February*, if I understand it. But Genêt did not arrive in Charleston till March. This puzzles me, and I request an explanation. I will thank you to return me the letter, with your opinion of its authenticity, and how it was obtained.

I send you also a full state of the questions relative to the Decree of March 2d, and the Role of Equipage. If you have not seen it, you will be pleased with it. I may want it again; if so, I will write for it.

I here take the liberty to suggest my own opinion, that the passport furnished for our vessels is quite incomplete; and I have communicated this opinion to Mr. Wolcott. You will see what I say in the paper. I do not express my opinion *fully* to the public; but I have examined the subject closely; and I am persuaded, that the Role of Equipage is required by the Treaty to be deposited in the Custom house, and such deposit should be certified in the passport. The Passport is the only evidence of that deposit which the French can require of Masters of vessels; still for greater safety, I would have every vessel take an attested copy of the Role. There is one important reason for the list of passengers — our vessels are prohibited from carrying the enemies of France, if *military men in actual service.* How can this be known, unless the passengers are registered? I submit this to the government. It is a matter of infinitè consequence, for the regular papers may not prevent the seizure and vexation of our vessels by a piratical Government and its agents, yet they will charge the underwriters, and perhaps hereafter procure indemnification of the French nation. The merchants are anxious on the subject and wish something might be immediately done. I am, etc.[1]

Pickering to Webster.

Trenton, November 1, 1797.

Sir, — I have this morning received your letter of yesterday with the paper sent you by Mr. King. I presume it is genuine. I have received two copies of it from General Pinckney, and as the General forwarded several of his letters thro' Mr. King, open for his perusal, I conclude he took the copy transmitted to you, which I now return. I have compared it with my copies, they all agree in the date of General Clarke's letter, the 2d February, and as all of them were

[1] Pickering Papers, xxi. 328.

undoubtedly transcribed from one copy sent from Paris, the error may have been in this.[1] One of General Pinckney's copies of Genêt's letter is dated 12th July, 1792, instead of 1793. Perhaps the Parisian copy might have le deux *d'avril* badly written, which then might easily be mistaken for *fevrier*. But if Genêt arrived at *Charleston* not till *March*, how could General Clarke have heard of his arrival, and have written him so early as the 2d even of April? I ask another question. What could have induced General Clarke to open a correspondence with Genêt at all? In answer, I ask further, whether some secret French Agent was not employed before Genêt's arrival, to tamper with the Western people relative to the conquest of Louisiana? Or if there were no such overtures, may we not conjecture that the project originated with the Kentuckians, who had been so long weary of the yoke imposed by the Spaniards on the Mississippi, and that their resentment, their interest, and their attachment to the French, then so nearly universal in America, prompted them to suggest the idea to the *French Minister* in Philadelphia as early as February 2d, 1793, and that this minister (Ternant) going out of office, prior to its arrival, the letter fell of course into the hands of Genêt, who would then naturally say, "*que vous m'avez écrite*"? Perhaps too the letter was not directed to *M. Ternant*, but generally to the *French Minister* in Philadelphia. Beyond a doubt, considering Genêt's vivacity and eagerness, he would answer the letter with the least possible delay; hence I conclude that Clarke's letter did not reach him till the beginning of July; and hence that it was written to the *French Minister*, without any knowledge of Genêt; or that the date has been miscopied, and that it was not written in February or even in April, but at a later day. The medium thro' which Genêt's letter came to me, its stile, and the project itself which we know was fostered and in a train of execution, leave no room to doubt its authenticity. The Colonel Fulton[2] of Kentuckey, who has been long and repeatedly in Paris, has been soliciting the pay promised to Clarke and his officers. What use should be made of this discovery is another question. As it relates to a measure so long since frustrated, I am inclined to think it neither necessary nor expedient to publish it.

I received last evening half a dozen copies from Havre, of the observations concerning the American ship *Juliana*,[3] carried in there as

[1] See "Correspondence of Clark and Genet" in Report of American Historical Association, 1896, I. 930, and the "Correspondence of French Ministers to the United States, 1791–1797," edited by Frederick J. Turner, in the report of the Association for 1903.

[2] Samuel Fulton.

[3] A vessel of this name, Captain Hayward, was captured, in 1796 or 1797, on her voyage from Hamburg to Baltimore by a prize brig belonging to Commodore

a prize; and therefore return immediately the one you were so good as to send me.

I presumed the Treasury had given instructions about the *rôle d'equipage* in literal conformity with the terms of the passport. I suppose nothing more can be done until Mr. Wolcott's return to Philadelphia. I have been very unhappy that we so long omitted to prescribe the form of this rôle and give instructions to the Collectors; altho' I considered the want of a *rôle d'equipage* no more a just cause for condemnation, than the want of a sea letter, on which some of the first condemnations took place in *France*, before their unprincipled government thought of the *rôle d'equipage*: and that other clear proofs of neutral, and especially of American property, ought to be admitted on supplying the want of those two papers, the direct and important object of which, or rather of the sea letter, (for I do not agree that the part of the form of the passport in the English language, if the French is less definite, requires a *rôle d'equipage* to be on board) was to save our vessels from the delays and injuries arising from being turned out of their course, and carried into port. As soon as Mr. Wolcott returns we will see what has been prescribed; and if an amendment or addition appears necessary, give instructions accordingly. I am, Sir, very respectfully yours.[1]

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

NEW YORK, November 2d, 1797.

SIR, — I have received yours covering the pamphlet from Havre and the Letter of G[enê]t. I think it far from improbable that your last conjectures about the date of Clarke's letter are right. And let me add another idea. This project might not have been unknown in France before Genêt sailed, and this was perhaps the reason of his going *first to Charleston*. If so, we develope the insidious designs of the Revolutionary Government, as they by their agents, planned an invasion of Spainish Florida, long before war was declared. More of the schemes of that government are yet to be unfolded.

Since I wrote you last, I have seen the Secretary of the Treasury [Wolcott], who insists on it that our passport in its present form is all that the Treaty requires. I confess he does not convince me. He says a great part of the *French form* in the passport, relating to entry of crew and passengers in the Custom house, is *surplusage* and a *dead letter*. This to me is unintelligible. Either the form as annexed to the Treaty is valid and binding in the whole or not at all. I see no ground to reason away *a part* of that paper. He says we have no

Barney, carried to Porto Rico, and there dismissed. Pickering probably refers to a subsequent capture.

[1] Pickering Papers, VII. 412.

Registry of Seamen. True; but in the time of war, the French have a right to take out of our vessels their enemies who are in actual military service. Now, what is [to] prevent, a vexatious Captain of a privateer from demanding of American Captains, *proof* that he has no such military men aboard? I confess, Sir, I differ from Mr. Wolcott, for almost the first time in my life. I do firmly believe, and I find some of our most respectable merchants of the same opinion, that the passport does *not* comply with the Treaty; and I do know, that some of our vessels have escaped seizure, by showing a Role, certified by some consul.

I am sorry to trouble you with my ideas, especially as Mr. Wolcott tells me I do not understand the subject. I know it is not my concern, but the multiplied losses of my fellow citizens, apparently for want of papers, hurts me. I am determined however to drop the subject. With great respect, etc.[1]

New York, November 3, 1797.

Sir, — I have received your Explanation of the Certificate or Passport, and think it is probably just; but it does not remove my objection, which is that the Role *must* be deposited with the Custom House Officer, to comply with the *spirit* and *letter* of the paper. It is not material whether the Captain is directed to *swear* that he will do a thing, or whether the form declares he *shall* do it. At any rate, on your own construction, a part of the requisitions of that paper are not complied with: Whether *essential* or not, it is not my province to decide; but I am free to declare that I *believe* many losses have been sustained for want of the *form* and the *role;* and in dealing with a piratical Government, governed by no steady principles even of *apparent* justice, it may be better to have more formalities than are required, rather than less. I conceive the papers called for by the French, might have been furnished originally by the Custom House without committing the Government. Indeed something of the kind has been done by the Secretary of the Treasury, and I believe with good effect. Your obedient servant in haste.[2]

To Jeremy Belknap.

New York, January 4, 1798.

Sir, — I am pursuing the investigation of the origin of the plague and yellow fever, and am put to great inconvenience for want of books. I have a favor to ask of you. I wish for all the information that can be obtained from ancient writers on American affairs, relative to the

[1] Pickering Papers, xxi. 331; [2] 333.

epidemics in this country. I have Oliver's account of the pestilence at Nantucket, which I presume is sufficient on that subject. I have some account of the great plague which destroyed the Indians just before the arrival of the Plymouth Colony, from Captain Dermer's Letter in Purchas, from Prince's chronology, from Gookin's Collections and from Hutchinson. But I want much *Governor Bradford's* account of it, and any other which you can give me. From Gookin it is clear the disease was the Yellow Fever, but I want all the evidence extant as to the *nature of the disease*, the *year* of its *prevalence*, for Prince and Gookin differ, the *time* of the *year* when it *began*, *how long* it *raged* and *when it ceased.*[1]

Have you any accounts of other Epidemics, which have been fatal in our country, except what you have related in your history? If so you will oblige me by communicating them. Please to note the year of their beginning, their progress and ending. I am in a train to disprove the common doctrine of pestilential diseases. It will be demonstrated that *infection* is the agent of least consideration in propagating even the plague. With great respect, etc.[2]

New Haven, April 13, 1798.

Sir, — I thank you sincerely for your attention in forwarding to me a Copy of the Dispatches in print. My impatience to see them was great, and I hastened to read them.

I cannot say I am much *surprized* for I had watched the conduct of the Government of France very narrowly for three or four years, and had long ago made up my mind on its views as you may have perceived from the run of my published remarks. I have long conceived the leaders in that country to be as wicked as the Dispatches represent them.

I hope and trust the publication will have a salutary effect on our own citizens, the only thing really formidable to us being *disunion.*

I have long seen the French pursuing a *system* to render the whole earth tributary to them, and this system in America will certainly be resisted *with effect.* They may not attempt an invasion of this country, but in case of any fatal disaster to England, an invasion of America may not be improbable. The only thing that can *insure* us against that, is a *broad, firm* and *effectual system of defense*, by all parties *united.* This will spare us the dreadful alternative.

The enemies of administration have this spring made a violent assault on the steady union and patriotism of Connecticut. Secret meetings in all parts of the State were held in March to combine their forces, and

[1] See Webster's "Brief History," I. 176.
[2] Belknap Papers, III. 20.

last Monday was the day of election. The result cannot be exactly known till May. But so far as can be learnt from particular towns, their efforts will end in exposing their imbecillity. The success and triumph of the advocates of our Government will be complete.

I date this at New Haven, where my family will in future reside. My living is derived from the papers in New York, the politics of which are still under my direction. This removal is the accomplishment of a purpose of many years standing — that of having an income which will enable me to pursue, with little interruption, my taste for science.

I expect to be in Philadelphia the last of this month. In the mean time I am, etc.[1]

New Haven, May 12th, 1798.

Sir, — I have just returned from Hartford where the election for the State is annually held in May, and where the principal characters are usually assembled.

I cannot describe to you, Sir, the spirit and indignation which is universally manifested at the conduct of the French Government and their partizans in this country. The late effort of a pitiful party to influence our elections, and put into Congress men of principles hostile to administration, has had a most auspicious effect. It has disclosed views which had been concealed from many unsuspecting men, and it has compelled the sober citizens of Connecticut, who have no wish to be involved in party disputes, but to obey the laws and be good citizens, to come forward and *take sides*. Never was so full an election. The usual number of votes for our Governor and Council, on former occasions, has been about 3000, on the present occasion the number exceeded 7000. In the choice of Governor and Council there was no division. In the ticket for members of Congress, the full strength of opposition will appear, and this will not be known till the next week, but it is not supposed that the number of votes mustered by the clubs, can rise above 500.

It is with pleasure I can say, not a whisper of opposition is heard in public in this State; and in private the voice of *objection* and *censure* is nearly silenced. I rejoice also that every man of reputable character in this state appears well informed on the subject of the ultimate views of France. People appear to have correct ideas of the intentions of the French Government and the tendency of their principles to destroy all the *pillars* of public peace and private safety. It is further the unanimous determination of the body of our citizens to put into office no man who is not known to be firmly attached to the *religious moral* and *political* institutions, from which we have hitherto derived our

[1] Pickering Papers, xxii. 125.

private blessings and political prosperity. To be *suspected* of disaffection will now throw *any man* in this State, into o[b]scurity.

Accept, Sir, my best wishes for your personal welfare, and believe me with great respect, Your obedient servant.[1]

New Haven, July 17th, 1798.

Sir, — You probably have attended to a paragraph in the Commercial Advertiser of July 5th, which contained some illiberal reflections on the English Nation. The paragraph was written, it seems, by a Mr. E. W——n,[2] a native of Plymouth County Massachusetts, now resident in New York. I knew nothing of it till two days after it was published. Mr. Hopkins admitted it, indiscretely, without adverting fully to its tendency; and the censure was of course thrown on me. In consequence of it ten or twelve Englishmen discontinued their papers. This is a trifle, that I value not a straw; but the violence of the resentment of the English in New York knows no bounds. They are determined to overbear all other influence but their own. They are intolerably insolent, and strive, by all possible means, to lessen the circulation of my papers, and my influence, which I believe to be considerable in the interior of our country. I am told that columns of Porcupine's paper [3] are filled with abuse against me, for what I am as innocent of as his King. Mr. Waddington of New York wrote me a line, to discontinue his paper, and sent it to New Haven. I wrote an answer which I supposed decent, but firm. He writes me to again that he has sent what he calls my *rude letter* to Porcupine to be published. This is uncivil and perfidious. The public are welcome to the letter, but he is no gentleman that takes such liberties with private correspondence.

The papers we publish have a very extensive circulation, and I am told by men of the first respectability, in Congress, and in the country, that these papers have been greatly useful to the public in the progress of the present troubles. Whether they flatter me or not, I do not know. One thing I know, I have been faithful to my principles and to my country, and I have a subsistence by my labors.

But the time is come when *aliens*, in the interest of foreign nations, are taking a lead in our politics, which to me is alarming. The English are determined to ruin my influence, if possible; for no reason, unless that I do not love England better than my own country: for I aver I never have treated their nation with disrespect.

But I will not long submit to be thus abused by the subjects of foreign nations. I shall withdraw my exertions for the support of government, and as I shall be its advocate in private, I shall only support

[1] Pickering Papers, xxii. 156.
[2] Elkanah Watson.
[3] William Cobbett.

it by my single suffrage. When *aliens*, assume such a tone and abuse honest faithful men, it is time for native citizens to retire and seek peace and quietness in more private occupations. I could raise a flame even now about the heads of the English, but it would be against the public interest. I therefore choose to retire, and be the victim of party rancor.

I have not the full means of subsistence, independent of the paper, nor shall I have, till my Institute returns to me in 1804. If I could find some decent employment, in the service of the United States, for a few years, I should be glad — an employment to which I am competent, and which I could exercise with credit to myself and utility to the public. A military life, I am afraid, would be too severe for my constitution, and I know of no civil office now vacant, unless the new Land Tax bill has created some. But if there should be any to which you think me equal, you would oblige me by mentioning me to the President. My wish would have been to continue in peace in my present situation, enjoying my scientific pursuits; but the illiberal spirit of party too often interrupts my tranquility. Believe me, etc.[1]

New Haven, October 20th, 1799.

Sir, — I have read with some attention the Pamphlet from Mr. Cathalan,[2] which you have been so kind as to send me. The Consul is entitled to great praise for his labors to serve this Country, and our acknowledgements are due to the faculty in Marseilles and Montpelier, for the communications.

With respect to the merit of the work I must say, that although I would not relax, but improve the regulations for preventing the introduction of infectious diseases into our sea ports, yet I have satisfied myself that nine out of ten and more, of our pestilential autumnal fevers are the produce of our own atmosphere, and are not to be reached by Health Laws. In a few Cases, such fevers creep into towns by infecting causes, but if they are propagated *solely* by contagion, they may be easily arrested. Not such are the fevers which ravage our cities. They will occasionally occur in spite of human power; and the more I investigate the subject of their causes, the less confident I am of success in the enquiry. I will challenge all the faculty in America to assign causes, consisting in visible and tangible substances, and as fast as they are assigned, I will disprove them by incontrovertible facts. In short, I can demonstrate that the principle which gives to fevers the pestilential quality, consists in the *insensible* properties of the atmosphere. But I cannot enter into detail. My Observations are in the press — the first

[1] Pickering Papers, xxii. 303.

[2] Stephen Cathalan, United States Consul at Marseilles, France.

volume is finished and the second, I trust, will be printed by the second week in November.[1] The world will have before it an immense number of facts, and a theory altogether new resulting from the facts.

I will only further observe here, that the alarm in Europe respecting the contagion of Yellow Fever, is likely to prove a most serious evil to our trade; and it is certainly ill founded. Neither that fever, nor its sister malady the plague is ever propagated by goods, wares, and merchandize. Seamen and their cloths and bedding are all the articles that are to be feared, together with the hold and cabin of ships, and these are infinitely less to be feared than is commonly supposed. By an infallible criterion, derived from the character and phenomena of diseases, we are able to determine that every epidemic must *necessarily* originate in the place where it exists. This discovery is perhaps new.

I enclose you, Sir, the title page of my History, for the purpose of securing the Copyright, and request you will be pleased to forward to me a Certificate of this deposit. If any fees are to be paid, please to deduct them from the account due to E[benezer] Belden & Co.[2] And will it not be convenient, Sir, to forward to them the ballance? The fever suspends all our Collections of money for two or three months. I am Sir, etc.[3]

New Haven, March 3d, 1800.

Sir, — I trouble you with this line, for the purpose of obtaining from you, if possible, some information, relative to the papers of General Washington bequeathed to Judge Washington.[4] I presume those papers contain the best Materials for a history of the American Revolution, and the necessary materials for a narrative of his life. The Life of General Washington will comprehend a summary account of the Revolution and the establishment of the present government. It must be extremely interesting, and ought to be written by a man of eminent talents, and judgement, who holds a good pen — qualifications much above my pretensions. But I have one advantage for undertaking such a work — my leisure. I have an income that, I trust, will support me in an uninterrupted pursuit of science, and I have seated myself here with that view. I know of no other man, in this country, who enjoys, at present, the same advantage for making use of the papers left by General Washington. I shall mention this idea to no one but yourself, until I have your opinion. I know not that I could obtain the papers, if I should apply for them; and I shall not apply for them, nor would I have the subject mentioned, unless after

[1] "A Brief History of Epidemic and Pestilential Diseases," Hartford, 1799.
[2] Webster's publishers in New York. Belden was his nephew.
[3] Pickering Papers, xxv. 251.
[4] Bushrod Washington.

suitable enquiries, it should be deemed advisable. The subject is interesting to the family, to this country and to the world; and I would not expose myself to Censure, by an ill judged application. I am in no want of the employment, as a means of subsistence; but if I had the materials, it would be my great pleasure to make the best use of them, that my abilities would permit. Should you see any objections to this project, that are of weight, please to say nothing on the subject; but return me this letter. I rely on your steady friendship, and am with high respect, etc.[1]

New Haven, December 17, 1808.

Sir, — I have received your favor of the 12th with the inclosure, for which please to accept my particular thanks. I had the day before received one from Mr. Hillhouse,[2] and I will thank you or him to send me Mr. Giles's.[3] The views you have respectively taken of the embargo and its effects, are strikingly just, in my apprehension, but will avail little in opposition to predetermined system, or violent party spirit. I hope however your speeches will be extensively published, and that in the country, they will have some effect. I hope the opposers of Mr. Jefferson's plans and measures will be tranquil, and leave the *measures* to have their natural effect upon the public. Passions are increased and opposition rendered more violent and fixed by a collision of opinions. The federalists will do all they can to arrest the progress of bad measures, in transitu, but I think they had better be moderate in their opposition to them when passed. Such measures *must* in *time* work a cure. The evils we must suffer will be beyond calculation, but we had better submit to them, than not to be cured.

In regard to the facts respecting the Report on Weights and Measure,[4] I well recollect that I had been informed, many years ago, that Mr. Jefferson was indebted to Dr. Kemp,[5] of Columbia College, for the mathematical calculations. The fact was stated in my paper, if I do not misremember, and Dr. Kemp called upon to contradict the statement, but he never did. Of these facts I have a pretty distinct recollection, but I could not easily turn to the paper, nor can I affirm that my information respecting Dr. Kemp's agency in that Report, was correct.

If I recollect right, the idea of regulating weights and measures by a pendulum, was first suggested in the First Volume of Transactions of

[1] Pickering Papers, xxvi. 45. The task was performed by Chief-Justice Marshall.

[2] James Hillhouse, senator from Connecticut.

[3] William Branch Giles, senator from Virginia.

[4] Jefferson's report, made in 1790.

[5] John Kemp. No letter from or to Kemp is in the Jefferson Papers.

the Society for promoting the Arts, Agriculture, etc. — an English Work, with which you are doubtless acquainted.

I will thank you to make my respects to Mr. Hillhouse, and my acknowledgements for his communications. I shall be much obliged by the communication of the more interesting speeches, and also of such Reports as contain valuable *facts* for preservation, as the Exports and Imports, etc. I have the honor to be, Sir, very respectfully your obedient servant.[1]

To [George Gibbs ?][2]

New Haven, July 24, 1837.

Dear Sir, — I have just received yours of the 29th ult., and the accompanying letters of Mr. Wolcott, and copies of certain letters of my own to Gov. Wolcott.

I cheerfully consent to your publishing all the letters of mine, except that of September 17, 1800. The publication of that, at this time, would be premature, even if it should be proper ever to publish it. The sons of the persons alluded to are living, and if the letter should ever be published, I wish it not to be done at present. Indeed, I rather wish it to be suppressed or returned to me, during my life, as I am doubtful whether the opinions I expressed in regard to one Gentleman were correct. This doubt arises from facts which were not disclosed till after the date of the letter.

I have Gov. Wolcott's letter to me, requesting my affidavit respecting Mr. Genêt. This also contains some account of the fever then raging. If you have not a copy, dated Philadelphia, September 19, 1793, I am willing to send this to you. It seems to be proper that it should precede the affidavit.

I have no recollection of the facts respecting Col. Pickering's vindication, nor whether any was offered to the public.

One thing I can affirm with confidence, that I have never known a man of more stern integrity, than Col. Pickering. In this respect I place him in the ranks of Gen. Washington and Gov. Jay.

There are two sons of Col. Pickering living in Boston, both I believe, eminent jurists.

As I have no transcripts of my own [letters I will] thank you to permit me to retain those [you have] sent me.

I was an intimate friend, classmate, and for some months roommate with Gov^{r} Wolcott. My acquaintance was of nearly sixty years dura-

[1] Pickering Papers, xxviii. 402.

[2] Editor of "Memoirs of the Administration of Washington and John Adams," 1846. The original of this letter is in the collection of Grenville H. Norcross.

tion. I found him always frank and faithful in friendship, and generous to the extent of his means. He was in College a good scholar, though not brilliant. He possessed the firmness and the strong reasoning powers of the Wolcott family, but with some eccentricities in reasoning. During the interesting period of Gen. Washington's administration, we were generally united in political opinions, although I thought then and still think that some of the gentlemen at the head of affairs were too much afraid of French policy to permit them to show a proper spirit toward the invasion of our maritime rights and our commerce by Great Britain. Yet our situation presented great difficulties to the administration, and probably whatever was done, was on the whole, best for the country. I am, etc.

P. S. It is probable that there may be among Gov. Wolcott's papers other letters of mine, but probably of no public importance. I wish not to have anything of mine published without my consent; as I rarely have kept copies, so that I cannot recollect on what occasions I have written. In the Life of Gov. Jay, some letters of mine were published, without consulting me — a very reprehensible license.[1]

Excuse my scrawls — I cannot copy, and have no person to write for me.

To Ebenezer Smith Thomas.

New Haven, July 29, 1840.

Mr. Thomas,

I see in the sheets of your Reminiscences which you have been so good as to send for my perusal, that you have mentioned the electric effect which the oration of Mr. Hancock, March 5 1774, had upon the audience. This reminds me of an anecdote related to me by the late Judge Trumbull of this State.

In the year 1774, Mr. Trumbull was a student of law in the office of John Adams. Mr. Hancock was, at that time a wavering character; at least he was so considered by the leading whigs of that day. It was a matter of no small importance to bring him to a decision, as to the part he was to take in the crisis then approaching. To effect this object, the more stanch leading whigs contrived to procure Mr. Hancock to be appointed to deliver an oration on the anniversary of the Massacre; and some of them wrote his oration for him or a considerable part of it. This policy succeeded and Mr. Hancock became a firm supporter of the American cause. Judge Trumbull related to me these facts, as from his personal knowledge; & no person will question his veracity.

[1] Jay, Life of John Jay, II. 358, 421.

I have another anecdote, derived from the late Hon. Nathan Strong of Hartford, and coming to me through the Hon. Elizur Goodrich.

When the question of taking arms to resist the claims of Great Britain was to be decided in Connecticut, the legislature held a secret session, & debated a question the whole day. The result was in favor of resistance; & it is said the most influential character in deciding the question was the Hon. Titus Hosmer, the father of the late Chief Justice Hosmer of Middletown.

I give you these anecdotes, as I have received them; & if you deem them of any value, they are at your service. I am, Sir, etc.[1]

In submitting the first form or draught of Alexander Hamilton's report upon the constitutionality of a National Bank, Mr. FORD said:

On February 16, 1791, Washington sent to Hamilton the objections raised on constitutional grounds, by Jefferson and Randolph, to an act recently passed by Congress and awaiting the signature of the President, for incorporating the subscribers to the Bank of the United States. One week later, on February 23, Hamilton laid before the President his completed reply to the objections made against the measure, a measure which had been prepared by Hamilton himself, and in the success of which he was deeply interested. Washington adopted his ideas, and the act became a law.

The draught, now printed for the first time, is in the Hamilton Papers, in the Library of Congress. It shows many important differences in details, illustrations and arrangement from the final report, and offers not a little light upon the manner of Hamilton in preparing his state papers. It is incomplete, and is marked by many evidences of haste; but it contains paragraphs which express in greater fulness than were published the grounds of his conclusions. To enable the reader to make a comparison with the final form,

[1] From Mr. Norcross's collection. It was printed in Thomas's "Reminiscences of the Last Sixty-Five Years" (1840), II. 169, but is of sufficient curious interest to be included in this series of Webster letters. Thomas was a nephew of Isaiah Thomas, and seems to have possessed a share of the printer's love of personalities. In his book he states that "the then celebrated Rev. Dr. Cooper" wrote the Hancock oration, and adds, "but any man who ever heard Hancock address a public assembly, as I have, could not for a moment doubt his *ability* to write such an oration; the object was, to get him committed, beyond the hope of pardon, and that oration did it completely."

references are made to the "Writings of Alexander Hamilton" edited by Henry Cabot Lodge.

The Constitutionality of a National Bank.

[February, 1791.]

The Secretary of the Treasury has perused with great attention the opinions of the Secretary of State and of the Attorney General concerning the constitutionality of the bill for establishing a National Bank and proceeds to execute the order of the President for submitting the reasons which have induced him to view the subject in a different light.

It will naturally have been anticipated that in performing this task he must feel uncommon solicitude. Personal considerations alone, arising from the reflection that the measure originated with him would be sufficient to produce it. The sense which he has manifested of the great importance of the institution to the successful administration of the [1] department committed to his care, [and the serious and extensive consequences which he believes would attend the failure of the measure,] [2] do not permit him to be without anxiety on public accounts. But his chief solicitude arises from a persuasion that if the principles of construction which regulate the opinions of the Secretary of State and the Attorney General should prevail, the just and indispensable authority of the United States must receive a deep and dangerous wound. The future operations of the government must be fatally clogged. And it must in the end find itself incapable of answering the purposes for which it has been instituted.[3]

It has often been regretted by the decided friends of an efficient national government that Congress in the early stages of the revolution exercised the powers entrusted to them, with too sparing and feeble a hand. It is earnestly to be hoped, after so much has been done for retrieving the prostrate affairs of the Union, that no similar cause of regret may be again furnished.

It may be laid down as an incontrovertible position,[4] that all the powers contained in a constitution of Government, which concern the general administration of the affairs of a country, its finances, its trade, its defence, &c. ought to be construed liberally in advancement of the general good. This maxim does not depend on the particular form of

[1] At this point was written and struck out, "more particularly under his charge, the conviction which he entertains that its failure will materially retard the appreciation of the public debt and the use of public credit and will be an occasion."

[2] These words were written in the margin.

[3] Lodge, III. 180.

[4] "Indisputable truth" was first written.

the government or on the particular delineation or demarkation of the boundaries of its powers, but on the condition of society, and on the *nature* and *objects* of government itself. The means by which national exigencies are to be satisfied, national inconveniences obviated, national prosperity promoted, are of such infinite variety, extent and complexity, that there must of necessity be great latitude of discretion in the selection and application of those means. It is essential to the public good that the power of providing for it should be commensurate with the diversity of circumstances by which it may be affected; and consequently that the authorities confided to the government should be exercised on principles of liberal construction.[1]

The Attorney General, admitting the rule here laid down, takes a distinction between a state and the Fœderal constitution, and thinks the latter ought to be construed with greater strictness because there is more danger of error in defining *partial* than *general* powers.

But if the *reason* of the rule is adverted to, it must be concluded that this distinction cannot be admitted. That reason is founded on the variety and extent of public concerns and public exigencies; a far greater proportion of which and of a far more critical and important kind are objects of National than of State administration. If therefore the supposition of greater danger of error be acceded to it could only operate as a prudential motive to caution in administering the powers of the National government not as a principle of *restrictive* interpretation.[2]

It will be shewn hereafter that the rule above mentioned has governed the various acts of Congress which have received the Sanction of the Chief Magistrate; and it is not to be doubted that every days experience will evince it to be indispensable to the prosperous conduct of the affairs of the Union.[3]

Another position equally incontrovertible is this — that though the Government of the Union does not possess complete and intire sovereignty in every respect, it nevertheless possesses sovereign powers [in a variety of respects,][4] and these of a high and transcendent nature. Of these the most important are the power of taxation,[5] that of regulating commerce with foreign nations, between the several states and with the indian tribes, that of making war and as incidents to it of raising, supporting and governing armies and fleets, and that of making

[1] Much compressed in Lodge, III. 181, 189. In the draught the following was inserted at this point, and struck out: "The only exception to this rule is of cases in which the security of private property and personal liberty is concerned."

[2] Lodge, III. 190.

[3] This entire paragraph was struck out.

[4] Words inserted in the margin.

[5] "Indefinite power of taxation" was first written.

treaties. If it were not evident that *government* and *sovereignty* applied to nations are *convertible* terms; if the idea of sovereignty were not necessarily included in the powers which have been mentioned; if it were requisite to confirm the position which has been advanced by proof, there is a clause in the constitution which would put the matter out of all doubt. It is that which declares that the Constitution, and the laws of the United States made in pursuance of it, and all treaties made or which shall be made under their authority shall be the *Supreme law of the Land.* The power which can create the Supreme law of the land, in any case, is doubtless sovereign in relation to such case.[1]

The plain inference to be drawn from this position is this, that in carrying into execution the powers vested in the national Government, it has a right to employ all the *means* which are fairly and truly calculated to effect the objects of those powers, in as full and ample a manner as can be done by any Government whatever; or in other words it can do, *in relation to those objects* every thing which is not contrary to *limitations* and *exceptions*[2] *specified* in the constitution; [or which is not in itself immoral or inconsistent with the ends of political society.[3]

This idea enters into the very definition of sovereignty or government; and though that of the United States cannot do *all* that some other governments can do, it can do all that any other government can do *in relation to the objects* entrusted to its management; except so far as there may be specified restrictions.] [4]

If this be not the true rule there is then no rule at all. It must become impossible to determine what can or cannot be constitutionally done. The legality of the means to be made use of in each case must be a subject of vague and endless controversy; in which caprice and prejudice must have much greater influence than reason or principle.

To urge as an objection to this that "all powers not delegated to the U. S. by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states are reserved to the States or to the People" is to do nothing. This is only saying in another form that the United States[5] *possess no powers* not *delegated* to them; a position alike applicable to all popular constitutions of Government and to that of each state equally with that of the Union. It resolves itself into this general[6] maxim that all government is a DELEGATION of power. How much is delegated in any case is always

[1] Lodge, III. 182.

[2] "Implied in the idea of sovereign power (authority), subject only to the" was first written.

[3] "Subversive of the personal rights" was first written.

[4] Written in the margin.

[5] The word "Congress" was first used.

[6] "Fundamental maxim of republican liberty" was first written.

a question of fact to be determined by the particular provisions of a constitution and by fair construction upon those provisions.[1]

It certainly will not be pretended that the proposition which has been quoted was designed to exclude the doctrine of implied powers. There is nothing in the manner of expression which indicates such a meaning and it is known that it was not the intention of it.

Hence no inference can be drawn from it against the position which has been deduced from the nature of sovereign power.[2]

To say that such things only may lawfully be done as are "necessary and proper" amounts to nothing. This is in truth only to say that all requisite and fit means may be employed; which brings the matter precisely to the issue of a right to do whatever is fairly and truly calculated to effect the objects of the powers vested in the government.

The Secretary of State has annexed a more strict sense to the word necessary which he considers as restricting the government to the employment of those means without which "the grant of the power would be nugatory." In this however, he is neither warranted by the grammatical nor popular meaning of the word, nor by considerations of political expediency, nor by the most obvious import of the clause which contains the expression, nor by the practice of the Government upon it.

Not by the grammatical sense, because this, in many, and in relation to political subjects, in most cases establishes the word necessary as equivalent only to *requisite* or *needful* or *conducive to.*[3] Thus if it should be observed "that it is necessary to Great Britain to maintain a good understanding with Holland"[4] this would only mean that the maintenance of that good understanding is a thing useful to her or conducive to her interests. It would not signify that it is *essential* or *indispensable* or *absolutely* requisite; [or a thing without which she could not exist or prosper as a nation.][5]

Neither does such a signification accord with the popular use of the term. A man will say for instance "It is necessary that I should breakfast before I go to business." This would not mean that he *could not do* business without having first breakfasted; but merely that his habits are such as to render it *inconvenient* to him to enter upon the business of the day before he has made that meal.

Considerations of political expediency do not favour such a construction; because it tends to create a disability in the government to pursue measures which though highly useful may not be absolutely essential;

[1] Lodge, III. 183, 184.

[2] These three paragraphs were an insertion.

[3] "A particular end" followed, and was struck out.—Lodge, III. 187.

[4] "France to maintain her connection with Spain" was first used.

[5] Words written in the margin.

and of course abridges its power of doing good even in reference to the objects which are particularly confided to it.[1]

It must ever be a matter of infinite uncertainty when a measure is necessary in the sense in which the word is understood by the Secretary of State. Many very intelligent men have contended that all regulations of trade are pernicious. There are many in this country who now maintain that all extra burthens [2]

That construction does not consist with the most obvious import of the clause containing the expression. No person who should read it without an eye to any particular question that might give a byass to his judgment, but would be inclined to infer that it was intended to give latitude to the enumerated powers rather than to confine their operation. Placed at the end of them it is couched in these comprehensive terms: "To make *all* laws which shall be necessary and proper for *carrying into execution* the foregoing powers, and *all other* powers vested by the constitution in the government of the United States or *in any department* or *office* thereof." [3] The turn of the expressions as well as the familiar and popular sense of the words forbids a restrictive interpretation.

If it were proper to go out of the instrument into what passed in the course of the debates in the Convention, or even to resort to the minutes of that body, ample confirmation would be found of the sense [4] here contended for. But a recourse of that kind is not admissible. Nor can it be requisite. The clause itself speaks a language not easily to be mistaken. It is evidently designed to place on an unequivocal footing the power of the government to employ all the means *fairly relative* to the execution of its specified powers and to the fulfilment of the objects [5] entrusted to its direction.[6]

The Attorney General indeed concedes that no such restrictive effect ought to be ascribed to the clause; and defines the word necessary thus — "To be necessary is to be *incidental*, or in other words may be denominated the natural means of executing a power." [6]

Inspection laws

As on the one hand the sense put upon the clause by the Secretary of State cannot be admitted to be just [7]

The practice of the government has contradicted such an interpretation. The act for the establishment and support of light houses, beacons, buoys and public piers may be cited as an example. This doubtless must

[1] The consideration of Jefferson's objection was compressed in the final form. — Lodge, III. 186, 187.

[2] This paragraph was not completed and was struck out. See p. 162, *post*.

[3] Lodge, III. 187.

[4] "Reasoning" was first used.

[5] "Most prosperous conduct of the affairs" was first written.

[6] These paragraphs were struck out. The second reappears later. The last paragraph is in Lodge, III. 190. See p. 162, *post*.

[7] This unfinished paragraph was struck out.

be referred to the power which respects the regulation of trade and it is certainly fairly relative to it. But it cannot be affirmed that it was *absolutely* necessary that provision should be made for this object by the National Government, or that the interests of Trade would have essentially suffered if it had been left upon its former footing; [or that the power of regulating trade would be *nugatory* without that of regulating establishments of this nature.] [1] All that can be said is that as such establishments relate to and are useful to trade, they were a proper object of the care of that authority which is charged with the trust of promoting its interests.

To affix the sense advocated by the Secretary of State to the word necessary would lead to infinite uncertainty. There are persons who maintain for instance that all regulations of Trade are pernicious. There are others who are of opinion that immunities which have been granted to certain branches of trade and the restraints which have been laid upon others are hurtful to the general interests of commerce. There are wide differences of opinion about the measures which are or are not necessary and proper to promote the navigation of this country. How shall it be determined what is *strictly* necessary? because it seems nothing else is to be supposed to be included in the power to regulate trade.

Nothing can better shew the fallacy of the doctrine espoused by the Secretary of State than some of the arguments which he makes use of to enforce it. One of these is that there are existing banks in some of the states which may serve the purposes of a National Bank, and therefore render the establishment of one unnecessary. Here the constitutional right of exercising a power is made to depend on certain arrangements which *happen* to have been made by particular states and which ere long may disappear.[2] Surely the rights and powers of a government cannot depend upon such fortuitous, casual and foreign circumstances. Surely a right to establish a Bank [3] which does not exist today, because institutions of that kind in which the Government has had no agency happen to exist, cannot be created tomorrow by their disappearance. Surely therefore a principle which turns on such an argument can not be just. [Take in here what relates to manner of construing Constitution.[4]]

The Attorney General indeed concedes that no restrictive operation is to be ascribed to the word necessary. He defines it thus: "To be necessary is to be *incidental*, and may be denominated the natural means of executing a power." [5]

[1] These words were written in the margin. — Lodge, III. 189.

[2] Lodge, III. 186, 187.

[3] "Cannot be less inherent in a Government" followed and was struck out.

[4] Words written in the margin.

[5] Lodge, III. 190. It is repeated on p. 161, *ante*.

But while on the one hand the construction of the Secretary of State cannot be allowed, it will not be contended on the other that the clause in question confers any *new* or *substantive* power. It is conceived to have been only intended to obviate the embarrassments which had been experienced under the confederation from the clause declaring[1] and to give an express sanction to the exercise of *implied* powers fairly *incidental* or *relative* to the declared ones. This, however, it is conceived, is equivalent to an admission of the proposition that the Government *as to its specified objects* where no restrictions are annexed to them has sovereign and plenary authority in some cases paramount to that of the states, in others coördinate with it. Indeed as has been remarked this principle seems inseparable from the idea of a legislative or sovereign power.

It is no valid objection to this principle to say that it might lead to an extension of the powers of the general government throughout the intire sphere of state legislation. The same thing has been said and may as justly be said with regard to every exercise of power by *implication* or *construction*. Wherever the literal meaning is departed from there is a chance of error and abuse. And yet an adherence to the letter of its powers would speedily arrest the motion of the government and destroy its utility. It is agreed on all hands that the exercise of implied or constructive powers is indispensable. Every act that has been past is more or less an exemplification of it. That which declares the Power of the President to remove officers at pleasure is a signal one.[2]

The truth is that difficulties on this point are inherent in the nature of the National Constitution which is founded on a division of the legislative power assigning certain portions of sovereignty to the Union and leaving the rest with the particular members. The consequence of this will be that there will be some cases clearly within the power of the National government, such as the right to lay duties on imported articles, some clearly not within its power, such as a provision to convey water by pipes through the city of Philadelphia for the accommodation of its inhabitants, which is a matter purely local; and there are others which will admit of room for dispute and difference of sentiment and in regard to which a reasonable discretion must be exercised.[3]

The position which has been stated does not assert that the National Government is sovereign in all respects, but that it has sovereign power to a certain extent; that is, as far as its specified objects extend.[4]

There is therefore always a criterion of what is constitutional and what is not constitutional. This criterion is the end to which the *measure* relates as a mean. If the end is one clearly entrusted to the

[1] An unfinished sentence. The preceding paragraph, somewhat changed, is in Lodge, III. 190, 191.

[2] Lodge, III. 191; [3] 191, 192; [4] 192.

National Govern^{t}; and if the measure has any obvious reference to that end, and is not forbidden by any particular provision of the constitution, it may be deemed to be within the compass of the National authority. These are also these criteria which ought to have weight in the decision: Does the proposed measure abridge a pre-existing *right* of any state or of any individual? If this question can be answered in the negative, it will always afford a strong presumption in favour of the constitutionality of the thing, and slighter relations to any declared object of the constitution may be permitted to turn the scale.[1]

Is any state competent to doing what is proposed to be done?

The objectors to this rule which has been stated may be confidently asked what other can be adopted? What is there in the nature of things to render the declared powers in the national constitution less sovereign than the powers in the state constitutions? What are the characteristics which distinguish the means that sovereign or legislative power may employ to attain an end within its acknowledged province from those which it may not employ?

It is observable that both the Secretary of State and the Attorney General build their objections wholly upon a supposed inability in the National government to erect a Corporation; and this not in the particular case only but in every case whatever. Indeed the Attorney General acknowledges "that if any part of the bill does either encounter the constitution or is not warranted by it, the clause of the Corporation is the only one."[2]

How it has come to pass that the power of erecting corporations has been conceived to be of so *peculiar* or *transcendent* a nature, as to form an *implied* exception to *every* power granted to the United States and in *every case*, is not easy to be conjectured and remains unexplained. Why it should not be as much as incident to legislative authority to erect a corporation, if a *necessary* and *proper*, or a *requisite* and *fit* mean to a given *end*, as to do any other thing, is, to say the best of it, not obvious.

Congress for example have power to *regulate Trade* with foreign nations. This power is not supposed to be confined merely to the prescribing of rules for the *orderly conducting* of Commerce between the United States and other Countries; but it is agreed on all hands to extend to the adoption of proper measures for the advancement of Navigation and foreign commerce. To this end are various regulations in the revenue laws that have been passed. Let it be supposed that it were demonstrable that there was an opportunity for opening a particular branch of Trade with some foreign country, which would be highly beneficial to the United States; but that in order to entering upon it,

[1] Lodge, III. 192; [2] 180.

it was absolutely necessary there should be a union of the capitals of a number of Individuals; and that in order to engage proper persons to embark on it it was equally necessary that they should be incorporated and should for a time be permitted to enjoy certain peculiar privileges and exemptions — in such a state of things as this, can there be any reasonable ground of doubt that it would be within the *compass* of the general *power* of regulating commerce with foreign nations to erect such a corporation and to grant to it the requisite privileges and immunities? It is apprehended that there cannot be any such ground of doubt.[1]

It would not be a good answer to say that such a case cannot be supposed. It is certainly a possible one. It has been believed to exist in other countries, and has produced institutions of the kind contemplated which remain to this day. The possibility of it is enough for the argument. It would doubtless be expedient to be well assured that the circumstances were such as to require and justify it; but this would be a mere question of expediency not of right or power.

As far as the sense of the different state Conventions can be supposed to have weight in the question it will appear that there was a prevalent idea that Congress had power to erect trading companies or corporations. Hence is found among the amendments proposed by them generally a clause to this effect, "That Congress shall not grant monopolies nor *erect* any *company with exclusive* advantages of commerce"; thus tacitly admitting the power of Congress to erect such Corporations or companies, and objecting no further than to the grant of *exclusive* privileges.

The existence of such a power is indeed a natural and obvious inference from that of regulating Trade.

Neither the Origin of the power of erecting corporations nor the practice respecting it in the country from which we have borrowed our notions of it are of a nature to warrant the conclusion that it is of so preëminent a nature as to lie beyond the reach of the powers of the United States.

Its *origin* is traced to the Roman empire where a *voluntary association* of individuals was alone sufficient to produce a Corporation. In England the power of erecting corporations forms a part of the executive authority, [and the exercise of it may even be delegated to that Authority to other purposes.][2] Certainly then there is something not a little forced in the supposition that the whole Legislative power of the Union is *unequal* to incapable of it.[3]

The Secretary of State asserts indefinitely that the power of erecting

[1] Much compressed and altered in Lodge, III. 185, 220.
[2] These words are written in the margin.
[3] Neither term is cancelled in the MS. — Lodge, III. 186.

corporations remains exclusively with the states; but he certainly has not proved it. The arguments already adduced are sufficient, it is presumed, to shew that this is at least a very questionable position. But that it is not true in the extent in which [it] is advanced may be reduced to precise demonstration. And it is not doubted that in the progress of the investigation the contrary of it will appear more and more clearly.

Congress are empowered "to exercise *exclusive* legislation *in all cases whatsoever* over the district which shall become the seat of the Government of the United States and over all places purchased for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock yards and other needful buildings." By what process of reasoning can it be made a doubt that a power of exercising *exclusive* legislation *in all cases whatsoever* must include that of erecting a corporation within the limits which are embraced by it? There can be none.

Here then are cases in which it is certain that Congress may erect corporations. And if a direct power of instituting a Bank in other places is denied to the government, it has only to establish one at some place [over] which it may have acquired exclusive jurisdiction and the matter may be so managed as to have the administration of it where it shall be found most convenient. Doctrines which lead to consequences like these are at least to be suspected of error.[1]

There is indeed a case in which Congress have exercised the power of erecting a Corporation and that one of the most important kind; one not less important than the establishment of a Government. The "Act for the Government of the Territory of the United States south of the River Ohio" is here alluded to.[2] A constitution of Government is a corporation of the highest nature, and that act establishes one; proceeding as is supposed upon

If then it ought to be admitted that the Gov. of the United States has the power of erecting Corporations in cases relative to the objects entrusted to it, it remains to see [3]

the 2d. Clause of the 3d Section of the Constitution, which declares that Congress shall have power to dispose of and make *all needful rules and regulations* respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States.

Let it now be seen what are the objections to the power of erecting corporations *generally*.

The sum of them as respects the Secretary of State seems to be that

[1] "Embraced with caution" was first written. — Lodge, III. 198.

[2] Lodge, III. 206.

[3] These lines are struck out. It would appear that the preceding paragraph originally ended with the words "establishes one," and what followed was an afterthought.

they contain capacities, properties or attributes; which are against the law of *mortmain*, against the laws of *Alienage*, against the law of *descents*, against the laws of *forfeiture* and *escheat*, against the law of distribution; and, as respects the particular institution contemplated, against the laws of *Monopoly*. And it is added to the rest that a power is given to make laws *paramount* to the *laws of the States*. Nothing but a *necessity invincible by other means* can justify, it is said, such a *prostration of laws* which constitute the pillars of our whole system of jurisprudence, and are the foundation laws of the State Governments.[1]

Let it be seen, how far these observations are correct, and what force they have.

The power of erecting Corporations is nothing more than that of giving *individuality* to a number of persons. When once this *individuality* is created, the *Common law* of *every state* annexes to it those *incidents* which produce the effects abovementioned as far as they really exist. It establishes that *Aliens* in the artificial capacity thereby created may hold lands, notwithstanding the laws of Alienage; that the lands shall be transmitted to the successors of the first corporators in the same *capacity*, not to the heirs of the individuals, notwithstanding the laws of descents; that the corporate property in case of the dissolution of the corporation shall revert to the donor, not to the sovereign, as in the case of a failure of heirs of private persons, notwithstanding the law of escheat; and that it shall not be forfeited for the crimes of the individual members, notwithstanding the laws of forfeitures.[2] All these circumstances too are mere consequences of the creation of an *artificial* person. The distinction between *citizen* and *alien* can only apply between real persons. Such an artificial person may have successors but can have no *heirs*; therefore the laws of descent cannot reach it, and, for the same reason, it is equally out of the reach of the law of escheat which relates wholly to a *failure* of *heirs*. An artificial person cannot commit a crime; therefore its property cannot be liable to forfeiture.

This shews that it is inaccurate to say that the erection of a corporation is *against* those *different heads* of the state laws. It is in fact only to create a certain *Artificial* or *legal entity*, to which the law of every state itself, annexes an *exemption* from the operation of the rules that fall under these heads, as being *inapplicable* to it. It is only to put a certain number of individuals with their own consent in a situation which subjects their property to a different regulation from that which would attend it if they had not consented to enter into this state.

But if the thing were not truly to be viewed in this right, if the creation of a corporation were really against those different heads

[1] Lodge, III. 192, 193; [2] 194.

of the state laws, if it really made an alteration in them or the particulars which have been mentioned, what would be the consequence of all this? Is it meant to be maintained that Congress can make alterations in no case in the state laws. If this is intended all the powers of the national government become nugatory. For almost every new law must be an alteration in some way or other of some other law either common or statute.[1]

There are laws concerning bankruptcy in several states. Several states have laws concerning the values of foreign coins. Congress are empowered to establish uniform laws concerning bankruptcy throughout the United States and to regulate the value of foreign coin. The exercise of either of these powers, by Congress, necessarily involves an alteration of the laws of those states; and in respect to bankruptcies in cases that affect real property and involve penalties of the highest nature.[1]

Again every person by the *common law* of each state may now export his property to foreign countries at pleasure. But Congress may without doubt in pursuance of the power of regulating Trade prohibit the exportation of commodities; in doing which they would certainly alter the common law of each state in abridgment of individual rights.[2]

This being the case it can never be good reasoning to say, the doing of *this* or *that act* is unconstitutional because it alters *this* or *that* law of the states. It must always be shewn that the thing which makes the alteration is unconstitutional in its own nature, not *because* it makes the alteration.[3] Hence an argument which makes that circumstance an objection to the constitutional right of exercising any power must be rejected.

Two things are advanced by the Secretary of State which are peculiarly incorrect. These are that the proposed incorporation is against the laws of monopoly and that power is given by it to *make laws paramount* to the laws of the states. As to the first the only part of the bill which can give colour to the suggestion is that which stipulates that the U. States will not erect any similar institution or grant similar privileges to any other. But does this prohibit any state from erecting itself a bank? Does it even prohibit any number of individuals from associating themselves to carry on the banking business? It does neither and consequently is altogether free from the charge of establishing a monopoly. The supposition of a consequential interference with the Banks of other states if founded would not make good a charge. For Monopoly implies a *legal impediment* to the carrying on of the Trade by others than those to whom it is granted.[4] Such an interference indeed might tend to

[1] Lodge, III. 194; [2] 194, 195; [3] 195.

[4] Lodge, III. 195. "That supposition however would be a forced one" followed in the MS., but was struck out.

prevent rather than to create monopoly by dividing the business; but whether any competition in this way will exist is altogether problematical.

The idea of the Corporation having power to make laws paramount to those of the states is still less colourable. Its bye laws or regulations from the nature of the institution can operate only upon its own members, can relate only to the disposition of its own property and will essentially resemble the private rules of a mercantile partnership. They are expressly not to be contrary to *law*, and law here must necessarily mean the law of each state as well as of the U. States so far as the former does not improperly contravene the latter. If there should be a repugnancy between any state law and that of the United States the Courts, as in every similar case, must decide on their respective validity. There may be questions between an interfering law of a state and that of the U. States, but there can be none between a law of a state and a law of the Corporation.[1]

The Arguments of the Attorney General against a power of incorporation in the National Government generally are to this effect.[2]

First, that it is not *expressly* given to Congress.

This is admitted. There is no clause of the constitution declaring in express terms that Congress may make corporations.

It was said upon this point in argument in the House of Representatives, that if a power of so transcendent a nature was meant to be conferred upon Congress it would have been expressly mentioned.[3]

But this idea of the transcendent nature of the power is all exaggeration. It has been seen that it is only to give *individuality* to a number of persons *voluntarily* associated for a particular purpose or to substitute an artificial to a natural capacity *person*.[4] It has been seen that in its origin a voluntary association of Individuals was capable of producing the effect without the help of a particular act of law. And that in England it is a part of the Executive authority.

The erection of a Corporation is plainly then one of those *incidental* things, one of those ordinary operations of legislation, one of those *mere means* to an *end*, which was best left to be implied as an *ingredient* in a general power. Particularly as there might exist prejudices on the point. And it was not prudent to encounter any by unnecessary specification.

Perhaps the best definition that can be given of a Corporation is this. It is a *legal* person, or a person created by act of law, consisting of one or more natural persons impowered to hold property or a franchise in *succession* in a legal as contradistinguished from a natural capacity. According to this definition, if the United States should declare that

[1] Lodge, III. 196; [2] 197; [3] 199.

[4] Both terms are retained in the MS.

all bonds for duties should be given to the Collector of each district by the name of the Collector of the District of A or B, and that every such bond should enure to such *Collector* and his *successors in office* in trust for the U. States, this would be to constitute a Corporation in each district;[1] and it is presumed, that if it had been proposed to put the Collector of the duties in this train, however the expediency of it might be called in question, the constitutional right of doing it would never have been disputed.[2]

A still plainer case is this. Congress are empowered to establish post roads. Let it be supposed that it were to be resolved to establish a turn pike road through the United States under the direction of certain commissioners by a certain denomination to be appointed as other officers are; and that certain funds, including a portion of *Western lands* should be vested in them and their *successors in office* to be disposed of for the purpose of defraying the expences of making this road — this certainly would be a corporation; and can it be doubted that it is within the constitutional power of Congress to make such an arrangement. It is repeated that the expediency of doing it or not doing it is never a test of constitutional right; for the consequence of such a principle would be that every inexpedient or injudicious measure which a government may adopt is unconstitution[al] an absurdity of the first magnitude.[2]

Again: The Western lands are pledged as a fund to sink the public debt. Suppose in order to render the application of the fund still more inviolable, by giving it the *character* and *sanction* of *private property* as has been repeatedly proposed by able men in Great Britain, and if rightly recollected, practiced upon in a late instance, it had been judged expedient by Congress to vest those lands in certain commissioners to be appointed as other officers, and in their *successors in office* to be disposed of and the proceeds applied to the redemption of the public debt, could any objection have been made to the constitutionality of the measure? Certainly none, probably none would have even been thought of from the obvious futility of it. And yet here would have been most manifestly a corporation.[2]

Instances of a similar kind may be multiplied without number in which a natural construction of the powers of Congress would authorise the erection of Corporations as very simple *means* to the specified ends of the governm^{t}.[2]

This is not an improper place to take notice of an observation made by the Secretary of State concerning the proposition in the Convention

[1] Lodge, III. 219.

[2] These four paragraphs were written on the margins of five of the MS. pages.

to insert specifically a power to make Corporations, which he uses specifically against the power.

What the precise nature or extent of the proposition was, or what the reasons for refusing it, is not ascertained by any authentic document. As far as any such document exists it only specifies *canals*. The recollections of individuals do not correspond either as to the *import* of the proposition, or the reasons for not adopting it. Some affirm that there was objection to granting power to erect corporations; others that it was thought unnecessary as being incidental to the powers granted and inexpedient to be specified as involving a new topic of objection; others that the purposes of it, being canals and obstructions in rivers, were thought irrelative to fœderal regulation. Thus stands the manner, and certainly in this situation there is no inference to be drawn from the fact.[1]

The Secretary of State also knows, that whatever may have been the true state of that fact it is of no weight in the question, that whatever may have been the intention of the framers of a Constitution, or of a law, that intention must be sought for in the instrument itself, and must be determined by general principles of construction applied to the tenor and objects of such instrument. Nothing is more com-[mon] than for laws to express and effect more or less than was intended. If then a power to erect corporations is deducible by fair inference from the whole or any part of the constitution of the United States, arguments drawn from extrinsic circumstances regarding the intention of the Convention must be rejected.[2]

The power of making corporations not being expressly granted, the Attorney General proceeds to infer that it can only exist from one of three causes:

1. Because the *nature* of the *Fœderal Government* implies it; or

2. Because it is involved in some of the specified powers of legislation; or

3dly. Because it is necessary and proper to carry into execution some of the specified powers.

With regard to the first he argues that to be implied in the *nature* of the Fœderal Government would beget a doctrine so indefinite as to grasp every power.[3]

Let it be remarked in the first place, that neither of these propositions is precisely or substantially *that* which is relied upon here. This is that the right of erecting corporations is incident to *sovereign power*, not to the particular *nature* of the *Fœderal Government*. None of the reasonings of the Attorney General do therefore reach this proposition.[4]

But let it be supposed that he would consider the two propositions in the same light and that the answer which has been stated as given

[1] Lodge, III. 196, 197; [2] 197; [3] 199, 200; [4] 200, 201.

to the one is to be applied to the other. Then the answer to that is, that it is not true that the Doctrine would be so indefinite as to grasp every power. Because the qualification which has [been] stated to the Doctrine is that it must be *in relation to the objects confided to the government.* A *general legislative power* includes a *power* to erect corporations *in all cases* where they shall appear necessary or expedient to the legislature. A legislative power as to *certain objects* includes a power only to erect corporations in relation to *those* objects, not in relation to *other* objects. And therefore to contend that the legislative power of the U. States extends to the erection of Corporations in relation to the objects of the Fœderal Government does not imply a claim that it shall extend to things not relative to the objects of that Government. Thus a power to erect a corporation relative to *Trade* is not a power to erect one relatively to *Religion.* The first is a declared and leading object of the Regulation of the Fœderal Government. The last it has no power concerning.[1]

The object therefore is in every case as already remarked to test and characterise the proper exercise of the power. As reasonably might it be argued that a right to prescribe penalties for a breach of the laws of Trade is a right to prescribe penalties for violations of the laws of chastity.

The Attorney General after combating the first proposition relatively to the nature of the Fœderal Government which has been just examined in its *true sense* proceeds next to shew that the power of erecting corporations is not involved in any of the specified powers of legislation.[2]

In order to accomplish this, he makes an *enumeration* of the *particulars* which *in his opinion,* for *so only* it must be considered, are comprehended in several of the principal general powers; and excluding from this enumeration *the very particular in controversy* as well as many others that may be imagined and many more that no imagination can anticipate and that occasions only can suggest he fairly *begs the question.*

It is not meant to represent this as intentional. It is a natural consequence of attempting to try a general power which always includes an *infinite number of particulars* by a precise enumeration.[3] Every such enumeration must be more or less imperfect; because the human imagination is inadequate to the detail. [Even every particular that may be specified must be in itself a general that must include a vast variety of other particulars. The intent of this enumeration is *doubtless* to shew what is contained in each power and then to infer that the power of incorporation not corresponding with either of the specified particulars does not exist. The force of this conclusion must depend on the accuracy of the enumeration. The pointing out of inaccuracies and defects

[1] Lodge, III. 200, 201; [2] 201.

[3] "Try a power by a fallacious test" was first written.

must therefore destroy it.][1] It was from a Conviction of this very difficulty that the Convention forebore to attempt such a specification.

A critical examination of the detail into which he enters would involve too voluminous a discussion. It will suffice to state certain palpable *defects* and *omissions*, some not equally palpable or certain but still probable ones. In the course of this to corroborate but [in] some new and particular view, the more general doctrines which have been advanced.

The first power descanted upon is that of laying and collecting Taxes, which indeed is the most accurately sub-divided.

One subdivision of it is "to prescribe the mode of Collection," an immense *Chapter* which involves a variety of details and among others the very thing in question. It includes the establishment of districts and ports; the creation of officers and the appointment of their duties, powers and *legal capacities;* modes of proceeding; exemptions, penalties, modes of prosecution and recovery; *species of money* in which the taxes are to be paid. And it may *legally* include the erection of a corporation charged with the Collection, upon certain conditions stipulated between the Government and them.

It has been already noted in what manner the Officers of the customs might be made a Corporation for the purposes of taking bonds and receiving the monies payable upon them. It shall be explained in another place how far the power of establishing the *species of money* in which the taxes shall be paid is connected with the institution of a Bank. It shall now be shewn that by a fair construction of the power of *laying* and *collecting* taxes a corporation may be instituted charged with the collection upon certain conditions stipulated with the Government.

It is a common practice in some countries and has been practiced in this, to farm particular taxes. This is to sell or mortgage the product of them to an individual or company for a certain specified sum, leaving the collection of it to that individual or company. Let it be supposed that it was *manifest*, that this mode of proceeding was in any case the most eligible to the government in the view of revenue, and equally convenient and safe for the citizens. Let it also be supposed that a number of individuals were disposed to undertake the matter upon condition of being incorporated. An incorporation, if a number of persons were concerned, would be a natural and a necessary ingredient in the arrangement. For it would be essential to the security of the undertakers that the property in the fund should be definitively vested in them and that they should have an easy method of recovering and managing the taxes, to which a corporate capacity would be indispensable. It must be extremely difficult to assign a reason why Congress might

[1] These words are written in the margin. — Lodge, III. 201.

not adopt this mode of Collection as well as any other, and might not as a necessary ingredient in it incorporate the undertakers. It would not be doubted that this might be constitutionally done by another government and why not by that of the United States which has as plenary a power of taxation as any in the world except with respect to duties on exports with these two qualifications shall all duties [1] that direct shall be apportioned according to a certain ratio of population.[2]

The next specification of particulars relates to the power of borrowing money, and is materially defective. It confines that power to three points — the *stipulation of a sum to be lent,* of an *interest* or no *interest* to be paid, and of the *time* and *manner* of repayment.[3]

A palpable omission strikes the eye at once, the *pledging* or *mortgaging* of a *fund* for the security of the money lent. Here is a common and in most cases an essential requisite which is overlooked.[4]

The idea of the stipulation of *an interest* or *no interest* is too confined. The *phrase* should have been to stipulate the *consideration* of the loan. Individuals often borrow upon considerations different from the payment of interest, sometimes in addition to it, sometimes independent of it. So may governments, and so they often find it necessary to do. Every one recollects the lottery tickets and other douceurs often given in Great Britain as collateral inducements to the lending of money to the government.[5]

There are also frequently collateral conditions not falling within any of the enumerated particulars. Every Contract for monies borrowed in Holland stipulates, that the sum due shall be free from all taxes and from sequestration in time of war, and mortgages all the lands and property of the United States for the reimbursement.[5]

It is also known that a lottery is a very common expedient for borrowing money, which is certainly not included under either of the specified heads.[5]

These things are mentioned to shew the defectiveness of the specification and that any argument built upon them against the power of erecting a corporation must be unfounded. It is reserved in the sequel to shew the relation between this power and the institution of a bank.

The enumeration respecting the power of regulating trade is still more defective and inconclusive.[5]

Here is a total *omission* of every thing that regards the Citizens of the United States, their vessels and Merchandize.[6]

1. The power of *prohibiting* the *exportation* of domestic commodities of which there cannot be a shadow of doubt, and which in time of war it would be necessary to exercise, sometimes temporarily in the

[1] Hamilton doubtless intended to strike out these last three words.
[2] Lodge, III. 219, 220; [3] 201; [4] 201, 202; [5] 202; [6] 202, 203.

shape of an embargo, sometimes altogether, as with reference to naval and other warlike stores which might be wanted at home.[1]

2. The prescribing rules concerning the characteristics and privileges of an American *bottom* and the manner in which she shall be navigated, as to the composition of her Commander and Crew, what proportion of Citizens to foreigners.[1]

3. The prescribing of regulations concerning the contracting with seamen, the police of ships on their voyages, etc, as by the "Act for the Government and regulation of seamen in the Merchants service.[1]

4. The granting of bounties to certain species of vessels and certain kinds of Merchandise. This has been actually done in respect to dried and pickled fish and salted provision.[1]

There are other things which occur that appear to be within the power of regulating trade, though not as certainly as those which have been mentioned. These are:

1. The prescribing rules for the *Inspection* of commodities to be exported. Though the states individually are competent to this there appears no reason in *point of authority* why a general system might not be adopted for the United States.[1]

2. The regulation of policies of Insurance.[1]

3. The prohibition of *wearing* as well as importing foreign commodities.

4. The Regulation of salvage upon goods found at sea.

5. The Regulation of pilots.[2]

6. The Regulation of Bills of Exchange drawn by a Merchant in one State upon a Merchant in another.[2]

Hence as seen the imperfection of the enumeration under the second head and the impossibility of deducing from it any argument against the power of incorporation contended for, which leaves in full force the arguments that have been offered to shew that it exists particularly in relation to Trading Companies, which therefore ought to be classed as one of the particulars comprehended in the power of regulating Trade. The relation which it has to a Bank in particular is reserved to future discussion.

The last specification relates to that clause which empowers Congress to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the U. States.

The remarks here will relate less to the defectiveness in the enumeration of particulars than to some errors of reasoning.

The *institution* of a *Government* in the Western Territory is admitted to belong to this head of the powers of the Fœderal Government. Now to admit the right of *instituting* a *Government*, and to deny *that* of erecting a corporation appears to be a contradiction in terms. For

[1] Lodge, III. 203; [2] 204.

a Government, as already remarked, is a Corporation of the highest nature. It is a Corporation which can itself create other corporations.

How it could be imagined that the National Legislature could institute a government in the Western Territory, and could not erect a corporation for clearing obstructions in the Rivers which run through it, or for any other purpose there, confounds all conjecture. Or how it can be admitted that there is a power to *institute* a *government*, and denied that there is a power to erect a Corporation, requires to be reconciled.[1]

Here then by an express concession of the Atty. General is a power to erect a Corporation in one case at least; a power too which has in fact been carried into operation.

It is said that the property contemplated in the clause *may signify personal property* of the United States *however acquired;* and yet it is affirmed that it *cannot signify money* arising from the sources of revenue pointed out in the Constitution.

This opposition in terms is not remarked for the sake of any verbal criticism. It is only meant to make use of *what is conceded* to oppose it to *what is denied.*

The concession is that *property* in the sense of the clause, extends generally to *personal* as well as to real property.

The denial is that it extends to *money* raised by taxes, which therefore is to be considered as excepted out of the general term property, though comprehending personal property.

For this exception the reason given is, "That the disposal and regulation of money is the *final cause* for raising it by taxes." This reason, which is rather subtile and against the *letter* of the clause, must be combatted by reasoning that may perhaps itself seem to savour of subtility and refinement.[2]

It would certainly be a more accurate and more just mode of expression to say "that the *object* to which money is intended to be applied is the *final cause* for raising it," than that the *disposal* and *regulation* of it is *such.* Now the *objects* for which the Constitution authorises the raising of money are *common defence* and *general welfare.* The actual *disposition* and *regulation* of it when raised are therefore the *steps* by which it is *in fact* applied to the objects for which it was raised. Hence therefore the money to be raised by taxes as well as any other personal property may be supposed to be comprehended within the meaning as they certainly are within the letter of the authority to dispose of and make all needful rates and regulations concerning the property of the United States, that is to say, for the purposes of the common defence and general welfare.[2]

[1] In much altered form in Lodge, III. 204.
[2] Lodge, III. 215, 216.

The terms *general welfare* are of very comprehensive import. They must necessarily embrace every object of general concern, whatever has a *general* operation, relating either to the general order of the national finances or to the general interests of Trade, Agriculture or manufactures.[1]

A case will make this plainer. Certain revenues are now established in relation to the public debt. Suppose the whole or a considerable part of this debt discharged and the funds now pledged for it, or a considerable part of them, liberated. In such a case the taxes might be repealed; and in certain instances it might be wise to do so, but in others it might be more wise to retain them, as the repeal might injure our own manufactures and industry. It would then remain to cause such a disposition as would consist with general utility or *general welfare*.[2] Here then would be money to be *disposed of* and *regulated* in the strictest sense of the clause.[3]

What then would there be in such a case to prevent, under this clause, the investiture of those monies in a Bank, if such an institution should appear calculated to promote the general welfare? Evidently the want of a power to erect a *corporation* would not be an obstacle. For, what is equivalent or more, the power to erect a *government* is admitted to exist and has been exercised under it.[3]

Hence it is evident, that under this clause alone a Bank may be erected. For as has been before remarked the existence of a constitutional power cannot depend on times and circumstances; unless the Constitution marks out the conditions on which it is to begin to exist.

Hitherto, except in this *last* instance, the arguments which have [been] used, have been designed to establish the general proposition that the Government of the U. States has power to erect Corporations in certain cases. This it is confided has been satisfactorily done, and all objections to it satisfactorily removed. And as all the Arguments of the Secretary of State and Attorney General are built on a denial of that proposition, as far as their objections are concerned there might be no necessity to proceed further.

But something more is proper to be done to satisfy the judgment of the President of the United States. It is desirable to illustrate still further that there is a power to erect such a *species* of Corporation as a BANK by shewing that it has a fair relation to some one or more of the specified powers.[4]

A few preliminary observations may be proper.

The proposed bank is to consist of an association of persons for the purpose of creating a joint capital to be employed chiefly and essentially

[1] This paragraph was struck out.
[2] This sentence was struck out.
[3] Lodge, III. 216; [4] 206.

in loans. There is no doubt that it is lawful for any number of individuals so to associate and dispose of their money or property. The Bank of New York is an example of this. That Bank is not incorporated. The Bill proposes in respect to the government that it shall become a joint proprietor in this undertaking; that it shall permit the bills of the Bank payable on demand to be received in payment of its Revenues, and that it will not grant a similar privilege to any other Bank. All this is indubitably within the compass of the discretion of the Government. The only question is, has it a right to incorporate this company, the more effectually to enable it to accomplish ends which are in themselves lawful.[1]

Its power of making Corporations in all cases relative to its proper objects has been proved. Let it now be examined to which of those objects the proposed institution relates.

No person who reads with an impartial eye the powers vested in the National Government, but must be satisfied that it is intended by the constitution to vest it with all the powers necessary for what may be called the ADMINISTRATION of its Finances.[2]

It is authorised to raise *money* by taxes to an indefinite extent, to borrow money to an indefinite extent, to coin money, regulate the value thereof and of foreign coins, to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations concerning the property of the United States and to pass all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution those powers.[2]

It has a direct relation to the power of *collecting* taxes; to that of *borrowing* money, to that of regulating Trade between the States, and, as a consequence of the two first, to that of raising, supporting and maintaining fleets and armies for the common defence. And it is clearly within the provision which respects the disposal and regulation of the *property* of the U. States as the same has been practiced upon by the Government.[1]

It relates to the collection of taxes in two ways, indirectly, by increasing the quantity of circulating medium; directly, by creating a *convenient species of medium* in which they are to be received.[3]

It is undeniably within the power of providing for the *collection* of the taxes to appoint the *money* or *thing* in which they are to be paid. Accordingly Congress have declared in the Collection law that the duties on imports and tonnage shall be payable in gold and silver at certain rates. But while it was a necessary part of the work to declare in what they should be payable, it was mere matter of discretion what that medium of payment should be. It might have been, though in-

[1] Lodge, III. 207.
[2] These two paragraphs are struck out.
[3] Lodge, III. 207, 208.

convenient, in the commodities themselves. Taxes in kind are not without precedents even in the United States. It might have been in the paper emissions of the several states, or it might have been in the bills of the Banks of North America, New York, Massachusetts, all or any of them, or it might have been in bills issued under the *Authority* of the United States.[1]

It is presumed there is not a tittle of this which can be controverted. The appointment then of the *money* or *thing* in which the taxes are to be paid is an object within the discretion of the Government, as incident to the power of Collection. And among the expedients which occur is that of bills *issued under the authority of the United States.*[1]

Now the manner of issuing these bills must be again matter of discretion. There must be agents employed for the purpose. These Agents may be officers of the Government, or they may be *Directors of a Bank.* If the notes of the Bank of North America were made receivable in the taxes, the Directors of that Bank would thereby become ipso facto Agents of the Government for this purpose.

Suppose it were become a necessary mean of preserving the Credit of the bills that they should be made payable in gold and silver *on demand,* and that a sum of money should be *appropriated* and set *apart* as a fund for answering them; designating certain officers of the Government who were to issue the bills and administer the fund. The constitutionality of all this could certainly not be called into question. And yet it would amount to the institution of a Bank, with a view to the more convenient collection of Taxes. For a Bank in the simplest idea of it, is a *deposit* of money or other property as a fund for circulating a credit upon it equivalent to money. The reality of this character would become the more obvious if the place in which the fund was kept should be made the receptacle of the monies of all other persons, who should incline to deposit them there for safe keeping; and if in addition to the rest the officers of this fund were authorized to make discounts at the usual rate of interest upon good security. The first would be an operation within the discretion of the officers themselves, and to deny the power of the Government to authorize the last would be to refine away all government.[2]

This process seems to establish the natural and direct relation between the Institution of a *Bank* and the Collection of taxes, and to shew that it is a mean which may with constitutional propriety be employed in reference to that end. It is true that the species of Bank which has been just designated does not involve the idea of incorporation. But the argument intended to be founded upon it is this, that the *institution* or *thing* comprehended in the definition of a *Bank* being one immediately relative to the collection of taxes, as it *regards the appointment*

[1] Lodge III., 208; [2] 208, 209.

of the money or medium, in which they are to be paid, the sovereign power of passing all laws necessary and proper for the collection of taxes includes that of *incorporating* such an institution as a *requisite* to its greater security, utility and more convenient management

A further process will still more clearly illustrate this point. Suppose when the species of Bank, which has been described, was about to be instituted, it were to be urged that in order to securing to it a proper degree of confidence, the fund ought not only to be set apart and appropriated generally, but ought to be specifically vested in those who were to have the Direction of it, and in their successors in office, to the end that it might become of the nature of private property incapable of being touched without invading the sanctions by which the rights of property are protected and occasioning more serious and general alarm, the apprehension of which might operate as a check upon the Government. Such a proposition might be opposed by arguments against the expediency of it or the solidity of the reason assigned for it; but it is not easy to conceive what could be said against the constitutionality of it, unless it should be a general denial of the power of incorporating in any case. But this it is presumed has been satisfactorily refuted. Here then by a very simple and natural step the quality of a corporation would be given to the institution.[1]

Let the argument proceed a step further. Suppose a Bank of the foregoing nature with or without incorporation had been instituted; and that experience had demonstrated, as it is very probable it would do, that it wanted the confidence requisite to the Credit of its bills, being wholly on a public foundation. Suppose in this state of things that by some of those adverse conjunctures which occasionally attend nations, there had been a very great drain of the specie of the Country so as to cause general distress for want of an adequate medium of circulation and defalcation in the product of the revenue as a consequence of it. Suppose also that there was no Bank instituted in any State — in such a position of things would it not be most evident that the Incorporation of a Bank on the general principle of that proposed by the Bill, namely the Union of the Capitals of a number of individuals under a private management, would be a measure immediately relative to the *effectual Collection* of the taxes?[2]

If it be said that such a state of things would render that *necessary* and therefore constitutional which is not *so* now, the solid answer to this is that *circumstances* may affect the *expediency* of a measure but not the constitutionality of it.[2]

It has been shewn that the word *necessary* is not to be taken in so strict a sense. Of this a further illustration may be given here. Congress are to appoint the *thing* in which the taxes are to be paid.

[1] Lodge, III. 209, 210; [2] 210, 211.

This as has been remarked may be commodities or gold and silver or paper. If Congress are authorized to do nothing but what is strictly necessary they cannot require the payment of taxes in gold or silver only because other commodities may answer; nor can they allow them to be received in paper, unless there be no gold or silver.

The institution of a Bank such as that proposed is directly relative to the borrowing of money. Its main business is to lend money. It is *essential*, especially in a Country like this, to the procuring of loans in sudden emergencies. It is the usual instrument relied upon for this purpose in different nations.[1]

A nation is threatened with a war. Considerable sums are wanted on a sudden to make the requisite preparations. Taxes are laid for the purpose; but it requires time to obtain the benefit of them. Anticipation is indispensable. If there be a Bank the supply can at once be had. If there be none, loans of individuals must be resorted to. The progress of these is often too slow for the exigency. In some situations, indeed, they are practicable. Often when they are it is of great importance to be able to anticipate the product of them by advances from a Bank.[1]

The essentiality of this institution as an instrument of loans is exemplified at this very moment. An Indian expedition is to be prosecuted. The only fund out of which the money can arise consistently with the public engagements is a tax which will only begin to be collected in July next. The preparations are instantly to be made. The money must therefore be borrowed. And of whom could it be borrowed if there were no public banks?[1]

It happens that there are institutions of this kind but if there were none it would be indispensable to create one.[1] And can it be believed that the Government would be destitute of the power of doing it?[2]

Let it then be supposed that the necessity existed (as but for a casualty it would) that proposals were made for a loan, that a number of individuals came forward and said — We are willing to accommodate the Government with this money, with what we have in hand and the credit we can raise upon it; we doubt not of being able to furnish the sum required, but in order to this it is absolutely necessary that we should be incorporated with the capacity of a bank. This will not only be a *consideration* with us for the loan but it is [*cetera desunt*].[3]

[1] Lodge, III. 211.

[2] This last sentence is struck out.

[3] Lodge, III. 212. The MS. thus ends abruptly and on the bottom of an odd page, leaving a blank page unused. As the essay was written throughout on both pages of each leaf, it is very probable that Hamilton did not continue the argument further.

DECEMBER MEETING

The stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President in the chair.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary, Grenville H. Norcross was appointed Secretary *pro tempore*.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian read the list of donors to the Library during the last month.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported his gift to the Society of an undated letter written by Rufus Choate, mentioning a desk used by him in his law-office, which was given to the Society in 1895.

The President reported for the Council the following assignments to prepare memoirs: Mr. Gray, that of Francis C. Gray; Professor Haynes, of E. Winchester Donald; Governor Long, of James M. Barker.

The President announced the death of Charles Gross, Professor of History at Harvard University, and a Resident Member of the Society. In doing so, he said that he would presently call upon Professor Emerton, a colleague of Professor Gross at Harvard, to pay the tribute customary on such occasions to a deceased associate. As President of the Society, he would confine himself, in conformity with usage, to saying that, while in recognition of his valuable historical work and in view of his admittedly high standing as a student and investigator of historical subjects, the election of Professor Gross was in every way proper, he had never been what could be termed an active member of the Society, or contributed largely to its Proceedings. This, too, for obvious reasons. In connection with his chair at Harvard he was an overworked man, and had little time to give to what might be termed outside interests. The single mark left by him in our Proceedings is the mention of a letter, read by another in the "unavoidable absence" of the writer, containing a "minute estimate of the historical work of M. Lavisse"; which letter was not,

however, printed.[1] Professor Gross had been the translator of Lavisse's "Political History of Europe." Though a Resident Member of the Society for over eight years, the records show that he was an infrequent attendant, his name appearing among those present at eleven meetings only. He never served on any committee, nor did he act as a member of the Council.

The PRESIDENT then called attention to the fact that the January meeting would complete a half-century since the election of Dr. Green, senior Vice-President and Librarian of the Society, as a Resident Member. He would at that time only call attention to this fact, with a view to putting here on record a suitable notice of it.

Professor HASKINS paid the following tribute to the late Henry Charles Lea:

The death of Henry Charles Lea removes from the Society's roll of Honorary Members the name of one who, for more than forty years, has brought honor to American historical scholarship. Born in 1825, the son of Isaac Lea and the grandson of Mathew Carey, Mr. Lea represented the best intellectual traditions of Philadelphia and showed his early bent toward the things of the mind by publishing an article on conchology in the "American Journal of Science" at the age of fifteen; but his health as a youth was not strong and he never had a formal academic education. In 1851 he became a partner in the publishing house of Lea Brothers, with which he retained his connection until 1880, the greater part of this time as the active manager of the business. During the Civil War he was an efficient member of the military committee of the Union League and served as bounty commissioner; on the organization, in 1871, of the first association for the reform of municipal government in Philadelphia he was made its president; and throughout his life his influence was steadily exerted toward better political conditions in city, state, and nation.

Mr. Lea's first publications in the field of history were certain essays on early law which began to appear in the "North American Review" in 1859, and were expanded into a volume in 1866 under the title of "Superstition and Force." This was followed the next year by a "History of Sacerdotal

[1] 2 Proc., XIX. 167.

Celibacy in the Christian Church," enlarged in a subsequent edition (1907) to two volumes, and in 1869 by a collection of "Studies in Church History." The direction of Mr. Lea's studies was now defined, but eighteen years elapsed before the appearance of his next book, a period occupied partly with the responsibilities of business, and partly with laying broad and deep the scholarly foundations of the works upon which his reputation as an historian chiefly rests. These are: "A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages" (1888); "Chapters from the Religious History of Spain" (1890); "A Formulary of the Papal Penitentiary" (1892); "A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church" (1896); "The Moriscos of Spain" (1901); "A History of the Inquisition of Spain" (1906–1907); and "The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies" (1908). In all, not counting new editions, Mr. Lea's published work fills eighteen substantial volumes, beside a number of monographic articles and a small volume of "Translations and Other Rhymes," privately printed in 1882.

Looked at broadly, the central theme of Mr. Lea's histories is the Latin Church, which was to him "the great fact which dominates the history of modern civilization," and within the Church the development of those institutions which have established and maintained its power over the intellect and conscience of men. These institutions interested him, not as legal or theological abstractions, but as actual working forces, reflected, it is true, in the jurisprudence of the Church, which offers "the surest basis of investigation for a given period," but really understood only when studied in the concrete detail of daily life. This detail, the real warp and woof of history, does not lie on the surface, but must be sought beyond code and statute in scattered chronicles and charters and fugitive publications, and in the dusty records of tribunals. In other words, any treatment of these subjects which was to be anything but superficial and temporary involved years of labor in the great folio collections of law and theology, in out-of-the-way tracts and pamphlets, and in the libraries and archives of every part of Europe. From this life of patient toil Mr. Lea never shrank. Remote from the original materials, with none of the formal training of the historian, this self-made scholar set himself to attack some of the hardest

problems of the world's history, whose difficulties were to prove the measure of his success. From the outset he formed the habit of going directly to the original sources, and while he never left Philadelphia for purposes of research, his large fortune enabled him to bring together an exceedingly valuable library of printed works and to maintain searchers and copyists in all the collections of manuscripts which were important for his purpose.[1] Dealing with matters which have long been the subject of bitter polemic, he deliberately abstained from reading modern writers lest they should obscure or distort his vision of the past, and he carried this practice so far as to neglect even the non-controversial writings of contemporary historians. This disregard of modern material proved a disadvantage, not only in such matters as his awkward mode of citing authorities and his failure to use recent editions of texts, but especially in his treatment of the early Church, where the original records cannot be properly studied without constant reference to the results of critical scholarship; but the fault was the defect of an admirable quality, and few are in danger of repeating it. The late Frederic W. Maitland, the greatest writer on the history of law that the English-speaking world has produced, once said, "It is Dr. Lea's glory that he is one of the very few English-speaking men who have had the courage to grapple with the law and the legal documents of continental Europe. He has looked at them with the naked eye instead of seeing them — a much easier task — through German spectacles. We trust him thoroughly because he keeps his gaze fixed on the middle ages, and never looks round for opinions to be refuted or quarrels to be picked. This is not exactly the policy that we could recommend to any but a strong man. Dr. Lea, however, is strong, and sober, and wary."[2]

Mr. Lea's style is clear and at times forcible, and his matter does not lack interest, but his books are read by scholars

[1] The volume of Monsignore Baumgarten mentioned in a subsequent note affords a curious example of *a priori* criticism. He says (p. 11): "From his works it is apparent that Lea must have a card index of extraordinary dimensions, which afforded him ready, though sometimes misleading, answers to most of his questions. Whenever he crossed the ocean he has brought back with him considerable additions to his book treasures." Mr. Lea did not have a card index, and he did not build up his library by journeys to Europe.

[2] English Hist. Rev., VIII. 755.

and by thoughtful readers rather than by the general public. His theme is naturally better suited to interest a European than an American audience, and it is not generally realized among us that probably no American writer of history is so widely known and read on the Continent of Europe. Even in his native city he was better known as a man of affairs than as a man of learning, and Philadelphians of some reading were likely to be surprised when they were told that the excellent judge of city real estate who lived at Twentieth and Walnut streets was one of the greatest scholars of his time. While, however, Mr. Lea's fame was mainly European and his erudition of the kind more commonly found in Europe, his career as a man of affairs who trained himself to be an historian was characteristically American; and there can be little doubt that his business experience helped to give him a sense of reality, an ability to see straight amid a mass of complicated detail, and a solidity of judgment which are often lacking in writers of a more academic type.

In America his best-known book is probably his "Superstition and Force," which is familiar to a large number of lawyers who have more than a practitioner's interest in their profession. This has passed through four editions and still remains, in spite of all that others have done to illuminate the early history of legal procedure, the best comprehensive account in any language of the methods of trial embodied in the ordeal, compurgation, judicial combat, and torture. In Europe his best-known work is the "History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages." Appearing at a time when the most distinguished French student of the Inquisition had pronounced such an undertaking chimerical, this was speedily recognized as the standard authority on the subject, and while it needs to be corrected from time to time with the progress of monographic investigation, there is no prospect of its being superseded. It has been translated into French, a German edition is in process of publication, and it is understood that arrangements have been made for an Italian version. Mr. Lea's most mature work is the "History of the Inquisition of Spain," toward which all the efforts of his later years were directed. The subject is intricate and thorny; the materials were for the most part unprinted and uncalendared; and except for certain publications of the author, scarcely anything had been

done in the way of preliminary exploration or monographic investigation. Under such conditions the historian was obliged to be quarry-man as well as architect, and the four solid volumes which he produced were fashioned out of the solid rock of original documents. It was characteristic of the author that when he found the first draft of the work too long for purposes of publication, he took up calmly the task of rewriting the whole at the age of nearly eighty. Rarely has so significant an institution been so sanely and comprehensively studied, and rarely has the reader been placed in so good a position to observe its workings and draw his own conclusions from the evidence presented. There is no striving for dramatic effect; the nature of the Holy Office is manifested in its normal operations rather than in the sensational episodes of its history, and its significance is shown to lie "not so much in the awful solemnities of the *auto da fe*, or in the cases of a few celebrated victims, as in the silent influence exercised by its incessant and secret labors among the mass of the people and in the limitations which it placed upon the Spanish intellect." The narrative is sober and self-contained and there is little moralizing, but the general tendencies of the system are impressively pointed out, and the great lesson taught by the history of the Inquisition is declared to be "that the attempt of man to control the conscience of his fellows reacts upon himself," and that "the unity of faith which was the ideal of statesmen and churchmen alike in the sixteenth century is fatal to the healthful spirit of competition through which progress, material and moral, is fostered."

Such a conclusion will not command universal assent, and much of Mr. Lea's work has been sharply attacked from the side of the Catholic Church. Such institutions as the Inquisition, the confessional, and the celibacy of the clergy have long been the subject of acute controversy, and their history touches issues of living moment. Mr. Lea might assert his lack of polemic purpose and declare his ideal of history to be "a serious attempt to ascertain the severest truth as to the past and to set it forth without fear or favor"; he might mitigate the conventional horrors of the Spanish Inquisition, and even contrast its enlightened treatment of the witch-delusion with the witch-burnings of protestant Europe; but the deductions from his investigations were generally unfavorable to

the ecclesiastical system, and it is not surprising that Catholic writers have impugned his accuracy, and even his good faith.[1] Still, fair-minded Catholics acknowledge his merits, and in course of time his works will be recognized as having added materially to the body of fact, considerable even now, upon which both Protestant and Catholic historians are in fundamental agreement. Lord Acton not only pronounced the "History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages" to be "the most important contribution of the new world to the religious history of the old," but declared that its essential parts "constitute a sound and solid structure that will survive the censure of all critics."[2] The Abbé Vacandard, author of the best volume on the Inquisition written from the Catholic point of view, while he denies the finality of the work, accepts Reusch's characterization of it as "l'histoire de l'Inquisition la plus étendue, la plus profonde et la plus fouillée que nous possédions."[3] Even Mr. Lea's latest assailant, Monsignore Baumgarten, cannot close without expressing "esteem and admiration for his industry, his endurance and undisputed results."[4]

Personally Mr. Lea had the modesty, the candor, the serenity, and the unselfish devotion of the truly great scholar. He was generous of his time and his learning to others, as I can personally testify, and many beginners in difficult tasks of research look back with gratitude to his advice and encouragement. Recalling his own intellectual isolation in the early years of his studies, he watched with pleasure the growing circle of well-trained scholars in the United States, and looked forward with assurance to the future of the American school of history. Such optimism was characteristic of the man, but it also belonged to a view of history which held that the study of the past in the scientific spirit would render us not only more tolerant of outgrown ethical standards, but also "more impatient of the present and yet more hopeful of the future."[5]

[1] Beside numerous articles in reviews, see particularly Casey, "Notes on a History of Auricular Confession: H. C. Lea's Account of the Power of the Keys in the Early Church" (Philadelphia, 1899); and Baumgarten, "Henry Charles Lea's Historical Writings: a Critical Inquiry into their Method and Merit" (New York, 1909).

[2] The History of Freedom and Other Essays, 551, 574.

[3] L'Inquisition (Paris, 1907), vii.

[4] Henry Charles Lea's Historical Writings, 143.

[5] See his presidential address on "Ethical Values in History" in the American Hist. Rev., IX. 233–246.

Colonel T. L. LIVERMORE paid a tribute to Colonel Theodore Ayrault Dodge, with an estimate of his work in military history. This has been expanded into a memoir, and will be found in this volume, page 208.

Professor EMERTON read the following tribute to Professor Gross:

We are called upon to notice the death of a member of this Society who, though probably personally unknown to many of our fellow-members, was one of the world's first scholars in his chosen field of study. A more detailed account of his work as a scholar will be laid before the Society at a later meeting. It is my duty to-day only to call attention to some of the facts of his life and to say a word in appreciation of his singularly devoted and engaging personality as a man and an academic citizen.

Charles Gross died at Cambridge on the 3d of December. He was born at Troy, New York, on the 10th of February, 1857. So far as we are informed there were no academic traditions in his family that would have pointed him naturally to the scholar's life, but his ability was early discovered by his teachers, notably by Mr. Harry Pratt Judson, now President of the University of Chicago, through whose influence he was directed toward a college education. He was graduated from Williams College in 1878, taught for a year at the Troy Academy and in 1880 went to Europe for what proved to be an almost uninterrupted residence of eight years. Only once, I believe, did he return to this country, in search of occupation. Not finding a position to his mind, he went back to England and remained until he was called to Harvard College in 1888.

This was an unusual preparation for the work of a university teacher. In that interval of eight years Gross had travelled widely in Europe, had taken his Doctor's degree at Göttingen, had studied in Paris and had spent several years in England collecting material for the work that was to make his chief reputation as a scholar. Early in his studies in Germany his attention had been drawn to the field of municipal history, and especially to the part played in the development of city governments by the organized guilds of merchants or of craftsmen. His Doctor's dissertation at Göttingen was on

the "British *Gilda Mercatoria*," and his work in England was largely a continuation of studies begun in preparation for that thesis.

In the second year after coming to Harvard he was able to print the two volumes of his "Gild Merchant in England," the first volume devoted to a searching study of the origin and functions of the English guilds, and the second containing a mass of proofs and illustrations arranged according to the several towns studied. Already he had made a great collection of titles for a "Bibliography of British Municipal History," which was published in 1897 as one in the series of Harvard Historical Studies. This led him to the still more elaborate "Sources and Literature of English History to 1485," published in 1900. These are the books which have established Professor Gross's reputation as the first authority in the English-speaking world upon a wide range of questions in English constitutional history. Besides these he has edited two volumes for the Selden Society, — one in 1896, of "Select Cases from the Coroners' Rolls (1265–1413)," and one in 1908, of "Select Cases concerning the Law Merchant (1270–1608)." Numerous articles contributed to many periodicals show his unwearied activity and his keen sense of the importance of making clear every detail in the group of historical materials with which he was chiefly concerned.

As a teacher Gross was occupied during the twenty years of his service at Harvard mainly with instruction in the field of early English history. He gave regularly a full course in this subject and a similar one in early French history, supplementing this class work by personal guidance for advanced students. He was never what is ordinarily and vaguely described as a popular teacher. He used none of the arts of the academic demagogue, who seeks to capture the allegiance of youth by direct assault. He relied in his presentation upon the same qualities of accuracy and clearness that marked his own study and writing, and his appeal found, as such appeal always does, a ready response in the generous spirit of the student body. No one who came under his influence could fail to catch something of his scholarly quality.

In the work of administration Professor Gross bore his share with a cheerful readiness, with unfailing tact and judgment. He served for several years as Chairman of the Depart-

ment of History and Government, submitting to its drudgery with patience and organizing many of the activities which the Department is now called upon to exercise.

Personally he was a remarkable union of extreme reserve with an almost childlike dependence upon friendship. He seldom sought the intimacy of his colleagues, but met every sincere advance with a cordial readiness that endeared him to us all. We shall all remember with gratitude the unstinted generosity with which he always shared with us his great store of knowledge and of suggestion for our profit.

In the more intimate relations of life he displayed again the same qualities of absolute devotion to duty and the sacrifice of his own personal wishes for higher ends. His domestic life, begun with every promise, was clouded almost throughout with the shadow of a great sorrow which he bore with unflinching courage and without complaint. In a very true sense of the word his life was sacrificed to demands which a less uncompromising nature might have avoided without reproach, but which came to him as an obvious call of honor that must be obeyed.

Mr. NORCROSS submitted the following document from his own collection:

LORDS COMMITTEE ON TRADE AND PLANTATIONS TO JOSEPH DUDLEY.

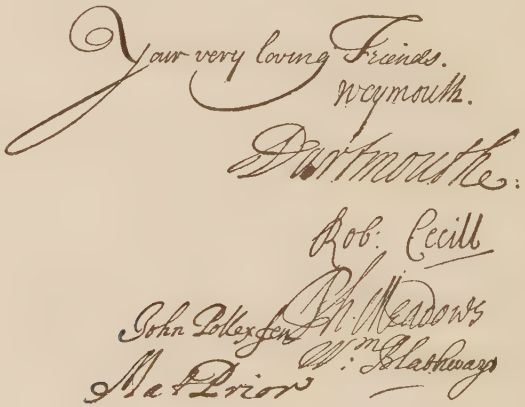
WHITEHAL, April, the 20th: 1703.

SIR, — Whereas frequent Complaints have been made to Us of great Delays and undue Proceedings in the Courts of Justice in several of Her Majesty s Plantations, whereby many of Her Majesty's Subjects have very much Suffered; and it being of the greatest Importance to Her Majesty's Service and to the Welfare of the Plantations that Justice be every where speedily and duly Administred, and that all Disorders, Delays and other undue Practices in the Administration thereof be effectually prevented; We have thought necessary to recommend to you as We do to the several Governors of other Her Majesty's Plantations in respect of their Governments, that in the Courts of Her Majesties Province of New Hampshire under your Government where you are authorised to preside, You take care that Justice be impartially administred, and that as well there as in all other Courts established within Her Majesty's said province of New Hampshire all Judges and

other Persons therein concerned do likewise perform their several Duties without any Delay or partiality.

And whereas We are informed that there is great want of an Especial Court for determining of smal Causes, We do think it for her Majesty's Service that you recommend to the Assembly of the said Province of New Hampshire the passing a Law for the Constituting such Court or Courts, which may be for the ease of Her Majesty's Subjects.

We further require you to take care that an Exact Account be transmitted to Us by every Conveyance of the Causes which have been dispatched, and those which remain depending, and in General an Abstract of all proceedings in the Several Courts of Justice within your said Government. So We bid you heartily Farewel



Colonel T. W. Higginson sent the following note on the Vassall tomb:

I send you a sketch, made by my secretary, of the Vassall tomb-stone of which I spoke to you, in the old Cambridge cemetery. It is a slab supported by five pillars, one at each corner and one in the middle. It had originally only the emblems as given in the enclosed sketch, and until recently was without the inscription. In my time every boy in Cambridge was familiar with the meaning of the *vase* and the *sun*, standing for "Vas — sol," representing the once prominent Vassall family of Cambridge. We children all knew by heart Dr. Holmes's verse on the "Cambridge Churchyard":

Or gaze upon yon pillared stone,
The empty urn of pride;
There stand the Goblet and the Sun, —
What need of more beside?
Where lives the memory of the dead,
Who made their tomb a toy?
Whose ashes press that nameless bed?
Go, ask the village boy!

It is within ten or twelve years that I was made indignant by looking over at the stone and finding its whole dignity removed, inasmuch as some one had caused to be engraved there, just below the goblet, the inscription "Col. John Vassall, died Nov. 27, 1747." On inquiry I found that this inscription had been put on without the knowledge of my old playmate, the late Mr. George Savil Saunders, who was the official custodian of the burial ground; nor do I know whether it was ever known who added these letters.

Mr. GREENOUGH submitted from his collections the following five letters of John Hancock, written while in London on business between his uncle Thomas Hancock and the Board of Admiralty.

To Rev. Daniel Perkins, Bridgewater.

London, October 29th, 1760.

Reverend Sir, — I have wrote you severall Letters since my Arrivall here, but have not heard one Word direct from you or my Mother since I left Boston. [I] fear if you have wrote your Letters have miscarried. I long much to hear of my Mother, has she her health, pray write me particularly, to whom please to present my most Dutifull Regards, and Acquaint her I am very well, and hope to have the pleasure of seeing her by June next or sooner. My Love to my Sister, Respectfull Compliments to the Doctor. I am very busy in getting my self mourning upon the Occasion of the Melancholy Event of the Death of his late Majesty King George the 2d, to which every person of any Note here Conforms even to the deepest mourning. His Death was very sudden last Saturday Morning. after Rising as well as usual, he felt not well, and fell down in a Fit of Apoplexy and died instantly.[1] Every thing here now is very dull. All Plays are stopt and no Diversions are going forward, that I am at a loss how to dispose of my self. On Sunday last the Prince of Wales was proclaim'd King

[1] He died at Kensington on October 25, 1760, between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, from a rupture of the right ventricle of the heart.

thro' the City with great Pomp and Joy. His Coronation I am told will not be till April, that I can't yet determine whether I shall stay to see it, but the rather think I shall, as it is the grandest thing I shall ever meet with. I am not more particular in the Circumstances of the King's Death, as I imagine you will have the Accounts long before this Reaches you.

The Purport of this is only to Acquaint you and my Mother and Sister, &c I am well, hope soon to hear from you, In'trim please Accept my best Respects, and am, Revd Sir, Your most Obed and Hume Servt.

I shall write you tomorrow.

To Ebenezer Hancock.

London, 27th December, 1760.

My dear Brother, — I have before me your agreeable letter of November 6th by Capt. Bride, and desire you will write me by every opportunity, and acquaint me more particularly with the Circumstances of my Uncle's Family. I am Glad to hear you are well, and earnestly beg you will give great attention to business and let your Conduct be such as to merit the Esteem of all about you, and remember that the Diligent Hand maketh Rich. I Expect on my Return to find you a Compleat Merchant. I am much pleased at the Advantages you have before you, of which I doubt not but you will make the proper Improvement.

I observed by your Letter our Sister is married, and that you were with them at the Celebration of it, I wish them great Happiness and satisfaction, and hope they will meet with nothing to Interrupt their Quiet, they have my best wishes.

I shall write you again Soon. Have me Remembered in the Strongest Terms of Affection to my Uncle and Aunt. Love to all in the Family, particularly Hannah and Betsy. How is Molly and how does Cato behave. Is Agniss a Breeding. Is Prince as Gouty as ever, and Hannibal as peevish as formerly; tell him I think of him, as he was the last of the Family I Saw on the Wharff. How is Thomas, and in short all.

I have lately been ill, but am upon the Recovery, hope soon to get abroad again. I wish you, with Hannah Betsy and all the Family many happy New Years. The Compliments of the Season attend you, and I am, etc.

Remember my Love to Nicholas Bowes, and all of my acquaintances. My respects to Mr. Glover and Brown. Forward the enclosed Letter to Bridgewater.

Tell Hannah that at Mr. Barnard's [1] where I am ill, is a young

[1] Of the mercantile house of Kilby, Barnard and Parker.

woman who is Remarkably Tender and Kind to me in my illness, and often brings her to my mind ; that I am as well attended as I could ever desire, and that I am very well off, but had much rather be ill, if I must be so, where my Aunt and she is, But that this young woman is exactly the Image of her in Respect of a good and tender Nurse.

To Thomas Hancock.

London, January 14th, 1761.

Hond. Sir, — Four days ago I sent you a very long Letter by the Harriott Packett, which hope will Come safe to your hands. I am this day favour'd with your most obliging Letters of November 30th and December 6th by Captain Farr. All the Bills you have sent me have met with Acceptance of which I have Advised you. I am very sorry that I have been so unlucky in Regard to my Letters not Reaching you. I did not write by Atkins, as Bull sailed at the same Time by whom I wrote, and never Intended to be Remiss in that Respect, and should you Receive all my Letters I am well Satisfied you and my Aunt will not Think me Blameable. On my Arrival I wrote by the Packett, then by Farr which you have Rec'd, since those I have wrote you by Bull, Hulme, Partridge, Smith, White, Binney, Vernon, Newton, Earl Leceste r Packett, and Calef Via N. York, Rhodes, Beach from Bristol, and the Harriott Packett, and by almost all these to my Aunt, that I hope you will not Think me wanting in Duty and Respect tho' at so great a Distance, which nothing that this Grand Place Affords could Tempt me to Forget. The Detention of the Boston Ships here, is Really no Fault of the Merchants but Contrary Winds. Bull was Loaded by Mr. Barnard and Dispatched as soon as possible, and sailed at same Time with Atkins, that it's very unlucky she did not Arrive, hope long before this she is with you. Mr. Barnard is very uneasy at the Disappointment. By the little Observations I made, I am sure no House gives greater Attention to Business, and better Consults the Interest of their Correspondents than Mr. Barnard's.

The Day before I was to have been Introduced to Admiral [Edward] Boscawen he was taken ill, and I am sorry to Tell you he is since Dead, his Death is greatly Regretted.[1] But the Governor[2] is so kind as to say he will get me Introduc'd to Mr. Frederick, by means of a particular Friend of his who is intimate with him. Mr. Bogdani I find is not upon the best Footing with the Board, that very little Attention is paid to any thing he says, and indeed he told me as much, but that he should be very Glad to Render you all the Service in his Power. I am Determined at all Events to See Mr. Frederick soon, and if I should Fail of

[1] Died on January 10, 1761, at Hatchlands Park, in Surrey.
[2] Thomas Pownall.

being Introduc'd to him, will wait on him myself, and Acquaint him the Occasion, and Talk with him upon the Subject. Tho' the Governor Told me I might Depend upon his Friend, who is Lord Falmouth, I have not been wanting in Assiduous Endeavours to see him, but so many Intervening Circumstances have happened, and the Difficulty in meeting with great people at home, has put it out of my power hitherto.

I was this Morning with the Governor, he is very well. Mr. Green is not Arriv'd. I hope you will be able to Settle Nova Scotia Accounts to your Satisfaction. I intend mentioning the Scituation of them to Mr. Secretary Pownall. The Governor Tells me its next to a Certainty that Governor [Henry] Ellis of Georgia will be appointed to the Government of Nova Scotia.[1] I the rather mention this, as he is now at York on his Return to England, and perhaps may Take Boston in his way that you can have an Opportunity of forming a Connection with him. This is not got abroad, but the Governor Told me with Leave to Acquaint you.

I wrote you I had seen Lady Warren,[2] and that she begs her Money may be Called in as soon as possible. And desires an Account from Mr. Apthorp with the principal Interest particularly Specified. As she was soon to be in Town after my Arrival, I rather thought it as well to wait, but finding it would have been more Agreeable to you, I could wish I had gone. Mr. Davis's Company into the Countrey was not from Choice, but my Party failing, as he was going and it would lessen my Expence, I went down with him, but did not Return with him. I have no great liking to him, and we have but little Correspondence together, he is a man of a very assuming Behaviour, and has given himself some Liberties here, that I have taken Occasion to mention to him that there 's no great Understanding between us, he is going over in the first Spring Ship.

I observe in your Letter you mention a Circumstance in Regard to my Dress. I hope it did not Arise from your hearing I was too Extravagant that way, which I think they can't Tax me with. At same time I am not Remarkable for the Plainess of my Dress, upon proper Occasions I dress as Genteel as any one, and can't say I am without Lace. I Endeavour in all my Conduct not to Exceed your Expectation in Regard to my Expences, but to Appear in Character I am Obliged to be pretty Expensive. I find Money some way or other goes very fast, but I think I can Reflect it has been spent with Satisfaction and to my own honour. I fear if you was to see my Tailor's Bill, you would Think I was not a very plain Dressing person. I en-

[1] Best known by his account of "A Voyage to Hudson's Bay, by the Dobbs Galley and California in 1746 and 1747, for Discovering a North-West Passage."

[2] Probably Susannah de Lancy, widow of Sir Peter Warren.

deavour to be in Character in all I do, and in all my Expences, which are pretty large. I have great Satisfaction in the Reflection of their being incurr'd in Honorable Company and to my Advantage. I shall be mindfull to send by the first Opportunity the Mitts for my Aunt and the Shoes for you, with a Cane if can meet one Suitable. I wish to hear Bull is Arrived, and that the Things I sent by him for you and my Aunt proved Satisfactory. I imagine many of my Letters have Reached you before this, and long to hear from you on the Subject of my Tarry here. I could wish for many Reasons it may be Agreeable to you to Indulge me here to the Coronation, and hope my Resolution of at least waiting for an Answer to mine by the Packett in Regard to Mr. Trecothick [1] will be Agreeable.

We have no News. Things seem very quiet. The King is very popular and much Beloved. I hear he has sent a Message to the House desiring he may be Enabled to Reimburse the Colonies the Expence of Raising and Cloathing the Troops. I imagine an Address to the King will soon Appear from our Province. Pray who will be Pitched upon to present it, some American I should Think. I don't know whether we have an Agent, I frequently see Mr. [William] Bollan, am told he intends in the Spring going to Boston, but believe it only Talk, he looks half Dead, and is kept alive merely by Mechanism, he once in my hearing at the Coffee House Asked who I was, but he said nothing to me nor I to him. I am apt to Think Mr. Jno. Husk [2] has some prospect of being Agent, he is a sensible cleane Man, and one I have a great Esteem of, I am very Intimate with him.

February 10th. The Governor has been so kind as to speak to Mr. Frederick and mention'd every thing that was Necessary upon the Subject of your Connections with the Board, that entirely Satisfied him, and I am one day this week to wait on Mr. Frederick at the Board, and wish I could have seen him before this, but it is Attended with great Difficulty to find great people at home. When I have been with him I will write you fully. Mr. Frederick Told the Governor that he himself never heard a Complaint of you in his Life, and all the Board meant by Applications to others was to Endeavour to Employ those who would do their Business Cheapest, and Mr. Frederick said he should when his Leisure would allow be glad to see me, that he might know from me the particular Scituation of their affairs in America with Respect to your Transactions, and I must wait his own Time, of which in my next I shall be very particular, and am glad to find Things may be so easily Reconcil'd.

[1] See Boswell's Life of Johnson (Hill's edition), III. 76 *n*.

[2] John, son of Ellis Huske. He represented Maldon, Essex, in the House of Commons, and was burned in effigy in America at the time of the Stamp Act. His father had been postmaster in Massachusetts, and publisher of "The Boston Weekly Post-Boy."

I paid the Governor £800 Sterling, or £1066.13.4 Lawfull Money in part of the Money in your hands, the Interest of which is to Cease from January 19th. The whole £800 I Took of Mr. Barnard, as I could by no Means make any Cessions to Mr. Trecothicks house, who I can't say, have us'd me well, and as I have wrote you very particular, shall say no more, but wait your Answer, which hope will approve my Conduct.

Mr. Green is Arriv'd, and well, who begs Leave to Trouble you with the Inclosed. I have been with him, and am glad to find you have got a Remittance for 1759 Accounts, but he Tells me at 4/8 a Dollar, which is making you a great loser, and surely in Justice ought to pay at 5/ as the Accounts were made up at that Rate.

I am not able by this to add, as I had but one hours Notice of this Ship Sailing, and must beg your Excuse for the ill Connection of my Letter, I shall write you very particular by Capt Ochterlony who goes for York next week.

I hope soon to hear from you, and am with the greatest Respect and Esteem, Honored Sir, Your most obliged and most dutifull Nephew,

The former part of my Letter was wrote some Time ago, but the latter in great haste, as the Vessell was under sail.

To Ebenezer Hancock.

London, March 31st, 1761.

My dear Brother, — I have wrote you severall Times lately; I Received your Agreeable Letters by Folger, for which I Thank you, am glad to find you with the Family are well, all whom I long to see, and am not without hopes of having that pleasure in the Course of the Summer. Tho' at present I am quite undetermined in Regard to my Return, and shall be so, till I hear from my Uncle. You must Excuse me, as I am always Engag'd some way or other, from Giving you any Account of the Curiosities here, how I spend my time, and what is going forward in this place of Universal Resort, all this must be Deferr'd to the happy moment when I shall meet you all in Boston, and Chat over the Agreeable Scenes I have pass'd thro'. I am almost Tired of this place, and can't say but I want much to be with you. I have had but one Letter from Mr. Perkins since I left Boston, which to me is unaccountable. I have wrote him often. I cannot write him by this Conveyance, must therefore Desire you will present my Duty to him and my Dear Mother in the Strongest Terms of Affection, my Love to my Sisters, and Respects to the Doctors all whom I wish very happy. I Really think hard of it that Mr. Perkins should not write me oftener, but he may be hindred by his Avocations abroad.

Pray present my Duty to my Uncle and Aunt, Love to my D[ea]r Hannah and Betsy, and to the whole Family, and to all my Friends as if nam'd.

I am Glad to find you give so close Application to Business, which is the only way to Establish a good Character in Life. By all means study to please your Uncle and Aunt, to whom you are bound by all the Ties of Gratitude and Love.

In Complaisance to you I can't write long Letters, but hope soon to do that in person which I now omitt in my Letters. I am with great Regards, Your Affectionate Brother,

Tell Cato I shall Bring him a Cap and French Horn, but if I don't find him a good Boy shall give them to Scipio.

To Thomas Hancock.

London, 11th July, 1761.

Sir, — Our last to you was dated 30 May per Captain Dymond and Copy per the General Wall, since which have received your favor of the 16th April, 5 and 20 May last and 8 June, in which you remitted us General Amherst's Certificate for the hire of the Sloop Good Intent, Daniel Bragdon, Master, also for the Sloop Seaflower, Webster Master, and for the Sloop Victory, Jos. Purcell Master, all which are left at the Navy office, and expect to obtain Navy Bills for them payable in the course of the Navy which are now sold at about £8 per Ct. discount; in the same you also remitted us Geo. St. Loe Bill on Thomas Fisher Esqr. vallue £72. 8. 4. which is noted for non acceptance, and when due shall return it you with protest, as we have no expectance it will be paid.

We observe that Miss Hope is passenger on Board the Diamond. Captain Mackay, who is not yet arrived, and now fear she is taken. We thank you for your Civilities to her, of which shall advise her Brother Mr. Henry Hope who will thankfully pay the money £86. 3. 3. you have advanced for her, which shall be placed to the Credit of your account with us. The twenty tons of hemp you order, shall be shipt you per the first opportunity, at present no Vessell bound for your port excepting Captain Jacobson, who sails in a few days, and in whome your Nephew Mr. John Hancock goes passenger, he is very well but hurried in getting ready for his departure, that we believe he will not be able to write you by this. We are much concerned to hear of the misfortune that befell the Prince George, but glad she was arrived with you. We have recd a Letter from Mr. Davis and the Owners, and are sorry the Latter applied to the Admiralty, for we think it would have been best to have saved that expence, we expect the Goods have

been a long time delivered to the proprietors, which is expected by the Underwriters, who are willing to pay the Ransome &c. but we don't know whether they will pay any extra charges that may have been occasioned at Boston. We have by this, wrote both to the owners and Mr. Davis in answer to their Letters; We have no certainty of a peace yet, but hope it will be brot. about before this year is out; The King declared his intentions to marry a few days ago in Council to the princess of Mecklenburgh.[1] We are with Esteem, Your very hble Servt

Kilby Barnard & Parker.

11th July 1761.[2]

Honored Sir, — I have not Time as I am Engag'd in preparing for my Voyage to write a long Letter, and this is a saving way, that I can only Acquaint you I long since Agreed with Captain Jacobson for a passage, and Expected by this to have been half way to Boston, but unexpected Detentions have Arisen, both with Respect to want of Goods and Convoy, however can now say I am in great hopes we shall soon sail, she falls down the river on Tuesday, and I shall set out for Portsmouth by Land on Thursday, and if we are not Detained there in waiting for Convoy, shall in a Week be on our Passage, which in Compliance with your orders, I am very earnest for, and my assiduous Endeavours have not been wanting to get a Passage sooner, but hope all 's for the best. The Difficulty of Transporting Baggage from hence to Falmouth prevented my going in the Packett to York.

You will please to present my most Dutifull Regards to my Dear Aunt, Mrs. Hinchman, and Respectfull Compliments to all my Friends, with whom I hope to be soon.

My Earnest wishes for your Health and Happiness, Concludes me in great haste, with the utmost Gratitude, Honored Sir, Your most obliged and most Dutifull Nephew.

My Things are all going on board on Monday.

Professor Wendell, in showing photographs of two portraits by Smibert, said:

The portrait by Smibert of John Gerrish, mentioned in Mr. Augustus T. Perkins's list, printed in the Proceedings (xvi. 395) for December, 1878, is almost certainly not of Judge John Gerrish (1645/6–1714), but of his son Captain John Gerrish (1668–1737/8), of Boston. Captain Gerrish was the father

[1] Charlotte Sophia, younger sister of Adolphus Frederick IV, reigning duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. The marriage took place September 8, 1761.

[2] This is on the same sheet as the letter of the merchants.

of Sarah Gerrish, Mrs. John Barrett, of Boston, through whom the portrait descended to the present owner, Miss Sarah Dorr Barrett, of Boston. An elder daughter, Anna, was Mrs. Joshua Gee, whose portrait by Smibert is in the possession of the Society.

Another portrait by Smibert, not mentioned in Mr. Perkins's list, or in the additions thereto (p. 474), is that of Jacob Wendell (1691–1760), which in 1878 was in possession of Mr. Wendell Phillips, from whom it passed to its present owner, Mrs. John C. Phillips of Boston. This portrait, among the largest and most highly finished from Smibert's hand, may perhaps have partly inspired the familiar passage about family portraits in the first number of the "Autocrat of the Breakfast Table." Jacob Wendell was grandfather of Dr. Holmes's mother.

Mr. LANE made the following remarks:

In the course of the excavations for the subway on Massachusetts Avenue, near Harvard Square, Cambridge, a little to the west of Wadsworth House, an old foundation-wall, extending some forty feet, was uncovered on Monday, December 6. Only the lower courses of the wall were to be seen, the upper having been removed many years ago when the water pipes were laid in the street. Enough remained, however, to show that the smooth or inner face was toward the north, proving it to have been in all probability the cellar-wall of a building standing on the north side of the street. It may safely be claimed that the building itself must have been either the original "Harvard College," built in 1638, or else Edward Goffe's house, which stood on the next lot, and before 1654 had been acquired by the College for use as a dormitory. It was called "Goffe's Colledge," and is described in the early College records as containing "five Chambers, eighteen studies, a kitchen, cellar, and three garrets." The position of the foundation wall to the west of Wadsworth House makes the identification of the building with the Goffe house the more probable. As the work of excavation progresses to the eastward, it is not unlikely that the foundations of the original College building may be found. The discovery is particularly interesting because the position of these buildings has never been known with precision.

Mr. Ford presented copies of two letters of James Otis on legal matters.

To Francis Rybot.

Boston, Decr 24th, 1764

Sir, — I have received the Sum of two hundred sixty two pounds sixteen shillings and ten pence sterling of the several persons whose notes Jn° Gould indorsed agreable to the advice heretofore given you viz of Wheelright Erving and Royall and in pursuance of your directions to demand the Difference between £800 and the Ballance of your Acco^t Current against the said Gould you then expecting as you said the £800 of Halliday and Dunbar since which but long after Gould failing I was sorry to find you are disappointed having as you inform me in yours of June last rec'd but £638 : 11 : 0 sterling of the Sum expected by Halliday and Dunbar. I heretofore informed you of Gould's Misfortune. he failed in June and is since supposed lost at Sea about the time your Letter came to hand, being bound from the West Indies to the northward left in distress by a Vessel in Company since arrived that gives the information. As he has left nothing there will be no Administration, should there be any I shall file your Claim. I fear your Conjectures in yours of the same date, that it will not be in my power to do you any service relating your Demand on M^r Dennie are too well grounded, tho I must tell you if you had been determined to loose what he and others owed you here, you took the readiest way in all respects. You first sent over a Letter and loose unauthenticated Acco^ts without so much as a power, when the power came it was without the accots annexed or sworn to as by Act of Parliament is required which last never rec^d as before advised you, till the 11 Octo^r last by the London Packet Capt Calef with Gould Dennies and the Davis's Acco^ts proved, but even now these Accounts are so stated as that I am of Opinion I could not maintain Suits on them if contested. I shall point out the defects. Davis Acco^t for Instance begins with the Article of Ballance adjusted in England, now, if this was sued they might demand a Copy of that adjustment, then there are large general Charges in all the accounts instead of particulars. However I have done as well as I could with the Mess^rs Davis who have settled with me, as you will find by the inclosed Copies, they have charged you £800 sterling they say they have ordered Halliday and Dunbar to pay you long since and by their last Letters it seems probable that Sum or the greater part of it is by this time paid. They have signed their Obligation to pay it with Interest if you fail of receiving it of Halliday and Dunbar, so will let me know if paid the first Opportunity. The Sales of your joint Concern consigned them your half as you say £189 : 4 : 10 is not they say compleated so have obtained no Account of Sales from them, and not

having any Account or Invoice of the Goods sent me from you, cant support an Action of account against them, so you had best send the Invoice to the Merchant you may hereafter employ according to my former request which I persist in. The difference between the Ballance of your Account Current and the Settlement arises principally on your miscasting the Interest. There is an Order of £20 sterling on Jn° Phillips never paid he having been in Canada ever since it was drawn, and is returned. They also refuse to allow the recharge of £10: 10: 0 sterling on the Diamond. But the principal thing that induced me to ease away on this Article and the Objections to your Charges of Interest, some of which are manifestly wrong, is that the whole Interest is disputable here. Compound Interest is against our Law, and you would be at the Mercy of a Jury wether to allow you the simple Interest, which they would certainly disallow unless an express agreement were proved of which I had no Evidence and they deny that it was expressly agreed, but tho't themselves obliged to allow it on the Custom (which our Jury dont regard) provided I would make the deduction for compound Interest miscasting &c in your Account as by the Settlement inclosed will appear. As to arresting them and holding them to Bail for the Ballance according to your Account Current you to repay what you might receive by Halliday and Dunbar might have been at the risque of exposing you if not myself to an Action for Damages which I did not chuse for myself nor think eligible for you especially as you direct me in all your Letters to avoid Extremities nor do I think you would have thanked me for subjecting you to an Action for holding them to Bail under the uncertainty of what is rec'd from Liverpool. I therefore tho't it most for your Interest to take their Bond to you Condition for the payment of £800 sterling with 6 ℔ Cent Interest in Case said Halliday and Dunbar have not or shall not pay it to you so as soon as you have rec'd it you will inform me there of as they will want their Bond up or discharg'd on such payment. They have also drawn Bills on Holliday and Dunbar for the Ballance of £203: 13: 9 sterling, the first of which I inclose. If I can secure you any thing p^r M^r Dennie I will but I find that while you and he were in secret Treaty about a Composition with you and the rest of his Creditors of which you never informed me I say during this Treaty which I am astonished you should be so private in I find he has made over all his Estate real and personal for the Security of his Creditors before your Acco^ts came authenticated and this in Consequence of Letters which he shewed me from you among others agreeing to the same, how this Affair was transacted I cant exactly find out, but he says you left it to him to act for you and you mention in your Letters to him that I shall not proceed till I hear further from you. It seems it would have been as regular to have informed me of the whole of your proceedings with

him of which I am now at a loss for the whole. He says he informed you of what was concluded upon by him in your behalf and with the rest of the Creditors in June or July last but hath no answer. I never heard of such Composition being on foot till since your last Letter and that by him M^r^ Dennie when it was too late to secure any thing. It is a strange way of transacting to send a power against a Debter and then secretly give him a Letter of Licence as you have in Effect. Could you expect in this Situation of his Affairs I could arrest him break up his family and business that the Creditors agreed he should continue, for to Goal he declares he will go if only on the assurance of the Composition promised in your Letter and thereby subject you to an Action of damages, but to what purpose would it be to commit him after all his Estate is made over, in short He says by your Letter to him you left it to him to act for you and that he will do you the same Justice with the rest of his Creditors. I believe he is an honest Man, and will perform it if he can so you must een settle it between you, should I find any of the Incumbrances on his Estate cleared or the Conveyances defective I will endeavour to serve you tho' I see little prospect I hope as you have begun, you and he will be able to settle the Affair to your mutual Satisfaction. Inclosed you have with the first Bill from the Davis's for the £203 : 13 : 9 on Halliday and Dunbar, a Copy of their Bond and Settlement of the Account Current, besides they say they have remitted you £150 which they agree shall go towards the Consignment or joint Concern on Commission mentioned in your last to me; this will appear by a Memorandum on the Schedule annexed to said Bond for said £800 if not paid by said Halliday and Dunbar so that the said Commission Account of the Goods consigned in Company you 'll perceive lays open as before observed. I am yours &c.

J Otis.

To George Johnstone and Others, Assignees of Wight and Graham.

Boston, Jany 25th, 1765

Gentlemen, — I rec^d^ yours of the second of Nov^r^ and am glad you approve of my Conduct with regard to M^r^ Hurd. He is very unjust in charging me with Severity. He must be conscious I have done nothing but what his Conduct will justify to all the World. You recovered Judg^t^ against him at the Inferior Court in Octo^r^ last for the sum of £3268 : 15 : 0 ster^g^ being the Condition of the Bond with Interest. He has appealed to the Superior Court which setts the latter end of February, in the meantime having given Bail to your suit he has shut himself up from his other Creditors. I shall inform you of every step I take in relation to this Affair. As you must have recd his proposals of a Composition before this, I would only mention this for

your Consideration, that if he delivers himself up to save his Bail he may after a certain number of days by the province law be discharged from Goal, making Oath that he is worth nothing which may soon be the Case if he is driven to Extremities. According to your directions in your last I have "pressed M^r^ Scollay for a Settlement." I also applied to him as directed for Cap^t^ Gooch's Acco^t^, but have not yet obtained it. I was with him almost every day from your last urging him to make a payment or Remittance by good Bills. He promised fair as usual till the failing of M^r^ Wheelright which happened here last week and has given as great a shock to credit here as your South Sea Bubble did in England some years ago.[1] This Gentleman from a handsome fortune left him by his father and the great Business he was in for the Government at Home during the Wars acquired such an undue Credit that he became next to the Treasurer, Banker General for the province and almost for the Continent his Notes passed at par with those of our province, which are as good as your Bank Notes. Nay to such a madness had people arrived that they took their Money by thousands from the Treasury to trust it with this Man, but last week, I say, the bubble broke, some say for £10000 sterl^g^, and I can compare it to nothing but the late Earthquake at Lisbon, such was the Consternation for some little time that people appeared with pale Horror and Dread, and when a little recovered run about the City. Widows and Orphans that are ruined can only bewail their fate, the more resolute have been pulling and hauling, attaching and summoning to secure themselves, but it was too late to shut the Stable door, he had made over all his Estate and Effects to a brother, who it seems with the family say they are the greatest Creditors. This is among the Misfortunes owing in a Measure to our Bankrupt Act not being approved at Home. It seems to me to be for the Interest of the Merchants on your side that their debtors here should not have it in their power to secure a few relations and friends and exclude all others. But to come nearer your own Affairs, this Bankruptcy of Wheelright and the difficulties and restrictions of our Trade here has brought on divers others, and they are increasing daily. I found that of a Number like to be run upon, M^r^ Scollay was one. I made out an Attachment, the Officer was within an hairs breadth as I may say of taking his body, which if he had, it might have been better or worse which I cant say. The Officer went to his house in hopes of finding him there but he was abroad. Coming home and as I find since see[s] the Officer going in and suspecting his Business went back and absconded. The Alarum was taken instantly more especially as Wheelrights affair had put every one on the look out, all that was to be done was to attach his House and Furniture and other real Estate, what shop goods he had by him I

[1] Nathaniel Wheelwright. See 2 Proc., x. 52.

know not, but it appearing very thin to me, I chose to take him if I could but missing of him as above I sent in a few Minutes to the shop but he had ordered it to be shut upon seeing the Officer go into the house. What security the Officer has got I am not able to say as he has not compleated the inventory of y^e^ Goods in the house, tho I fear it will prove very short of your demand especially as there is only an Equity of Redemption on the real Estate, he having mortgaged it last Summer for a debt due to a Gentleman in Bristol tho' he says he has paid most of it off. One reason I have to think your chance is as good as if the Officer had gone first to the shop is, that it would have been too late as it turned out to have gone to the house, for twenty Writs were out after him in consequence partly of yours but principally by reason of the general distress on Wheelrights Acco^t^ besides if the Officer had gone to the shop others would have entered with him and before he could have inventoried his Braziers Ware which is what he deals in, the other Officers would have come in and divided stakes by attaching. M^r^ Scollay declares his intentions are to pay all their equal proportions and he says he has enough to pay all their whole dues if time is allowed him, this is always said in like Cases, so will not gain much Credit. What the exact State of his Affairs is I believe he dont know himself. For now people speak freely, which is very dangerous here of a Merchant, damages for defaming them being excessive in Comparison of what is given in England. I think £800 is the highest I can find in my Law books, whereas it is common for a merchant here to recover a thousand or two cool Guineas for defaming his Character and soon after to break or run away This was the Case of one Fletcher here some Years since, who my old Cahill can tell you more off, if you think it worth your Enquiry. Wheelright recovered £2500 of two brave Officers who served at Quebec only for saying the French told them they had Intelligence of the designs of the English from their friend Wheelright at Boston. M^r^ Scollay has in general obtained the Character of an honest Man who has over traded himself and has met with some losses and tho' he was reckoned a slack pay-master it is remarkable that I cant find he was ever sued till last Week except upon a disputable Case, wether he as Owner or the Insurers were answerable for a small Ransom Bill. I should think it for the Interest of all his Creditors to come to as speedy a Composition with him as possible, as keeping him shut up, as he is now, is only maintaining his family at their own Expence. I am not yet satisfied wether my power enables me to compound. if it did should choose to know your minds, in the mean time shall prosecute the Suit. If it comes to a Composition or not I repeat my desire that you would send a new Power to some Merchant here, as my profession is only that of the Law it is impossible I should know the course of peoples trade and consequently their cir-

cumstances so well as Gentlemen in trade. I cant but again mention and lament your not sending the papers and Acco^{ts} authenticated in season had this been done I might have secured all your demands. I recd the first Copies of y^{e} Commission of Bankruptcy of Wight and Graham in your last which came to hand but a few days before I found myself obliged to sue M^{r} Scollay. M^{r} Young still declines paying and therefore you will take such Measures about sending the proof of his Debt as you think fit. Your humb. Servant

J: Otis

Via Bristol and Hull.

MEMOIR

OF

THEODORE AYRAULT DODGE.

By THOMAS LEONARD LIVERMORE.

Theodore Ayrault Dodge died on October 25, 1909, at his Château de Rozières at Nanteuil le Hadouin, Oise, France. He was born in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, May 28, 1842.[1] Following his appointment in 1851 on the American Commission to the Great Exhibition in London, his father, Nathaniel S. Dodge, moved his family to that city in 1852, and soon afterwards placed his son, the subject of this memoir, in the

[1] He descended from William Dodge, yeoman, who landed with the Salem colony in 1629, from whom the line, as recorded by Colonel Dodge, was as follows: (2) Captain John Dodge of Beverly (1636–1673), an officer in the war against the Narragansetts; (3) Jonathan Dodge of Salem and Beverly; (4) George Dodge of Beverly and Ipswich (1709–1793) and Martha Fisk of Wenham; (5) George Dodge of Ipswich and Hamilton (1749–1827); (6) Rev. Joshua Dodge of Ipswich and Haverhill and Moultonborough, N. H. (1779–1829) and Mary Shatswell of Ipswich; (7) Nathaniel Shatswell Dodge, b. in Haverhill, Jan. 10, 1810, d. in Cambridge, Feb. 2, 1874, and Emily Pomeroy of Pittsfield, Mass.; (8) Theodore Ayrault Dodge. On his mother's side his line was as follows: (1) Eltwied Pomeroy, who came from Wales to Windsor, Conn., in 1636; (2) Medad Pomeroy of Windsor; (3) Ebenezer Pomeroy of Windsor and Northampton, Mass. (1669–1754); (4) Seth Pomeroy of Northampton (1706–1777), a colonel in the French wars and brigadier-general in the Revolution, he was in the ranks at Bunker Hill; (5) Lemuel Pomeroy of Northampton (1738–1819); (6) Lemuel Pomeroy of Northampton and Pittsfield (1778–1849) and Hart Lester; (7) Emily Pomeroy (1811–1867). Hart Lester (6) descended from Dr. Pierre Ayrault, a Huguenot refugee who came to Newport, R. I., in 1686. He was son of Pierre Ayrault, who was president, seneschal, and mayor of Angers (Anjou), France, whose father, Pierre Ayrault, had been chief magistrate of the Criminal Court of Angers, and principal advocate of the Parliament of Paris, and an author of repute. In October, 1865, Colonel Dodge married Jane Marshall Neil of Columbus, Ohio; she died in 1881. His children by her were Robert Elkin Neil Dodge, b. 1867, A. B., H. C., in 1889, A. M. in 1891, editor of Spenser's works in Cambridge Poets' series, now Assistant Professor of English at the University of Wisconsin; Emily Pomeroy Dodge, b. 1868, d. 1883; Theodore Ayrault Dodge, b. 1870, d. 1871; Theodora Dodge, b. 1871, now resident in Munich; Jane Marshall Dodge, b. 1873, now resident in London, a writer on sixteenth and seventeenth century music. In October, 1892, he married Clara Isabel Bowden of Boston, who survives him.

Theodore A. Dodge
U. S. Army

Collége des Joséphites in Tirelmont, Belgium, where he remained until 1854, when, going to Berlin, he became an inmate of the family of Major General von Froerich of the retired list of the Prussian army. He entered, and until 1857 continued in, the Friedrich Werderschen Gymnasium. Concurrently with his schooling there, he received, under the General's direction, special instruction, which, with constant visits to the barracks and drill ground, gave him the rudiments of military training.

Later, preparing at a school in London, he matriculated in the University of London, where he was graduated in 1861, in the meantime having spent a few months at the University of Heidelberg. Returning with his father to America, he enrolled himself in the 101st New York Volunteers in August, 1861, and was soon commissioned first lieutenant. With this regiment, in the Third Army Corps, he made the Peninsula and Bull Run campaigns of 1862. At the second battle of Bull Run the regiment was heavily engaged, losing one-half its number. Lieutenant Dodge was commended by the colonel's report for his "great service." Immediately afterward, at Chantilly, he was seriously wounded. The impending consolidation of the regiment with another led the young lieutenant to accept the appointment of adjutant in the 119th New York, then being organized. His father, at the age of fifty-two, took service in the same regiment as first lieutenant and quartermaster, and performed the duties of that office for some months, at the end of which he was promoted to captain and assistant quartermaster of United States Volunteers. Adjutant Dodge joined the regiment in November, 1862, as soon as he had recovered from his wound. With this regiment in General Carl Schurz's Third Division of the Eleventh Corps he took part in the battle of Chancellorsville. At Gettysburg this division in position near the Carlisle road, east of the town, on the afternoon of July 1, 1863, sustained a furious attack by a portion of Ewell's Corps. General Schurz says in his report that Barlow's (First) Division having been forced to retreat, he had received General Howard's order to withdraw to Cemetery Hill, and that the Third Division "fell back toward the town in good order, contesting the ground step by step with the greatest firmness," officers and men showing "the highest courage and determination," and that the second

brigade lost all its regimental commanders, and several regiments nearly half their number in killed and wounded. The 119th New York, which was in this brigade, lost eighty-one killed and wounded, and fifty-nine missing. Adjutant Dodge received a wound which necessitated amputation of his right leg. He was commissioned captain in November, 1863, and major in August, 1864, in the 23d Regiment of the Veteran Reserve Corps. In May, 1864, he was appointed to the charge of the enrollment branch in the Provost Marshal General's bureau at Washington, and in December, 1864, to the conduct of the branch relating to desertions. To the former branch were intrusted the superintendence of the boards which were appointed in each congressional district to enroll all men liable to military duty, the computation of the number to be drafted from each district, the direction of the drafts for service from those enrolled and the accounting with the States for all volunteers recruited and credited on the quota of each district. In view of the importance of this work to the Union cause and the necessity of just and tactful dealing with the States, the appointment of an officer of twenty-two years to its conduct measures the impression which his talents and breadth of view had made upon those in authority.

In 1865 he began the study of the law, devoting to it such time as his military duties permitted, and attending lectures at the Columbian College Law School, from which he was graduated LL.B. in June, 1866. He was then admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. About this time he was made military superintendent of the War Department buildings, with a command of two companies which later were incorporated in the 44th United States Infantry. He was commissioned captain in this regiment in July, 1866. In his capacity of superintendent in 1867 he participated in holding the War Department buildings for Secretary of War Stanton against President Johnson and General Lorenzo Thomas, whose appointment as Secretary of War *ad interim* Mr. Stanton disputed. April 28, 1870, much against his will, he went on the retired list by force of an act of Congress retiring all disabled officers.

He received the commissions of brevet lieutenant-colonel of United States Volunteers and major in the United States Army for "gallant and meritorious services" and colonel of United

States Volunteers and lieutenant-colonel of the United States Army "for gallant and meritorious conduct at the battle of Gettysburg."

Upon being placed upon the retired list of the army Colonel Dodge entered upon a business career of thirty years, during which time he displayed resolution, courage in misfortune, incessant industry, and versatility of talent, in a combination such as we like to think is more generally characteristic of Americans than of other people. Intent upon gathering a fortune which should leave him free for the more congenial pursuit of letters, he engaged in his business with an ardor such as he had brought to the profession of arms. He was not exempt from those mutations of fortune which faithfully attend the venturesome American, but eventually he achieved independence.

Nathaniel Dodge was an experienced writer. Encouraged by him, his son Theodore at the age of sixteen began writing letters from London which were published in the "Boston Post" and other newspapers. He resumed the literary habit in the hours of leisure left to him by diminishing military duties, and during the last three years of his service in the War Department he wrote for the "Galaxy," "Putnam's," "Harper's," "Packard's" and many other periodicals. In 1880 and 1881 he wrote three papers for the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts, upon the Chancellorsville campaign. Up to that time he had never found time to write a book. It was natural that, with the foundation laid in his abundant knowledge of the Civil War acquired in field and bureau, his personal experience in this campaign should lead him to make it the subject of his first book. It was published in 1881 under the title "Campaign of Chancellorsville." Appearing, as it did, eight years before the publication of the official records, it was a timely guide for students of that campaign, and it received the commendation of the judicious northern critic as a valuable aid to the student, and of southern authority — always alert to resent any supposed disparagement of southern prowess — as being one of the "ablest and fairest" of books.

Two years later he published his "Bird's Eye View of the Civil War." The narrative is greatly condensed to bring the book within the limits desirable for the appreciation of his

youthful son, for whose instruction it was written. Yet its treatment of campaigns is on a broad scale and of admirable clearness, and it survives the publication of the War Records and thousands of other books on the War as a valuable and serviceable compend of the subject. In the light of evidence contained in these later publications the book's estimates and criticisms of our generals do not all now receive the assent of those who hold the author's work in general in high esteem; for example, many who sympathize with his praise of Sherman where he writes, "He, if anyone, showed during our Civil War the divine military spark," would not agree with the antithesis which he makes between this phrase and the statement that "when Grant resorted to manœuvring he succeeded measurably."

An estimate of Grant more directly disparaging is found in a paper read by Colonel Dodge in 1884 before the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts, entitled "Grant as a Soldier," in which the credit for Fort Donelson, which is usually accorded to him for that victory, is diminished; of the plan to turn Pemberton's flank by crossing the Mississippi it is said that "its only merit lay in that it showed no sign of turning back"; and that Grant's success in it lay in the incapacity of his opponent Johnston; that in front of Petersburg Grant made no attempt on any plan except that of working to Lee's right to cut off his supplies; and that, with no brilliant feat of arms by Grant, the end at Appomattox came through the death of Lee's army by inanition. But with full appreciation of Grant's inflexible moral courage, the author says: "to lose a battle only made him more elastic in his determination to retrieve his loss; this quality alone in the degree to which it is ingrained in Grant stamps greatness on any man who is occupied with national interests"; and he concludes that Grant "would have been unequalled in a defensive campaign."

It would be superfluous to here attempt to weigh these opinions. The official records and other later publications are ample for the student who is interested in weighing them. But the present repetition of them serves to throw into due relief the liberality of mind shown by Colonel Dodge in revising his views twenty years later, as will be noted in this paper further on.

Some of the facts the later disclosure of which may have led to this change of views are as follows. The Confederate returns published in the War Records show that Grant in sending the Sixth Corps from Petersburg to Sheridan in the Shenandoah in the summer of 1864 to accept the offer of battle there which proved to be so advantageous for the Union cause, so much reduced the preponderance of his force at Petersburg — in August, 69,206 to Lee's 55,622 — that it then became the best strategy to there do only what was necessary to prevent the detachment of reinforcements to the armies opposing Sheridan and Sherman. By strong demonstrations on both flanks, attacks on works thought to be weakly guarded, and attacks on Lee's railways, Grant accomplished this end, and at the same time gave such an impression of his strength as to prevent all thought in his adversary of availing himself of the advantage of his interior and fortified lines to attack. It is also of interest to read in the Confederate correspondence and reports contained in the records, the evidence that it was due to Lee's combativeness, and not to inanition of his army, that he refused to retreat from Petersburg while yet he might, to join Johnston in North Carolina, and which led him to make the disastrous assault at Fort Stedman, with a loss of 4000, and still to delay in his works until he was put to the retreat by Grant's breaking his line by assault, in which battle and in the other engagements from March 29 to April 9, in a field of operations one hundred miles long, Grant annihilated Lee's army of 51,000. The theory that Lee's forces failed from inanition does not consist with the series of fierce battles during this period, in which it killed or wounded over 9000 of Grant's men.

Colonel Dodge's pen was not confined to military history. He was an ardent horseman, and from his experience in the saddle of more than thirty years he wrote two admirable works on equitation which were published in 1885 and 1894, and are ranked as high authority on the subject.

Of Colonel Dodge's patriotism his son writes as follows:

> Although educated abroad and by training a European, he returned to his native land as soon as serious trouble rose there and enlisted at once as a private in his country's service. He was always a patriot in the fullest sense of the word. He knew other countries well, and

recognized wherein they surpassed us, but he always believed in America and American superiority in the essentials of national genius. And wherever he went abroad he took whatever opportunities fell in his way, to explain American ideals and methods to intelligent foreigners. I remember well the various conversations we had abroad with Frenchmen and Germans during my trip with him in 1892. Knowledge of foreign ways seemed only to confirm him in his Americanism, and perhaps the central source of this was his having served in the war. What was really nearest to his heart I think was his military record.

Nothing could have been more consistent with the animating spirit here disclosed than the project which was formed by Colonel Dodge, prior to 1886, of writing a work upon the American soldier. For this work he made many notes and collected much material, but after he had written a part of the text he saw that he lacked much of the necessary knowledge of the soldiers of other nations, with whom he would have to compare the American, and therefore, suspending his original plan, he began to read up the ancient warrior. His interest in the subject grew until it impelled him "to start a series of biographies of Great Captains, the undercurrent of which should be a History of the Art of War, which art their deeds had created." During the time while he was yet in active business he found time for the wide reading upon which he made the first draft of the biographies of Alexander, Hannibal, Cæsar, Gustavus Adolphus, Frederick the Great and Napoleon. In 1888 he delivered six lectures at the Lowell Institute upon these leaders, the writing of which he said gave him a keener insight into the subject, and lent homogeneity to the scheme of the series which he had projected. A volume containing these lectures was published in 1889 and was well received.

In 1890 he published the narrative of Alexander's campaigns, as the first of the final series which he had projected and which he entitled "Great Captains." It appears in the announcement in this volume that he had then formed the opinion that in the twenty-one centuries following Alexander's death the only leaders to be ranked with him as masters in the art of war were Hannibal, Cæsar, Gustavus Adolphus, Frederick the Great and Napoleon. The volumes on Hannibal and Cæsar were published in 1891 and 1892. These

three volumes were necessarily based upon the narratives of the ancient writers, but Colonel Dodge traced the campaigns of Hannibal and Cæsar on the ground which they covered, and studied their battles upon the fields where they were fought and with charts and maps such as modern military histories have, prepared by him for his works, and much explanatory comment, he threw such light upon the campaigns and battles of the three leaders of antiquity as to give them new value to military students and deep interest for all readers. His narratives are enlarged by a thousand details, clearly set forth, of the formation and movement of phalanx and legion and the order of battle, of marches and camps, armament and fighting. Alexander he credits with the contribution to the art of war of conceiving a plan of campaign and adhering to it, of securing flanks and rear on each advance, of accumulating granaries while living on the country, and of unparalleled rapidity in strategic movements; in Hannibal he finds the greatest strategist of ancient times, whose success in strategy is commemorated in the epithet "Punic faith" which the Romans applied to it. Before his time, excepting Alexander's campaigns and minor instances, war had been decided by battle tactics alone, in the use of which armies came together in the simple order of parallel lines. To Hannibal also is credited the development of the art of deciding campaigns by attacking lines of communication. To Cæsar is attributed the principle of attacking the key point to the neglect of minor ones, of keeping his army concentrated and the enemy divided, of seizing central positions from which to attack each division of the enemy separately, and of always moving quickly to attack the enemy while unprepared, which he sometimes carried to rashness.

It required the confidence based on wide reading and profound analysis to pass over the leaders of the sixteen centuries following Cæsar's death — including Belisarius, Charles Martel, Charlemagne, Henry IV, and William the Conqueror, as Colonel Dodge did without misgiving, and categorically to rank Cromwell, Maurice of Orange, Turenne, Eugene, Marlborough, and Wellington as generals who, notwithstanding their record of success in campaign and battle, cannot be credited with inventing any leading principle in the art of war. In his view improvement in the art of war decayed

with the decadence of the Roman Empire, and the study of it suffered eclipse with the study of letters during the following centuries: as the skilled practice of it diminished, the foot soldiery became inefficient and neglected, and horsemen came to constitute the strength of armies; with these armies war was neither an art nor a science; after the lapse of centuries it remained for the English bowman at Falkirk and Crécy to find that his cloth-yard shaft could annihilate the best cavalry from distance, and for the Swiss pikemen at Laupen to prove that they could withstand armored knights; feudal service gave way to standing armies, the re-establishment of infantry relegated cavalry to its place; firearms and artillery were adopted, and the discipline necessary to the efficient practice of the art of war began to appear; and finally the young Gustavus Adolphus, coming to the throne of Sweden in 1611, began the career in arms which was terminated twenty-one years later at the battle of Lützen, and which is adjudged by Colonel Dodge to have made the first notable advance in the art of war since the death of Cæsar. Like the latter, Gustavus carried his plan of campaign through on a well-considered plan. He instituted the modern method of establishing a strong base from which to move into an enemy's country, of securing communication with it, and of accumulating supplies in sure places; he established discipline which was the marvel of his day, supplied the wants of his forces legitimately without robbery or rapine, and paid them regularly and won to himself the peoples of the countries which he traversed by humanity and kindness, the opposite of the treatment of them like brute beasts which for centuries had been their lot with conquerors. When necessary he avoided battle on unfavorable terms by judicious strategy; he led the enemy away from key points to occupy them himself; he was a master of tactics, and a whirlwind in battle. His motives were pure and high, his pursuit of them "steadfast, noble, openhanded, courageous and discreet"; he "re-created methodical, systematic, intellectual war."

A passage in a letter of 1893 to the present writer from Colonel Dodge in Paris concerning his estimate of Gustavus Adolphus throws light upon his method of estimating the rank of his great captains. Adverting to the criticism in a review of his book, that he had not given sufficient importance to what

had been contributed by the Prince of Orange to the art of war, he wrote:

Several authors before have called the House of Orange the originators of certain things: so they were, if you like, but they did not create the scheme of modern war, they merely made isolated improvements and never wove them into a military whole. One may as well say that Napoleon created nothing, because the wonderful men of the French Revolution had done so much before him. But as a matter of fact nobody seemed to learn by what they did; even Moreau and Jourdan did not; but Napoleon did take their isolated inventions, such as giving up tents, feeding on the country instead of by magazines, open order (which they got from our American farmers by the way), close attack, column, and light troops, and out of these isolated things which did not dovetail created a single scheme for all time.

Now that is precisely what Gustavus did. Undoubtedly some tactical, ordnance, logistic, ideas were begun by the Dutchman — and these same Dutchmen were a noble lot. . . . What Gustavus did was to take a warp twisted by one man and a woof assembled by another, and out of the two to weave a pattern of one systematic, far-seeing and successful campaign, which, though short, has never been surpassed in the world, if we weigh the existing conditions and give them their proper value.

About three years before, Colonel Dodge, finding himself in position to gratify his desire to devote his entire time to his historical work, had gone to live in Paris. The zeal which he carried to his work there is well shown in other passages in the same letter, as follows:

I have not read Rhodes, nor anything else, since I started in assimilating the thirty-eight volumes of about eight hundred pages each, small type, of Napoleon's correspondence. . . .

I am sorry that I cannot go to the Military Historical [Society], let alone the Massachusetts Historical [Society], but so long as I am in the throes of giving birth to Frederick and Napoleon, it is no use my living anywhere else except here. I have got Frederick practically written to the opening of the Seven Years War, which is about half, and will cover an entire volume, the Seven Years War covering another. I am just finishing and getting my charts and illustrations stereotyped for two volumes on Napoleon, which will carry him forward to Friedland, 1807, and leave two volumes for the rest of his campaigns. I may commence type-setting this summer, the galleys being sent over here by Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin and Co.

It appears in the preface to his Napoleon that soon after the date of this letter he completed the narrative of Frederick's campaigns, but the publication by the Great German General Staff of the early volumes of its treatise on Frederick had disclosed new facts gathered by profound research in archives inaccessible to the student, which, with its new point of view, convinced him that he should await its completion to avail himself of the new facts which it should present, and possibly to recast his work on Frederick, and therefore, departing from the chronological order, he withheld the latter and published his work on Napoleon in four volumes. In this work more space is given to Napoleon's strategy than to his battle tactics, because, although the author terms the latter "wonderful" he rates the former as more wonderful and says that the keynote of Napoleon's success was "that strategy so led up to battle that victory became decisive." The perfection of his strategy is summarized in the sentence "No higher praise can be spoken than to say that everyone of his campaigns was in a military sense properly planned," — praise which, in passing, it may be said, is not universally accorded to the invasion of Russia, but which few will deny to other campaigns. Military students will otherwise but little qualify the fine generalization of Colonel Dodge's statement that it was Napoleon "who collated all that was done by the other great captains, clothed it in a dress fit for our own days, and taught the modern world how to make war in perfect form."

In comparing Napoleon with Frederick he foreshadows his estimate of the former. He says, "In Frederick we recognize a man of higher standard than Napoleon reached," not merely because Frederick was of all the captains the only one who with vastly smaller forces defeated troops equal in quality to his own, but he was steadfast in victory and defeat alike, because he was so truly a king to his people as well as a soldier, and because he so truly merged his own self in the good of Prussia. "Napoleon flared like a comet, Frederick burned like a planet or a fixed star — less brilliant, less startling, but ever constant. Frederick at the close of his life was the same great man, Napoleon had burned out his lamp. . . . Frederick, like Hannibal, was greater in disaster than in success." In concluding the chapter from which these passages are quoted the author classifies his great captains thus:

Alexander, the First Teacher of Systematic War.
Hannibal, Father of Strategy.
Cæsar, the Organizer.
Gustavus Adolphus, Father of Modern War.
Frederick, the Battle Tactician.
Napoleon, the Perfect Strategist.

Colonel Dodge repeatedly disclaims offering his books as being suitable for technical instruction. His method of discussion, and the absence of citations of authorities by chapter or page indicate that he does not offer his views in adjudication of historical controversies. They have not all been accepted. Nor is it universally agreed that the six captains selected by him are the only ones of the first rank, for it has been questioned whether Turenne and Marlborough were not as great as Gustavus: and again it has been urged that in a comparison of the military deeds of a sovereign ruler like Gustavus or Frederick or Napoleon, whose military plans ruled the state policy, with the efforts of a Turenne thwarted by Mazarin or Louvois, or of a Marlborough restrained by the vetoes of the Dutch Republic, strictly military merit is placed at a disadvantage. But there is no question that, whether with or without compeers, the six great captains belong in the rank in which he places them, and that the history of the art of war during the period covered by his work is found in their deeds.

The eight great volumes which have been published constitute a worthy monument to the learning, industry and analytical ability of the author. Their production was worthy of the ordinary labor of a lifetime. In writing them in so few years the author worked at a white heat. Although he thus unavoidably sacrificed something of the literary finish which appealed to his cultivated taste, he succeeded in giving to the world a history of war and warriors, in unique form, and with a wonderful array of facts, which may fairly be ranked as the most important of the works of American authors in military history.

That the author's project terminated with 1815 was probably due to the opinion that the career of the later military leaders could not yet be viewed in a perspective sufficient for measuring them by those of former generations. The enlargement in the practice of strategy and battle tactics which since 1815 has been made possible by the invention of steamboats,

railways, the telegraph and telephone and signal systems, has resulted in campaigns of extent and rapidity inconceivable to Napoleon or his predecessors, and the advent of rapid firearms and long-range cannon, with the concurrent invention of ranks of open order, skirmishing and field intrenching, and the use of telephone and telegraph, have made battle tactics of a new order.

The use of mounted infantry, and of cavalry dismounted in line of battle and mounted for swift reconnaissance or raid, and rapid strategic movements, impossible with troops on foot, such as the despatch by rail of Longstreet's corps from the Rapidan in Virginia to Bragg's aid at Chickamauga, the movement of the Sixth Corps, by water, in two days from Petersburg to Washington to arrive in front of Early just before his advance on the works in front of the city; and the transport of Schofield's Corps from Tennessee by river and rail to the Potomac and thence by water to North Carolina, eighteen hundred miles in twenty-six days, to reinforce Sherman, and the mobilization of the German armies in 1870, were features of a change in the art of war as important as any before 1815, which would have been worthy to take place in a continuation of Colonel Dodge's "Great Captains."

The dedication of "Great Captains" is "To the American Soldier who, not bred to arms, but nurtured by independence, has achieved the proudest rank among the veterans of history." This may well have been intended to be more than a tribute of friendship from the author to his old comrades. It suggests the hope that his work may serve to keep alive in his countrymen an interest in military art and familiarize them with its great principles for the time when such knowledge shall be required for the country's defence.

This view is supported by his frequent allusions to the American Civil War as "our war" and the parallels which he draws between the strategy employed by the generals in that war and those of his "Great Captains." In the early passages of this kind his admiration of Lee and Stonewall Jackson is conspicuous, but later it turns to Grant and his lieutenants. To the present writer not long ago he said that he had come to see that injustice had been done in the estimates of Grant's critics in the failure to take into account the fact that in Virginia he had to overcome a great adversary at the head of one of the

hardest fighting armies in history, and again, in 1904, he said that the view expressed in his article on Grant to which I have referred had been modified by later studies and that he should not care to have its comments on the Wilderness taken as a critical discussion of that campaign.

About the year 1900 Colonel Dodge, finding himself in circumstances which permitted him to quit business, established his residence in Paris, as the point most convenient for his visits to the fields on which Frederick and Napoleon manœuvred and fought, and for access to the books and archives to be consulted in the preparation of his narratives of their careers. During the remainder of his life he devoted himself to that work. At his residence in Paris a fine hospitality attracted much and varied company from his large acquaintance, and there, between the pleasures of social intercourse and the work on his books in the congenial company of a talented wife who greatly aided in his work, he found, in the enjoyment of an ideal life, reward for the trials and stress of his long business career. In 1908, seeking relief from an infirmity which had grown upon him, he established his residence in the ancient Château de Rozières, which he had acquired, but his health failed further and recrudescence of his old wounds impaired his vitality so that for months he was unable to resume his narrative of Frederick, a sore trial to him, when the official publications for whose appearance he had suspended the work were at last at hand. To complete this work then became the chief desire of the life that was in him. His hopes all centred upon this object and braced his feeble frame for recovery. After months without ability to take up his pen, he rose from his bed a shadowy embodiment of courage and nerve, and once more resumed his reading, able to pursue it but for a brief hour a day, and, striving to finish his work while yet there was life, he fell, with his harness on, as became the soldier that he was.

JANUARY MEETING, 1910

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 13th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the PRESIDENT in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the list of donors to the Library during the last month was read.

The PRESIDENT announced the death of George Park Fisher, a Corresponding Member, which took place on December 20, 1909. He reported, for the advisory Committee on the final definitive edition of the Bradford and Winthrop Histories, that the Editor had reached a point in the preparation of the work where he would be able to begin the printing early in the coming summer; and that the Committee had accordingly directed him to proceed with the publication.

Samuel Walker McCall, of Winchester, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The PRESIDENT called attention to a paragraph of the notice of the meeting wherein reference was made to the fact that its date marked the completing of fifty years in the membership of the senior Vice-President and Librarian, Dr. Green. In doing so he said:

Personally, this reminder had for me a somewhat curious interest, irresistibly reviving certain recollections. The first time, I believe, I ever occupied the chair as presiding officer of the Society, — I then being its senior Vice-President in the last of the ten years' presidency of Dr. Ellis, — was at the January meeting of 1894, which occurred on the 11th of the month, sixteen years ago Tuesday last. I then took occasion to remind those present that Rev. Dr. Lucius R. Paige, of Cambridge, would, during the following May, round out a full half-century of membership. In doing so I said:

It is a thing for which I take some blame to myself that when Mr. Winthrop passed the limit in October, 1889, now more than four years ago, and when Mr. Ellis passed it in October, 1891, no notice was taken

by the Society of events of such interest to us. I hope this will not be the case when the third name on our list shall touch the golden period in the coming month of May. Nor need the Society apprehend that, if the practice should be introduced of noticing an event of this sort whenever the time for so doing may arrive, the thing would become of such ordinary occurrence as to sink into a conventional usage. After our friend Dr. Paige shall have passed his fiftieth year of service in the coming May, an examination of the list shows that no similar event is likely to occur until our friend Dr. Green shall arrive, in the year 1910, at his eightieth year, should he, as we all hope he may, attain that age.[1]

At the time I said this, there were, I remember, as there have just now again been, indications of suppressed amusement on the part of those present, the year 1910 seeming, in 1894, so very remote. Yet here it is! But there is to me also a certain humor in the present situation, because in that January of 1894, when I uttered those words, I recalled that, only a short seven months before, in June, 1893, — to be historically exact, on Tuesday, the 6th of that month, — I chanced to be in Concord, visiting, in company with members of the American Antiquarian Society, the historic localities of that place as the companions and guests of Senator Hoar. Among those there present, as I do not doubt he himself remembers, was Dr. Green; and I recall the occasion the more distinctly because, while waiting on the platform of the station at Concord for others of the party to arrive, Dr. Green took occasion to mention to me, in an incidental, pleasant sort of way, that he was satisfied he had not then long to live; that there were certain physical indications about him he had of late noticed, of a significance unmistakable to a medical man; and that, in fact, his remaining days, practically numbered, would be few. Being not wholly unaccustomed to medical prognostics of this nature, I am, in view of the present occasion, not unwilling to admit that I received the announcement in a spirit of Christian resignation and with silent acquiescence, not troubling our associate with any anticipatory condolences. Indeed, what mattered it? Had not Hamlet assured us that, "if it be now, 't is not to come; if it be not to come, it will be now; if it be not now, yet it will come: the readiness is all." So, upon that June morning sixteen years ago, on the platform of the Fitchburg Railroad station in Concord, the Doctor

[1] 2 Proc., VIII. 399.

pronounced himself "ready"; and I, in appearance at least, showed myself resigned: yet here we are, both of us, bearing our parts in this far otherwise than funereal function.

As I have said, this occurred in June, 1893; and during the sixteen intervening years not only has the list of those once belonging to the Resident membership of this Society, but now composing the silent majority, been enlarged by no less than eighty-six additional names, but that of Dr. Green is not among them. Of those who then composed the Society twenty-nine only survive. Conspicuous, first among those twenty-nine, is one bearing the name of Green. In the Doctor's case the "readiness," literally, was "all."

Once more recurring to the record and my perhaps too constant contributions to it, I find that in October, 1896, when, as President, it devolved on me to announce the death of Dr. Paige, I also alluded to the fact that Dr. Green had been promoted to the place just made vacant at the head of the Resident roll,[1] becoming our senior member; thus to his other titles had been added that of Dean of the Society. Measured in years, a long stride was then taken. Dr. Ellis, the previous Dean also a Harvard graduate, was of the Class of 1833, and became a member of the Society in 1841. Dr. Green, who thus followed him, was of the Class of 1851, and became a member of the Society in 1860. There was, therefore, in graduation, the gap of eighteen years between the two; and, in membership, one of nineteen years.

Passing to the next point suggested by the occasion, when, the other day, I came to preparing some statistics on the subject of longevity of membership, I found the speech I now would have made bodily anticipated, and anticipated by no other than by Dr. Green himself! For, when Dr. Paige, at the May meeting of 1894, passed his fiftieth year, Dr. Ellis, then President of the Society, called attention to the fact; but it was Dr. Green who spoke as follows:

> At the present time the Historical Society has the remarkable distinction of bearing on its roll of living members the names of three gentlemen whose connection with the Society began at least half a century ago. Mr. Winthrop was chosen a member on October 31, 1839, more than fifty-four years since; and now for twenty-one years

[1] 2 Proc., XI. 108.

he has headed the list of membership, where the names are given in the order of election. Dr. Ellis follows Mr. Winthrop as a close second, having been chosen on October 28, 1841, two years later; and at the meeting to-day Dr. Paige completes his connection of half a century with the Society. . . .

There have been but three other members who have given so long a service to the Society, — but not all covering a common period of fifty years, — and they were John Davis, Josiah Quincy, and James Savage. Mr. Davis's membership lasted from December 21, 1791, to January 14, 1847, a term of fifty-five years; Mr. Quincy's from July 26, 1796, to July 1, 1864, sixty-eight years; and Mr. Savage's from January 28, 1813, to March 8, 1873, sixty years. Such cases of continued membership are necessarily rare, but in all those just mentioned it is worthy of note that they comprise some of the most active and valuable workers in the Society during a period of more than a century of its existence.[1]

The Doctor then proceeded to say exactly what I would have said had it devolved on me to prepare a speech for the present occasion. He marshalled all the statistics and facts relating to those of the Society who had attained the fiftieth year of membership, and submitted other interesting matter germane to the present, as well as to that, occasion; so I will now only repeat his short list of those who, having passed the semi-centennial, were then dead. The first, John Davis; Mr. Davis's membership lasted from December 21, 1791, to January 14, 1847, a term of fifty-five years. Next President Quincy, — Josiah Quincy, — whose term lasted from July 26, 1796, to July 1, 1864, sixty-eight years. Finally, James Savage; Mr. Savage's term lasted from January 28, 1813, to March 8, 1873, sixty years. Now let me complete the records of the three members then referred to by Dr. Green as still living, the membership of each of whom had already rounded out a half-century or more, — Mr. Winthrop, Dr. Ellis and Dr. Paige. Their deaths have since increased the roll of our semi-centennialists to six. The seventh, I today call attention to. In the long life of the Society, numbering, as it has, no less than four hundred and fifty-seven Resident Members, there have thus been, including Dr. Green, just seven to whom it has been given to reach the half-century goal, or one in each sixty-five of those chosen. Of course, as this Society did

[1] 2 Proc., IX. 92.

not come into existence until January, 1791, the record of possible semi-centennial membership began only with January, 1841. Thomas Wallcut, the last survivor of the founders, just failed to attain the limit, dying in June, 1840. As, during the sixty-nine years which have elapsed since the fifty-year record thus became possible, seven members only, including Dr. Green, have completed it — or, upon an average, a single instance to each decennium — I assuredly spoke within strict bounds when I said in 1894 that, if the practice should be adopted of taking formal notice of these occasions when they occurred, no apprehension need be felt that "the thing would become of such ordinary occurrence as to sink into a conventional usage."[1] Furthermore, it is suggestive of the passing character of the membership of even a Society like this, that not only so few of those belonging to it have passed the fifty-year mark, but that nearly three-quarters of the Society, as it stands today — more than sixty-eight per cent of those now composing it — were chosen into it since I have been its President; in what, to me, seems a period brief indeed.

Turning to our Corresponding roll, the record is even more striking. In that and the Honorary roll, considered as one, and having inscribed upon it nearly a round five hundred names, the bearers of just five passed the fifty-year limit. Concerning four of these, there can be no question; in regard to the fifth, question might be raised: but, all distinguished men, each attained great age.

The first of the five is Noah Webster; becoming a Corresponding Member in 1792, he died in 1843. The next was Benjamin Silliman; a Corresponding Member from 1808, he died in 1864. The third, Eliphalet Nott, becoming, a Corresponding Member in 1813, died in 1866. Fourth, Gulian Crommelin Verplanck, a Corresponding Member from 1820, died in 1870, completing exactly fifty years. It remains only to refer to the last of the five.

President Quincy stands forth the Nestor of the Society, his term of membership covering close upon sixty-eight years. James Savage follows, with over sixty years. Finally, last of the five on the Corresponding roll, comes George Bancroft. Elected a Resident Member June 26, 1834, Mr. Bancroft ceased to be such in 1849 because of removal from the Com-

[1] 2 Proc., VIII. 399.

monwealth. Immediately made a Corresponding Member, his name appeared on that roll until his death, January 17, 1891. His name was thus borne on one or the other of our rolls fifty-six years, six months and twenty-two days, a period exceeded only by Josiah Quincy and James Savage. They compose a truly remarkable trio, — one in which longevity combines with distinction. Nor is it to me the least interesting, and I might even term it impressive, feature of today's occasion that, in it, the twentieth century stands, so to speak, linked visibly with the eighteenth. The memberships of President Quincy and Dr. Green overlapped each other by more than four years, — from January, 1860, to July, 1864. The membership of President Quincy began in 1796; that of Dr. Green is yet to end.

And now, as a matter of record, I call attention to the fact that, Dr. Green having rounded out the full half-century of unbroken connection, seventh so to do in the long roll of our Resident membership, the Society observes another Golden Anniversary.

Dr. Green has the floor.

In reply Dr. GREEN spoke as follows:

I cannot say, Mr. President, as maidens sometimes do, "This is so sudden," inasmuch as you gave me timely notice that I should be called on at this meeting to give a few personal reminiscences. It is true that fifty years have come and gone since I was chosen a member of the Society. As I look back over this half-century, it does not seem to be a very long period of time; but to look forward even ten years seems a great way ahead. Gazing into the future our sight soon dims, and we see only so far as our reason tells us what is likely to happen; but in retrospective vision we see what actually has taken place, and there is no perspective adjustment to be made. A man's hindsight is clearer than his foresight, and it is easier to slide down hill than to climb up.

In the ordinary course of events this golden anniversary would have occurred last month and last year, as I was nominated for membership at the meeting in November, 1859. Of course I was not supposed to know anything about the nomination, but as a matter of fact I did know that it had been made. One day in November as I was going into the Athe-

næum, I met in the large hall a prominent member of the Historical Society just as he was coming out of the building, and he greeted me cordially. We stopped for a moment or two to exchange the time of day, as the saying is, when he told me confidentially that I had been nominated for membership, at the same time adding that I must not mention the fact to a living body. I knew perfectly well when the next meeting would be held, and I awaited the result with fear and anxiety. The second Thursday in December passed, and several more days, and no official notification came from the Corresponding Secretary; and I felt sure that I had been rejected, perhaps on account of my youth, as I should have been the youngest member in the Society. A few more days passed, when one evening I was calling at the house of a kinsman, a member of the Society; and with some hesitation I mentioned the subject to him and told him my inference that I had been blackballed at the December meeting. He at once relieved my disturbed mind by saying that on account of a severe snowstorm on that day and the small attendance of members there had been no balloting. He said that there were not persons enough present to secure an election, and furthermore in all probability that it would be brought about at the January meeting, which turned out to be true.

At the time of my election the Library occupied the two upper stories of the three-story building at No. 30 Tremont Street, which was owned by the Society, having been bought early in 1856 of the Provident Institution for Savings. A fifteen-year lease of the lower story was then taken by the Suffolk Savings Bank, which ran till March, 1871; and in the year 1872 the Society erected on the same site a new building which is still familiar to many of the members. This structure was in process of erection at the time of the Great Fire in November, 1872. A large wooden staircase, with one broad stair half-way up where there was a turn, started at the left of the entry and led to the Library; and the entrance to the Savings Bank was under the stairs at the right of the entry. At the broad stair half-way up was a blind closet without light, gas-jet or ventilation even, which was not objectionable to the eye, but at times in warm weather was decidedly so to the sensitive nerves of the nose.

On entering the Library at the head of the stairs there were

two large rooms not much unlike those in the later building; the first was generally spoken of as the Library, and the other as the Dowse Room, planned substantially as we know it today, though now it is somewhat enlarged. At that period the cabinet was kept in a show-case which rested on a long table in the front room or library; and the articles on exhibition were comparatively few in number. Among the choicest specimens were Washington's epaulettes; the suit of clothes worn by Franklin in the year of his signing the famous Treaty of Alliance between France and the United States in February, 1778; Prescott's noctograph; tea picked up at Dorchester Neck on December 17, 1773, the morning after the Boston Tea Party; Paul Revere's pistol; Philip's samp dish; and various other articles too numerous to mention.

My election into the Society took place at a meeting held on January 12, 1860, and yesterday was the anniversary of the day. I find it difficult now to realize the fact that a full half-century has passed since that date. My first attendance was at a special meeting held at the house of Dr. Jacob Bigelow, on January 25, to take suitable action on the death of Lord Macaulay, an Honorary Member of the Society. On that occasion Governor Emory Washburn, chairman of the Standing Committee, offered a set of resolutions, which were duly seconded by Mr. Everett, who spoke of the distinguished scholar and statesman, and also gave an account of his personal relations with the great historian.

My first attendance at a stated meeting was on February 9, when, as I remember well, Mr. Savage came up and congratulated me on my membership and took the pains to introduce me to a few of his friends, saying that I was the baby of the Society, a term which he sometimes used at a later period. I knew Mr. Savage's only son very well, who was in college with me, but not in my class; and this acquaintanceship, perhaps, caused him to take more interest in me than he otherwise would have taken. Furthermore, in the country we were neighbors, as Mr. Savage's summer residence was at Lunenburg, and my father's home at Groton, ten miles away, just far enough to serve as an apology for butting in unexpectedly at dinner, where I was always a welcome guest. Mr. Savage had the art of using imprecatory language in a way that did not shock his hearers. In speak-

ing of Cotton Mather at one of the meetings I have heard him pass a judgment on the Boston minister that excited more merriment than criticism.

At this stated meeting in February, the first I ever attended, I remember distinctly the presence of the venerable Josiah Quincy, who then was one of the most distinguished personages in the Commonwealth. He had been a member of Congress for several terms and the President of Harvard College for many years, and in earlier life the Great Mayor of Boston. He was widely known throughout the country as a public man and a scholar; and in his lineage he was directly connected with noted Revolutionary ancestry. My thoughts went back to the time when he gave his last reception at the President's house in Cambridge on Commencement Day in 1845. As a boy it fell to my lot, together with Theodore Chase, an elder brother of our late associate George B. Chase, to be present on that occasion. I remember well how we two lads joined in the procession and passed out of the room; and then boy-like, bent on doing something absurd, we turned round and joined the procession again at the other end and for the second time shook hands with Mr. Quincy, who had some kind words for us. This puerile act we performed for the third time without detection, and we both then thought that it was very funny. When I was seated in the same room with Mr. Quincy, the recollection of that juvenile prank and the absurdity of the whole affair came back to me as if it were but of the day before instead of happening fifteen years earlier.

At this February meeting Mr. Quincy gave to the Library a manuscript relating to the French West Indies, which had been sent to him many years before, when he was in Congress. Two months later he also gave "A Plan of the Town and Chart of the Harbour of Boston exhibiting a View of the Islands Castle Forts and Entrances into the said Harbour." This map appeared originally in "The Gentleman's Magazine" (London) for January, 1775, though in the lower margin it is dated "February, 1775," at the very time when General Gage was making his plans to meet any disturbances that might arise. At that period Boston filled a very prominent place in English history as it was then the scene of so many political outbreaks. I remember distinctly that Mr. Quincy spoke of the misspelling of certain place-names on the

map, such as Roxburgh for Roxbury, and Quinzey for Quincy. I can recollect also seeing him at one or two other meetings when he did not speak.

At this period Mr. Quincy was nearly a nonagenarian, and a man who had filled some of the most conspicuous positions in political and academic life. In the community at large he was respected for his personal worth and many accomplishments. He was a fine type of a gentleman of the old school, who would attract attention in any assembly. It is rare nowadays to see a man who by general consent fills a similar niche in public estimation. At the age of twenty-three he was chosen a member of the Society, on July 26, 1796, only five years after it was formed. He must have known the ten original members, — the founders as they are called, — and the twenty-five others who had been chosen before he was. In the order of election he was the thirty-sixth member of the Society ; and at the time of his election not a death had taken place among the thirty-five already chosen. It seems sometimes as if the calm and placid life of antiquaries and historical students contributed to their health and longevity.

At the following Annual Meeting which was held in April, I was chosen Cabinet-Keeper, by which election I became a member of the Standing Committee, as it was then called. At that period all nominations came from this body, which in its various functions corresponded exactly to what is known now as the Council. Owing to my position as Cabinet-Keeper in the autumn of 1860 Mr. Winthrop was prompted to ask me to be at the Society's rooms when the Prince of Wales and his suite visited them. I remember well that it was on October 19, the anniversary of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, though this fact was not mentioned by any one showing the treasures of the Cabinet. The royal party, accompanied by Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Everett, after visiting Harvard College and Bunker Hill Monument, came to the Historical rooms, where they were received by a few other members of the Society. The various curios and relics were shown to the distinguished visitors, and the whole affair passed off successfully. The Prince seemed to be interested in the manuscript History of New England by Governor John Winthrop, which he examined with care, knowing that the author was the ancestor of our President. He also expressed

an interest in Washington's epaulettes which were given to the Society by one of the General's aids. At that time the epaulettes were kept with other objects of interest in the large show-case, but soon afterward, at the suggestion of Mr. Winthrop, a handsome box was made specially for their keeping. Before the party left the rooms the Prince signed the Visitors' Register, and he called on his retinue to write their names also; which was accordingly done. The leaf bearing these signatures, headed by the present King of England, might well be framed, placed behind glass and hung in the cabinet, where it would form a permanent object of interest.

Another distinguished visitor came to the rooms, on December 3, 1868, when Mr. Winthrop did the honors of the occasion, which always came so gracefully from him. It was General U. S. Grant, President-elect of the United States, who, according to popular report, was then in Boston to consult with certain persons prominent in the Republican party concerning the new administration. It was a cold raw day, and the General writing his name with some difficulty rather apologized for the signature, and said that he ought to have made his mark instead. Whereupon Mr. Winthrop at once replied, "General, you have already made your mark, and it is not necessary to do it again." This little incident, well enough in its way, may seem trifling and unimportant; and I can give no reason why it made an impression on my brain, but as a psychological fact it stuck, and now I repeat it.

During my connection with the Society there have been 226 elections of Resident Members, and of this number now only 94 remain. The average number of elections annually is about five, but in the year 1861 there were ten members chosen, and in 1903 eight chosen; and in 1887 no death occurred in the membership. Under the original Act of Incorporation the number of Associate Members was limited to sixty, but under a supplementary act, passed April 2, 1857, the number was increased to one hundred. For three or four years after this act was passed, owing to the change, the number of annual elections was much larger than usual. According to a list of all the Resident Members, printed in 1908, the average age at the time of their death was seventy years, which confirms to an interesting degree the words of the Psalmist that "The days of our years are threescore years and ten." According to this

list, at the time of their death, John A. Andrew was under fifty years of age and Rufus Choate under sixty.

Calendar years may be looked upon as mile-stones placed along the way of life. They show how far we have travelled, but they throw no light on the end of the journey. As we trudge along and pass the stones so often, it seems as if the years grow shorter. Life to a boy is wholly prospective, and he looks ahead and has no past; to the man of middle age life is present and is of today, and he looks back and he looks forward with equal interest, and he has a broad vision. To the octogenarian, whose ranks soon I shall join, life is a grand composite made up of many incidents as shown on the western horizon of memory. I am thankful that I am an optimist from the word GO, and I like to look on the bright side of things. The world as a whole is better now than it was fifty years ago, and an advance along the line will continue to be made. Happy is the man who lives in sympathy with the surrounding events; and his views of life depend as much on the condition of his liver as on his reason.

Colonel W. R. LIVERMORE read extracts from the first chapter of his "Story of the Civil War," of which the following is a summary:

The battle of Corinth, October 3 and 4, 1862, relieved Grant from any anxiety for the safety of western Tennessee, and on the 26th he asked and obtained permission to advance on Vicksburg. On the 1st of November his troops, amounting to about fifty-seven thousand men present for duty, were stationed at Corinth, Memphis, and other places, and he was opposed by Pemberton with about twenty-six thousand near Holly Springs, and on the Tallahatchie River, five thousand at Vicksburg and other places. By the 1st of December Grant had advanced with about forty-five thousand men as far as at the Tallahatchie, driving Pemberton before him. Then, hearing that McClernand, an ex-congressman, who had once commanded a division of his army, was to be put in command of an expedition to descend the Mississippi with Porter's fleet, Grant changed his plan and sent Sherman down the river from Memphis, with about twenty thousand, reinforced at Helena by thirteen thousand more, while he himself, with

about thirty thousand, remained on the original line of operations overland. In Grant's Memoirs[1] he explains his motive and plans. He hoped to hold Pemberton in his front, while Sherman should get in his rear and into Vicksburg. The further north Pemberton could be held the better.

Grant's object was either to capture Vicksburg by surprise, or to establish a large force on the upland, where it could be in touch with the fleet, and be supplied by water without exposing the vessels to the fire of the batteries at Vicksburg. If he could get possession of Haynes's Bluff on the Yazoo just north of Vicksburg, the supply boats could come up this river from the Mississippi; but Grant knew that the Confederates were building batteries there which would control the navigation of the Yazoo. In order to reduce them he was sending Sherman with a large force down the Mississippi to attack the position in front, while he himself with a somewhat smaller one was to engage the attention of Pemberton's army on the Yalobusha.

This division of Grant's forces was certainly not in accordance with the general principles of strategy, for it gave Pemberton, who held the interior lines, an opportunity to throw all his forces upon either fraction of Grant's army. It has been said in favor of the plan adopted that neither fraction was large enough to meet any hostile force that could be brought against it; that, if unsuccessful, Sherman could fall back on the fleet on the Mississippi River and Grant upon his base to the north. This, however, would not accomplish the object of the expedition. General Sherman says,[2] that the essence of the whole plan was for him to reach Vicksburg, as it were, by surprise, while Grant held in check Pemberton's army about Grenada, leaving Sherman to contend only with the smaller garrison of Vicksburg. It is hard to see how either Grant or Sherman could have thought that in a hostile country such an expedition could be fitted out and embark without the knowledge of the enemy.

Without discussing further the division of responsibility for this plan, it is suggested that it would have been better for Grant to take Sherman's troops with him, to advance in force along the line on which he had started, and to send only the troops that could be spared from Helena down the Mississippi

[1] I. 430. [2] Sherman, I. 313.

with the fleet, which if it did not meet with too much resistance would move up the Yazoo; or, if this were impossible, would await the arrival of Grant from the north, or of the expedition to ascend the Mississippi from the south. Grant, as he suggests, would establish a secondary base at Grenada, and repair the railroad between that point and Memphis. Further south the enemy would probably destroy the railroad as they fell back and he could not depend upon it for his supplies. A good wagon road, however, leads along the divide between the Yazoo and Black Rivers, which is comparatively dry even in wet weather, and in many places the fields on either side of the road are passable for wagons. He could, as he says, cut loose from his base, live on the country, and march straight for Vicksburg, driving Pemberton's army before him or routing it. He would then, in all probability, take Haynes's Bluff in the rear, meet Porter, and draw his supplies from the Mississippi. If, however, he failed, he would fall back upon Grenada and then advance more slowly, repairing the railroad if necessary. His troops would have hard work before them, but not as hard nor as unhealthy as that which they endured on the banks of the Mississippi during the winter and spring. Grant's army assembled at Grenada would be better disposed for co-operating with the Army of the Cumberland than if the greater part of it were on the banks of the Mississippi near Vicksburg.

This plan is similar to that on which Grant started the campaign, and to one afterward urged by Sherman, because it was in accordance with the fundamental principles of strategy. We think that the campaigns which followed from the first division of forces up to the surrender of Vicksburg will be better understood by comparison with the plan we have suggested.

The first attempt to take Vicksburg had failed, because a detachment of a few hundred men was too weak to capture and hold a fortress in the heart of the enemy's country defended by twice its number. The second attempt had failed because Butler could not send a large force up the river without endangering New Orleans and Farragut's fleet, as well as his own army, and because Halleck had divided up the great army he had assembled at Corinth so that he was too weak to co-operate with Farragut. The third attempt failed, because Grant after starting on a campaign over land, sent half his

command down the river in hopes of capturing Vicksburg before the enemy should suspect his purpose. When Grant was authorized to use the troops in his command as he deemed best, he should have made the expedition down the river very large or very small. One fraction or the other should have been large enough to overcome all opposition, either by following the overland route, or by descending the river to Vicksburg and crossing the point of land on the western bank so as to land at the foot of the bluffs below the city. By dividing his army in halves, and giving Pemberton the interior lines, he put it in his power to dispose of his troops as he wished, and meet the attacks if they were skilfully made; and, if not, to take advantage of any mistake to throw all his forces upon a portion of Grant's and beat the several fractions in turn. Both Grant and Sherman escaped without serious loss, but with no material gain, and Vicksburg, which had been almost within the grasp of the Federal fleets and armies from May to December of 1862, was not taken until the 4th of July, 1863.

Professor HAYNES read the following note:

At the November meeting of the Society, 1907, Mr. Albert Matthews described certain documents he had found bound up with a volume of "The Boston News-Letter" now owned by the Boston Athenæum. Among them was

a broadside containing a Latin poem in thirty-three lines headed "Martij 27, 1712." They are addressed to [Samuel] Sewall, are signed "*N. Hobart*," — the Rev. Nehemiah Hobart (H. C. 1667), — and are followed by two Latin lines signed "S. S."[1]

I was not present at that meeting; if I had been, I should have called attention to the fact that the broadside had been printed in full in the "Letter-Book of Samual Sewall,"[2] and that the Latin poem is thus referred to by Sewall in his Diary:

I give him [Mr. Hobart] Virgil on account of the Poem he has gratify'd me with.[3]

The reprint of the poem was accompanied by a translation into English verse by Richard Henchman. The broadside I found among the collections of the Boston Public Library,

[1] 3 Proc., I. 206; [2] 6 Coll., I. 315; [3] 5 Coll., VI. 346.

and the English verses in a manuscript also preserved there. There is a copy of the broadside also among our own collections. As I omitted to state where I found these curious documents, when I printed them, in 1886, I offer this as a note upon the passage in the "Letter-Book," as above cited.

Mr. HOWE communicated the following paper:

THE CAPTURE OF SOME FUGITIVE VERSES.

Our junior Vice-President has shown by precept and example to what good uses the newspapers of earlier days may be put by the seeker for the materials of history. It would be equally impertinent and unnecessary to attempt to bring further proof of the value of these sources. Yet it may not be out of place to present an illustration, which came not long ago to my notice, of the way in which old magazines may throw sidelights upon history. The illustration, moreover, has a certain timeliness in that it has to do with the welcome accorded to an American explorer just returned from a region which at the beginning of the nineteenth century seemed nearly as far away as the North Pole seems to-day, — namely, Captain Meriwether Lewis.

It has recently fallen to me to make some examination of a magazine published in Boston from 1803 to 1811, "The Monthly Anthology," conducted, from 1805 to the end, by a club of which the minutes are in the possession of this Society. To the Anthology Society, it is well known, the Boston Athenæum owes its origin. In the issue of "The Monthly Anthology" for March, 1807, appeared a poem, like all the contributions to the magazine, without signature, "On the Discoveries of Captain Lewis." Immediately over it was printed this note to the editors:

GENTLEMEN,

The following "elegant and glowing stanzas" are not from the pen of Mr. Barlow; nor were they recited by Mr. Beckley at the "elegant dinner," given by the Citizens of Washington to Captain Lewis.

See National Intelligencer 16 *January,* 1807.

Turning to this newspaper, I found that on Wednesday the 14th of January the citizens of Washington had indeed given Captain Lewis a dinner, "as an expression of their personal

respect and affection, of their high sense of the services he has rendered his country, and of their satisfaction at his return in safety into the bosom of his friends." The names of the President and Vice-Presidents of the occasion, with those of others present, are then given; and the newspaper goes on to say:

Capt. Lewis was received with liveliest demonstrations of regard. Every one present seemed to be deeply impressed with a sentiment of gratitude, mingled with an elevation of mind, on setting down, at the festive board, with this favorite of fortune, who has thus successfully surmounted the numerous and imminent perils of a tour of nearly four years, through regions previously unexplored by civilized man.

After partaking of the gratifications of a well spread board, the following toasts were drank, interspersed with appropriate songs and instrumental music.

Seventeen regular toasts, in a vein of high enthusiasm, are recorded, then one "On Captain Lewis's retiring," followed by several offerings from "Volunteers." The cup of invention, though perhaps of nothing else, must have been nearly drained when one of the Volunteers proposed, "May those who explore the desart never be deserted."

For the present purpose these items are of less moment than the statement, to which the anonymous contributor to the "Anthology" referred, that, "At an early period of the entertainment, the following elegant and glowing stanzas, from the pen of Mr. Barlow, were recited by Mr. Beckley":

ON THE DISCOVERIES OF CAPTAIN LEWIS.

Let the Nile cloak his head in the clouds, and defy
  The researches of science and time;
Let the Niger escape the keen traveller's eye,
  By plunging, or changing his clime.

Columbus! not so shall thy boundless domain
  Defraud thy brave sons of their right:
Streams, midlands and shorelands illude us in vain,
  We shall drag their dark regions to light.

Look down, sainted sage, from thy synod of Gods;
  See, inspired by thy venturous soul,
Mackensie roll northward his earth draining floods,
  And surge the broad waves to the pole.

With the same soaring genius thy Lewis ascends,
  And, seizing the car of the sun,
O'er the sky-propping hills and high waters he bends,
  And gives the proud earth a new zone.

Potowmak, Ohio, Missouri had felt
Half her globe in their cincture comprest;
His long curving course has completed the belt,
And tamed the last tide of the west.

Then hear the loud voice of the nation proclaim,
And all ages resound the decree:
Let our Occident stream bear the young hero's name
Who taught him his path to the sea.

These four brother floods, like a garland of flowers,
Shall entwine all our states in a band,
Conform and confederate their wide spreading powers,
And their wealth and their wisdom expand.

From Darien to Davis one garden shall bloom,
Where war's wearied banners are furl'd;
And the far-scenting breezes that waft its perfume,
Shall settle the storms of the world.

Then hear the loud voice of the nation proclaim,
And all ages resound the decree:
Let our Occident stream bear the young hero's name,
Who taught him his path to the sea.

The author of "The Columbiad," which appeared in this very year of 1807, had indeed found in Captain Lewis a theme which moved the wings of his muse to a dazzling flight. If his hearers were duly impressed, it is evident that the copy of his poem in print fell under critical eyes. The verses in "The Monthly Anthology," bearing the same title as those by the patriotic bard, came from a reader who looked upon Joel Barlow and Captain Lewis alike without illusions. They were anonymous, but it is a happy circumstance that in the bound volumes of the magazine preserved in the Athenæum, to which they must have been transmitted by the editors of "The Monthly Anthology" itself, signatures in manuscript have been appended to many of the contributions. Under the poem about to be read appears the name "J. Q. Adams."

If the lines are otherwise known to be his, I have not discovered the fact. The burden of proof against this ascription of authorship lies upon some better authority than that of an editor of a periodical who may be presumed to have known the true names of the contributors. In any case the general liveliness of the rhymes and the freedom of their references to Jefferson, whose embargo Adams was about to support, make them worth rescuing, with all their amusing footnotes, from the rarely explored pages of the extinct periodical:

For the Anthology.

ON THE DISCOVERIES OF CAPTAIN LEWIS. (1)

GOOD people, listen to my tale,
'Tis nothing but what true is;
I'll tell you of the mighty deeds
Achiev'd by Captain Lewis —
How starting from the Atlantick shore
By fair and easy motion,
He journied, *all the way by land,*
Until he met the ocean.

HEROICK, sure, the toil must be
To travel through the woods, sir;
And never meet a foe, yet save
His person and his goods, sir!
What marvels on the way he found
He'll tell you, if inclin'd, sir —
But *I* shall only now disclose
The things he *did not* find, sir.

He never with a Mammoth met,
However you may wonder;
Nor even with a Mammoth's bone,
Above the ground or under —
And, spite of all the pains he took
The animal to track, sir,
He never could o'ertake the hog
With navel on his back, sir.

And from the day his course began,
Till even it was ended,
He never found an Indian tribe
From Welchmen straight descended:
Nor, much as of Philosophers
The fancies it might tickle;
To season his adventures, met
A Mountain, sous'd in pickle.

He never left this nether world — (2)
For still he had his reason —
Nor once the waggon of the sun
Attempted he to seize on.
To bind a *Zone* about the earth
He knew he was not able —
They say he did — but, ask himself,
He'll tell you 'tis a fable.

He never dreamt of taming *tides,* (3)
Like monkeys or like bears, sir —
A *school,* for teaching floods to flow,
Was not among his cares, sir —
Had rivers ask'd of him their path,
They had but mov'd his laughter —
They knew their courses, all, as well
Before he came as after.

Notes.

(1) There are *some* understandings, graduated on such a scale, that it may be necessary to inform them, that our intention is not to depreciate the merits of Captain Lewis's publick services. We think highly of the spirit and judgment, with which he has executed the duty undertaken by him, and we rejoice at the rewards bestowed by congress upon him and his companions. But we think with Mr. John Randolph, that there is a bombast in Politicks, as well as in Poetry; and Mr. Barlow's "elegant and glowing stanzas" have the advantage of combining both.

(2) "With the same soaring genius, thy Lewis ascends,
"And *seizing the Car of the Sun,*
"O'er the sky-propping hills, and high-waters he bends,
"And gives the proud earth *a new zone.*"

Thus sweetly sings the soaring genius of Barlow. He has in this stanza obtained an interesting victory over verse. He has brought *zone* and *sun* to rhyme together; which is more than ever was attempted by his great predecessor in psalmody, Sternhold.

(3) "His long curving course has completed the belt,
"And tamed the last tide of the West.

"Then hear the loud voice of the nation proclaim,
"And all ages resound the decree,
"Let our Occident stream bear the young hero's name,
"Who *taught him his path to the sea.*" BARLOW'S *Stanzas.*

Here the young HERO is exhibited in the interesting character of schoolmaster to a river; and the proposition, that the river should take his name by way of

And must we then resign the hope
These Elements of changing?
And must we still, alas! be told
That after all his ranging,
The Captain could discover nought
But Water in the Fountains?
Must Forests still be form'd of Trees?
Of Rugged Rocks the Mountains?

We never will be so fubb'd off,
As sure as I 'm a sinner!
Come — let us all subscribe, and ask
The HERO to a dinner —
And Barlow stanzas shall indite —
A bard, the tide who tames, sir —
And if we cannot alter *things*,
By G—, we 'll change their *names*, sir!

Let old Columbus be once more
Degraded from his glory;
And not a river by his name
Remember him in story —
For what is *old* Discovery
Compar'd to that which new is?
Strike — strike *Columbia* river out,
And put in — *river Lewis!*

Let dusky Sally henceforth bear
The name of Isabella;
And let the mountain, all of salt,
Be christen'd Monticella —
The hog with navel on his back
Tom Pain may be when drunk, sir —
And *Joël* call the Prairie-dog,
Which once was call'd a Skunk, sir.

And when the wilderness shall yield (4)
To bumpers, bravely brimming,
A nobler victory than men; —
While all our heads are swimming,
We 'll dash the bottle on the wall
And name (the thing's agreed on)
Our first-rate-ship United States,
The flying frigate *Fredon.*

True — Tom and Joël now, no more
Can overturn a nation;
And work, by butchery and blood,
A great regeneration; —
Yet, still we can turn inside out
Old Nature's Constitution,
And bring a Babel back of *names* —
Huzza! for REVOLUTION!

Mr. MATTHEWS communicated the following paper:

THOMAS PAINE AND THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

In a work printed in 1809 Stephen C. Carpenter wrote of Jefferson that "to him the credit of drawing up the Declaration of Independence has been, perhaps more generally than truly, given by the public."[1] A statement like this, found in

payment for his tuition, appears so modest and reasonable, that we should make no objection, were it not that the wages must be deducted from the scanty pittance of poor Columbus. He has already been so grossly defrauded by the name of this hemisphere, that we cannot hear with patience a proposal to strip him of that trifling substitute of a river, which had so late and so recently been bestowed upon him.

We invite the attention of the reader to the *rare* modesty of Mr. Barlow himself, who, in committing this *spoliation* upon the fame of Columbus, does not even allow him the chance of an adjudication, . . but undertakes, by self-created authority, to make proclamation for the whole nation, and to pronounce the decree for all ages!

(4) "Victory over the wilderness, which is more *interesting*, than that over men." —*Barlow's Toast at the Dinner.*

[1] Memoirs of Jefferson, I. 11.

In the Menzies Catalogue (p. 66), prepared by Sabin in 1875, is quoted a passage from some source not specified from which the following extract is taken:

A small number of copies — I think twenty — were bound, and one of them was brought to the late Samuel M. Hopkins, then a young lawyer in Auburn,

a work so libellous, it is said, that neither printer nor publisher dared put his name on the titlepage, and of which all but about twenty copies are alleged to have been suppressed, is too vague for serious discussion. Within the past few years, however, attempts have been made to show that Thomas Paine had a hand in the actual drafting of the Declaration. In 1899 Ellery Sedgwick wrote:

> Paine was now a marked man to those who knew the authorship of *Common Sense;* and Jefferson, whose intimacy with him dates from this time, seems to have sought his advice concerning the language of the instrument. There is little evidence to show that words of Paine's were actually incorporated by Jefferson; but his influence appeared in a fine passage of the preliminary draft denouncing slavery. This clause was born before its time, and did not live in the Declaration of Independence.[1]

In an interesting article called "To the Memory of Thomas Paine," which has appeared within a year in a London paper, the writer said; "But modern sceptics who contemn the abstract idealism of the man who helped to draft the Declaration of Independence must not be permitted to deceive us."[2] Still more recently Mr. James M. Dow of Liverpool has spoken of "Thomas Paine, who, students now admit, was joint author of the American Declaration of Independence."[3] Finally, in a letter to the present writer dated December 26, 1909, Mr. Dow asserts that "in this country," that is, Eng-

N. Y., for his opinion. Mr. Hopkins dipped into the book; read some twenty or thirty pages here and there; and informed the printer that "he found, on the average, a libel to every page." On this the memoir was suppressed.

The Samuel M. Hopkins (1772–1837) referred to was apparently living in New York City in 1809, and seems never to have lived at Auburn, though his son (1813–1901) of the same name was long a professor in the Auburn Theological Seminary. In an autobiographical sketch written in 1832 and printed in 1898 in the Publications of the Rochester Historical Society, II. 1–42, the elder Hopkins does not mention the incident narrated above.

Mr. Worthington C. Ford informs me that Carpenter's book is by no means so rare as the statements in auction catalogues indicate.

[1] Life of Thomas Paine, 22.

[2] The Nation, London, May 8, 1909, v. 189.

[3] Notes and Queries, July 17, 1909, 10th Series, XII. 44.

The substance of the present paper was printed in Notes and Queries of December 4, 1909, 10th Series, XII. 441–443. In his note to me of December 26, 1909, Mr. Dow says that "After inquiring into the facts about the Declaration of Independence, I have come to the conclusion that you are correct in ascribing its sole authorship to Jefferson." See also Notes and Queries of January 15, 1910, 53.

land, "the opinion is wide-spread that Paine was co-author" of the Declaration.

We are all familiar with the well-known tendency of a biographer to "claim everything" — if I may be allowed the expression — on behalf of the person whose life he is writing; and with the way in which a proposition, put forward as possible, is soon regarded as probable, and finally emerges as a certainty. Is not the latter illustrated in these remarks? Mr. Sedgwick merely suggests that Paine's "influence" appeared in a passage of the preliminary draft — a passage, be it noted, not adopted; the anonymous writer declares that Paine "helped to draft" the Declaration; while Mr. Dow boldly calls Paine the "joint author" of the Declaration. That Paine's "Common Sense," published January 9, 1776,[1] exerted a remarkable influence in favor of independence was freely admitted by Paine's contemporaries, and has since been universally acknowledged by historians; but that Paine had any share in the actual drafting of the Declaration of Independence is a totally different matter. Neither of the above writers brings forward any proof in support of his proposition; but there can be no doubt that all three hark back to Moncure D. Conway. In 1892 Conway said that "the Declaration embodied every principle he [Paine] had been asserting, and indeed Cobbett is correct in saying that whoever may have written the Declaration Paine was its author"[2]; and that Paine's "first pamphlet ['Common Sense'] had dictated the Declaration of Independence."[3] It will be observed that these two passages are capable of a double interpretation: they may refer to the Declaration as a document, or to the Declaration as an historical event. But however interpreted, Conway's own statement and that attributed by him to Cobbett[4] are alike preposterous. Elsewhere in the same

[1] The date usually given is January 10, 1776, because the pamphlet was advertised in the Pennsylvania Journal of that date. But an advertisement dated "Philadelphia, January 9, 1776" was inserted in the Pennsylvania Evening Post of January 9, 1776 (II. 15), which begins, "THIS day was published, and is now selling by Robert Bell, in Third-street (price two shillings) COMMON SENSE addressed to the INHABITANTS of AMERICA, on the following interesting SUBJECTS." Attention was called to this advertisement, though it was not quoted, in Tyler's Literary History of the American Revolution, I. 469 note.

[2] Life of Paine, I. 81; [3] I. 91.

[4] Where Cobbett makes this statement, I do not know. It is not in his Life of Paine, published in 1796, nor in Thomas Paine: a Sketch of his Life and

work Conway attempts to be more precise, for, referring to the period between June 7 and July 1, 1776, he says:

At this juncture Paine issued one of his most effective pamphlets, "A Dialogue between the Ghost of General Montgomery, Just Arrived from the Elysian Fields, and an American Delegate, in a Wood near Philadelphia." . . . The allusion to the arming of negroes and Indians against America, and other passages, resemble clauses in one of the paragraphs eliminated from the original Declaration of Independence.

At this time Paine saw much of Jefferson, and there can be little doubt that the anti-slavery clause struck out of the Declaration was written by Paine, or by some one who had Paine's anti-slavery essay before him. In the following passages it will be observed that the antitheses are nearly the same — "infidel and Christian," "heathen and Christian."

PARAGRAPH STRUCK OUT OF THE DECLARATION.	THOMAS PAINE.
He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of INFIDEL powers, is the warfare of the CHRISTIAN king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a	— these inoffensive people are brought into slavery, by stealing them, tempting kings to sell subjects, which they can have no right to do, and hiring one tribe to war against another, in order to catch prisoners. By such wicked and inhuman ways the English, etc. . . . an hight of outrage that seems left by *Heathen* nations to be practised by pretended *Christians*. — that barbarous and hellish power which has stirred up the

Character, written jointly in 1819 by Cobbett and Madame Bonneville and first printed in Conway's Life of Paine, II. 433–459. Very likely it will be found somewhere in Cobbett's Political Register, for in the issue of December 11, 1819, Cobbett employed this exaggerated language:

Divested of all its minor circumstances, the great question was, whether the colonists would submit to taxation without representation; whether they would submit to be taxed, either directly or indirectly, by a Parliament to which they sent no Members, or whether they would not. . . . A little thing sometimes produces a good effect; an insult offered to a man of great talent and unconquerable perseverance has in many instances, produced, in the long run, most tremendous effects; and, it appears to me very clear that some beastly insults, offered to Mr. Paine, while he was in the Excise in England, was the real cause of the Revolution in America; for, though the nature of the cause of America was such as I have before described it; though the principles were firm in the minds of the people of that country; still, it was Mr. Paine, and Mr. Paine alone, who brought those principles into action (XXXV. 420–422).

market where MEN should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them by murdering the people on whom he has obtruded them, thus paying off former crimes committed against the LIBERTIES of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the LIVES of another.

Indians and Negroes to destroy us; the cruelty hath a double guilt — it is dealing brutally by us and treacherously by them.

Thus did Paine try to lay at the corner the stone which the builders rejected, and which afterwards ground their descendants to powder.[1]

The passage from Conway contains two distinct statements. First, that "at this time Paine saw much of Jefferson." Conway offers no proof of this, and, so far as I am aware, none exists. Paine arrived at Philadelphia in December, 1774,[2] at

[1] Life of Paine, I. 79–81.

[2] The date given by Conway (Life of Paine, I. 40) and by Tyler (Literary History of the American Revolution, I. 452), perhaps following Conway, is November 30, 1774. I do not know the authority for that date; but I am able to adduce a new piece of evidence. Paine's Common Sense was attacked in a series of articles signed "Cato," written by the Rev. Dr. William Smith of the Philadelphia College (now the University of Pennsylvania). Paine replied in several articles under the signature of "The Forester." In a letter dated April 28, 1776, John Adams said, "The writer of 'Common Sense' and 'The Forester' is the same person, His name is Paine, a gentleman about two years ago from England, a man who, General Lee says, has genius in his eyes. . . . 'Cato' is reported here to be Doctor Smith — a match for Brattle" (Familiar Letters of John Adams and his Wife, 167). Adams's "about two years ago" is incorrect. In an autobiographical sketch sent Henry Laurens on January 14, 1779, Paine said, "I brought with me letters from Dr. Franklin. These letters were with a flying seal, that I might, if I thought proper, close them with a wafer. One was to Mr. Bache of this city. The terms of Dr. Franklin's recommendation were '*a worthy, ingenious, etc.*' . . . I came some months before Dr. Franklin, and waited here for his arrival" (Writings, IV. 430). Franklin's letter to Bache, dated London, September 30, 1774, is printed in Bigelow's edition of Franklin's Works, V. 369–370. A letter by Paine to Franklin dated March 4, 1775, gives an "Account of his wretched trip across the ocean; six weeks on shore before he was well enough to wait on Mr. Bache" (Calendar of the Papers of Benjamin Franklin, I. 168. An extract from the letter is printed in Bigelow's edition of

which time Jefferson was in Virginia. Jefferson reached Philadelphia June 20, 1775, but returned to Virginia July 31; again reached Philadelphia October 1, but returned to Virginia December 28, 1775; and was once more in Philadelphia from May 14 to September 2, 1776.[1] The Declaration was written between June 11 and 28, 1776. Until the publication of "Common Sense" on January 9, 1776, Paine was an obscure person. From December 29, 1775, to May 13, 1776, both included, Jefferson and Paine obviously could not have met. They may have met between May 14 and June 28, but of this there is no proof.[2]

Franklin's Works, v. 370 note, and in Bigelow's Life of Franklin, II. 248 note). The Pennsylvania Ledger of May 6, 1775, announced that "Yesterday evening arrived here Captain Osborne, from London, in whom came passenger the worthy Dr. FRANKLIN, Agent for Massachusetts government and this Province" (p. 3/1). Paine's statement that he arrived "some months before" Franklin is not very definite. But the following notice, to which so far as I am aware attention is now called for the first time, was printed in the Pennsylvania Evening Post, April 30, 1776:

To CATO.

WHEREAS Cato, in his eighth letter, and some of his partizans since, have made free with the Forester as having neither "*character nor connexion.*" To which I answer, first, "better to have none than bad ones." Secondly, that the person supposed by some, and known by others, to be the author of Common Sense and the Forester's letters, came a cabin passenger in Jeremiah Warder's ship, the London Packet, last Christmas twelvemonth, bringing with him two unsealed letters of introduction from Dr. Franklin to his friends here, in which he says, "*I recommend the bearer hereof, Mr. ——, as a worthy ingenious &c.*"

I have published this at the request, and for the sake of those gentlemen whose acquaintance I am honored with — and in my turn call on Cato and his confederates to set forth, as I have done, what rank and recommendation they or their originals made their first appearance in ——

The FORESTER.

"Last Christmas twelvemonth" was the Christmas of 1774. Among the arrivals noted in the Pennsylvania Gazette of December 14, 1774, is that of the "Ship London Packet, J. Cooke, Lewes, on Delaware" (p. 3/3); and a similar entry is printed in the Pennsylvania Journal of December 14, 1774 (p 3/3). "J. Cooke" was of course the name of the captain of the ship, while presumably Jeremiah Warder was the name of the owner. If this was the ship that brought Paine — and I suppose there can hardly be a doubt on this point — it follows that he arrived at Philadelphia between December 7 and December 14, 1774.

I do not know whether Dr. Smith replied to Paine's challenge. He might have done so in an effective way, for it was largely through the efforts of Franklin that Dr. Smith was appointed to the charge of the Philadelphia College, though later a bitter quarrel ensued between Franklin and Smith.

[1] This schedule, taken from P. L. Ford's edition of Jefferson's Writings, I. xlii–xliii; II. xxi–xxii, differs slightly from that in Hazelton's Declaration of Independence: its History, 450.

[2] An attempt to ascertain exactly when Jefferson and Paine first met has been unsuccessful.

Secondly, that "there can be little doubt that the anti-slavery clause struck out of the Declaration was written by Paine, or by some one who had Paine's anti-slavery essay before him." Conway does not indicate the source of either of the two extracts he quotes from Paine, though the reader might not unreasonably infer that one was taken from Paine's "Dialogue."[1] Such, however, is not the case. The first extract comes from Paine's "African Slavery in America," first printed in the Postscript to the Pennsylvania Journal of

[1] Conway says that the Dialogue was "printed in pamphlet form about the time of the appointment by Congress of a Committee to draft a Declaration of Independence" (Paine's Writings, I. 161 note). I have been unable to ascertain its exact date of publication, as it is apparently not advertised in such Philadelphia newspapers as I have been able to examine. The absurd lengths to which the so-called Baconians have gone make one suspicious of Conway's method of jumping at a conclusion as to the authorship of a piece merely because it contains a particular word or phrase; and the danger involved in the method can be well illustrated. The following passage is taken from Paine's Dialogue (p. 14 of the original edition of 1776, of which there is a copy in the library of this Society, and Conway's edition of Paine's Writings, I. 166):

Del. Will not a declaration of independence lessen the number of our friends, and increase the rage of our enemies in Britain?

Gen. Mont. Your friends as (you call them) are too few — too divided — and too interested to help you. And as for your enemies, they have done their worst. They have called upon Russians — Hanoverians — Hessians — Canadians — Savages — and Negroes to assist them in burning your towns — desolating your country — and in butchering your wives and children.

In a letter written to her husband on March 31, 1776, Abigail Adams said:

I long to hear that you have declared an independency. And, by the way, in the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the husbands. Remember, all men would be tyrants if they could. If particular care and attention is not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we have no voice or representation.

On April 14 John Adams replied to this banter as follows:

I begin to think the ministry as deep as they are wicked. After stirring up Tories, land-jobbers, trimmers, bigots, Canadians, Indians, negroes, Hanoverians, Hessians, Russians, Irish Roman Catholics, Scotch renegadoes, at last they have stimulated the —— to demand new privileges and threaten to rebel (Familiar Letters of John Adams and his Wife, 149, 150, 155).

An article in advocacy of independence, printed in the Pennsylvania Evening Post of June 1, 1776, contained these words:

Sooner than submit to the chance of these probable evils, we will have our towns burnt, our country desolated, and our fathers, brothers, and children butchered by English, Scotch and Irishmen; by Hanoverians, Hessians, Brunswickers, Walleckers, Canadians, Indians and Negroes.

Are we to assume that three of these passages were written by the same person?

March 8, 1775;[1] the second extract is taken from "Common Sense."[2] "Whether or not the statement," writes John H. Hazelton in reference to Conway, "is justified must always, so far as the concurrent columns are concerned, remain a subject of individual opinion."[3] I can merely express my opinion that the "deadly parallel" does not accomplish the purpose intended by Conway.

But a further remark is here pertinent. In his Summary View of the Rights of British America, written in July, 1774, and published at the time, Jefferson said:

> The abolition of domestic slavery is the great object of desire in those [the American] colonies, where it was unhappily introduced in their infant state. But previous to the enfranchisement of the slaves we have, it is necessary to exclude all further importations from Africa; yet our repeated attempts to affect this by prohibitions, and by imposing duties which might amount to a prohibition, have been hitherto defeated by his majesty's negative: Thus preferring the immediate advantages of a few African [altered in the author's copy to "British"] corsairs to the lasting interests of the American states, and to the rights of human nature deeply wounded by this infamous practice.[4]

Jefferson was never more happy than when denouncing slavery; and that the author of these words, written four or five months previous to Paine's arrival in America, must, before penning the anti-slavery clause struck out of the Declaration, have had before him an article not printed until March 8, 1775, is a proposition that will be accepted by few.

Again, also, we observe the tendency noted above. For though at the beginning Conway says "there can be little doubt," acknowledging that there is some doubt, that the clause "was written by Paine, or by some one who had Paine's anti-slavery essay before him," yet he winds up by calmly assuming that Paine was the author. "Thus," he asserts, "did Paine try to lay at the corner the stone which the

[1] Paine's Writings, I. 5–7.

[2] Paine's Writings, I. 100. Hazelton, in his Declaration of Independence: its History, 450, has fallen into a slight error in saying that both extracts are from the "Essay on African Slavery in America." As stated in the text, the second extract is from Common Sense. Conway's repeated failure to give the sources of his quotations makes it difficult to run them down.

[3] Declaration of Independence: its History, 450.

[4] Jefferson's Writings, I. 440.

builders rejected." It would not be easy to find a more glaring instance of begging the question.

Let us now turn to other sources of information. On June 7, 1776, it was, on a motion of the Virginia delegates, "*Resolved*, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States." On June 11 a committee to draft the Declaration was chosen consisting of Jefferson, John Adams, Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston; and on June 28 the draft was read.[1] In a letter to Samuel A. Wells, dated May 12, 1819, Jefferson stated that he had, "while the question of independence was under consideration before Congress, taken written notes, in my seat, of what was passing, and reduced them to form on the final conclusion. I have now before me that paper."[2] Still later, a controversy arose between Adams and Jefferson in regard to some of the details, and on August 30, 1823, Jefferson thus wrote Madison:

The committee of five met; no such thing as a sub-committee was proposed, but they unanimously pressed on myself alone to undertake the draught. I consented; I drew it; but before I reported it to the committee, I communicated it *separately* to Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams, requesting their corrections, because they were the two members of whose judgments and amendments I wished most to have the benefit, before presenting it to the committee; and you have seen the original paper now in my hands, with the corrections of Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams interlined in their own hand writings.[3] Their alterations were two or three only, and merely verbal. I then wrote a fair copy, reported it to the committee, and from them, unaltered, to Congress. This personal communication and consultation with Mr. Adams, he has misremembered into the actings of a sub-committee. Pickering's observations, and Mr. Adams' in addition, "that it contained no new ideas, that it is a commonplace compilation, its sentiments hacknied in Congress for two years before, and its essence contained in Otis' pamphlet," may all be true. Of that I am not to be the judge. Richard Henry Lee charged it as copied from Locke's treatise on government. Otis' pamphlet I never saw, and whether I had gathered my ideas from reading or reflection I do not know. I know only that I turned to neither book nor pamphlet while writing it. I

[1] Journals of the Continental Congress (ed. W. C. Ford), v. 425, 431, 491.

[2] Jefferson's Writings, x. 130.

[3] This has been reproduced several times in facsimile. Neither Adams nor Franklin made any change in the anti-slavery clause.

did not consider it as any part of my charge to invent new ideas altogether, and to offer no sentiment which had ever been expressed before.[1]

Here we have Jefferson's deliberate claim to the sole authorship of the Declaration and his assertion that he "turned to neither book nor pamphlet while writing it." It will perhaps be said that a statement written forty-seven years after the event cannot be accepted as final. Let us, then, turn to the "written notes, [taken] in my seat, of what was passing." Even if those notes were not, as Jefferson thrice stated they were,[2] taken at the time, the following passage is yet of interest:

The committee for drawing the declaration of Independence desired me to do it. It was accordingly done, and being approved by them, I reported it to the house on Friday the 28th of June when it was read and ordered to lie on the table. . . . Congress proceeded the same day [July 1] to consider the declaration of Independance which had been reported & lain on the table of Friday preceding, and on Monday

[1] Jefferson's Writings, x. 267–268.

[2] First, in his letter to Wells of May 12, 1819, as quoted in the text. Secondly, in his letter to Madison of August 30, 1823, where he wrote: "I should then say, that in some of the particulars, Mr. Adams' memory has led him into unquestionable error. At the age of eighty-eight, and forty-seven years after the transactions of Independence, this is not wonderful. Nor should I, at the age of eighty, on the small advantage of that difference only, venture to oppose my memory to his, were it not supported by written notes, taken by myself at the moment and on the spot." Thirdly, on a slip of paper pasted on the sheet of "written notes," Jefferson, writing certainly after May 12, 1819, said: "I took my notes in my place while these things were going on, and at their close wrote them out in form and with correctness and from 1 to 7 of the two preceding sheets are the originals then written; as the two following are of the earlier debates on the Confederation, which I took in like manner" (Writings, I. 38 note). These "written notes" come to an end on August 1, 1776. Did Jefferson's own memory play him false in regard to those notes? The question apparently cannot be answered with certainty, Mr. Paul L. Ford remarking:

Here end the notes which Jefferson states were taken "while these things were going on, and at their close" were "written out in form and with correctness." Much of their value depends on the date of their writing, but there is nothing to show this, except negative evidence. The sheets were all written at the same time, which makes the writing after Aug. 1, 1776; while the misstatements as to the signing, and as to Dickinson's presence, would seem almost impossible unless greater time even than this had elapsed between the occurrence and the notes. The MS. is, moreover, considerably corrected and interlined, which would hardly be the case if merely a transcript of rough notes (Jefferson's Writings, I. 47 note).

Jefferson at a late date prepared a copy of these notes for Madison, and this copy is in the Madison Papers, in the Library of Congress.

referred to a commee of the whole. The pusillanimous idea that we had friends in England worth keeping terms with, still haunted the minds of many. For this reason those passages which conveyed censures on the people of England were struck out, lest they should give them offence. The clause too, reprobating the enslaving the inhabitants of Africa, was struck out in complaisance to South Carolina and Georgia, who had never attempted to restrain the importation of slaves, and who on the contrary still wished to continue it. Our northern brethren also I believe felt a little tender under those censures; for tho' their people have very few slaves themselves yet they had been pretty considerable carriers of them to others.[1]

The writings of Jefferson, Franklin, Adams, Sherman, and Livingston have been searched in vain for evidence in support of the statement that Paine had any share in the drafting of the Declaration, nor is there anything in Paine's own writings that gives color to the notion. Moreover, more than one writer since 1892 has specifically attributed to Jefferson the anti-slavery clause in the preliminary draft of that document. Thus in 1903 Sir George O. Trevelyan said that "Jefferson, again, had written, and somewhat over-written, a denunciation of the King for having refused his sanction to the successive endeavours which the Virginian assembly[2] had made, in all honesty, to suppress the importation of negroes."[3] In 1904 Dr. Herbert Friedenwald wrote:

The other paragraph had reference to the slave-trade and was more denunciatory of the King than any of the remainder. . . . This is unquestionably one of the most forcible clauses that issued from Jefferson's pen, and its rejection, for the reasons which he ascribes, served to promote consistency of action on the part of the colonies, and prevent the forcing of an issue which the country was not yet in a position to

[1] Jefferson's Writings, I. 24, 28. In his reply, dated September 6, 1823, Madison said:

Nothing can be more absurd than the cavil that the Declaration of Independence contains known and not new truths. The object was to assert, not to discover truths, and to make them the basis of the Revolutionary act. The merit of the Draught, therefore, could only consist in a lucid communication of human rights, in a condensed enumeration of the reasons for such an exercise of them, and in a style and tone appropriate to the great occasion, and to the spirit of the American people (Letters and other Writings, III. 336–337).

[2] Trevelyan has made a slight mistake in restricting the endeavors to the Virginian Assembly. The clause struck out speaks of "every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce." See 245, *ante*.

[3] American Revolution, II. part ii. 161.

face. But its omission was a serious blow to Jefferson, who all his days was a firm advocate of the suppression of the slave trade and of slavery.[1]

Nor should we overlook Sir Leslie Stephen's cautious remark that Paine "is supposed by Mr. Conway to have written the suppressed clause against the slave trade in the declaration of independence."[2]

Evidence drawn from epitaphs and wills, though to be received with caution, yet at times has its value. The epitaph which Jefferson composed for his own monument is well known: "Here was buried Thomas Jefferson, Author of the American Declaration of Independence, of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and Father of the University of Virginia."[3] In his will, made January 18, 1809, or less than five months before his death, Paine says:

I, Thomas Paine, of the State of New York, author of the work entitled *Common Sense*, written in Philadelphia, in 1775, and published in that city the beginning of January, 1776, which awaked America to a declaration of Independence on the fourth of July following, which was as fast as the work could spread through such an extensive country; author also of the several numbers of the *American Crisis*, thirteen in all; published occasionally during the progress of the revolutionary war — the last is on the peace; author also of *Rights of Man*, parts the first and second, written and published in London, in 1791 and 1792; author also of a work on Religion, *Age of Reason*, parts the first and second — N. B. I have a third part by me in manuscript, and an answer to the bishop of Llandaff; author also of a work, lately published, entitled *Examination of the Passages in the New Testament, Quoted from the Old, and called Prophecies concerning Jesus Christ, and showing there are no Prophecies of any such Person;* author also of several other works not here enumerated, *Dissertations on First Principles of Government, — Decline and Fall of the English System*

[1] Declaration of Independence, 132–133.

[2] Dictionary of National Biography (1909), xv. 71. In a letter dated August 6, 1822, John Adams, speaking of the Declaration, said, "I have long wondered that the original draught has not been published. I suppose the reason is, the vehement philippic against negro slavery" (Works, II. 514 note). Had there been the slightest doubt in the mind of Adams as to the authorship of that philippic, surely it would have been expressed in this letter; yet in the letter he specifically refers to Jefferson as "the author of the Declaration of Independence" (II. 513 note).

[3] Randall's Life of Jefferson, III. 563.

of Finance, — *Agrarian Justice*, &c., &c., make this my last Will and Testament.[1]

Sir Leslie Stephen asserts that Paine "attached an excessive importance to his own work, and was ready to accept the commonplace that his pen had been as efficient as Washington's sword."[2] Can we for a moment doubt that had Paine had any share in the drafting of the Declaration of Independence, even of a clause rejected, the honorable fact would have been recorded in his will?

The following letter was read from Mr. CHARLES HENRY HART:

I do not think I can prove my appreciation of the recently printed Index volume to the second series of the Society's Proceedings more thoroughly than by telling you that I have read it through and found it most instructive. Among the references that caused me to stop and look, if not to listen, was "Cooper, Samuel, miniature of Cromwell, 3. 282." At the page of the volume indicated I found a list of donations for the year 1886–87, and among them this entry, "A miniature of Oliver Cromwell, by Samuel Cooper, which once belonged to Thomas Jefferson. Given by Robert C. Winthrop." This was not a "find" for me, as I knew the Society owned this miniature of Cromwell, and when, in 1905, I was selecting the illustrations for Elson's History of the United States, I chose this for its association, and had it photographed and reproduced for that work (I. 114). My comment on this miniature, in the annotated index to the illustrations, was:

> The miniature here reproduced once belonged to Thomas Jefferson and came to the cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in 1886, from the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, who had received it as a legacy from Mr. Joseph Coolidge, who had married Jefferson's granddaughter. It has been attributed to the foremost of all miniature painters, Samuel Cooper, who did paint several portraits in little of the Lord Protector; but this clearly is not one of them, being of very mediocre execution.

Since publishing this note I have often thought that it would be a proper act of courtesy if I gave the Society my

[1] Paine's Writings, IV. 508.
[2] Dictionary of National Biography, XV. 78.

reasons in detail for questioning the authenticity of this miniature and its attribution of authorship, and I am especially moved to do so at this time by the admirable twenty-fifth anniversary address, recently delivered before the American Historical Association, by our fellow member, Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, on the pertinent theme of "Imagination in History."

It is not necessary to give to a cultivated body of men like this Society any account of Samuel Cooper. It is sufficient to say that he seems to have come forth full armored from the brain of Jove, and he has remained to our day *facile princeps* among the miniature painters of the world. His period covers from 1609 to 1672, and if not precisely court-painter to the Protector, he seems to have limned him many times, until his name is as closely connected with the portraits of Cromwell as Holbein's is with those of Henry VIII, and consequently Cooper has suffered by having all sorts of portraits of the head of the Commonwealth attributed to him. It will be remembered that it was one of his miniatures of Cromwell that called forth the high encomium of Horace Walpole, that if it could be magnified to the size of Vandyke's it would appear to have been painted to that proportion and Vandyke's appear less great by the comparison, and as Dr. Propert correctly says, "It is extremely doubtful if Vandyke ever produced a portrait which for strength, broad delineation of character and freedom, could surpass many of Cooper's tiny miniatures."

This suggestion of Walpole is especially to the point in considering the miniature under consideration. The head is three-quarters of an inch long, and I had it enlarged to two and one-half inches, much below life size, when, instead of holding its own, it went all to pieces, which was no surprise to me as I saw how faulty it was in drawing, without modelling and technically mediocre to the last degree. Indeed, there never could have been any legitimate excuse for attributing it to Cooper, excepting that it was a portrait of Oliver Cromwell, and there are few miniatures of Cromwell that the owners do not, with perfect assurance, assign to the incomparable Cooper as glibly as in this country every portrait of Washington is assigned to Gilbert Stuart.

As a matter of history, in connection with miniatures of Cromwell by Cooper in this country, let me add that in Cum-

mings's Historic Annals of the National Academy of Design (page 118), there is an account of one Abrahams, who in 1830 exhibited in New York a collection of paintings by the "Old Masters," through which he got into trouble and was lodged in the Tombs prison. On being released Cummings says, "He left in this country, from that collection, an original miniature portrait of Oliver Cromwell, by Cooper, which he presented to William Roome, the deputy-jailer of the City Prison, for kindnesses rendered during his confinement." A score of years ago I had some correspondence with the author of this work, Thomas Seir Cummings, then in his eighty-eighth year and a well-known miniature painter, as to the time of the introduction of ivory for miniatures, and he referred to the Abrahams-Cooper miniature of Cromwell as being on ivory. This fact alone stamped it as not by Cooper, ivory for miniature-painting not having been used in his time. He painted upon vellum, paper, or metal. In conclusion it might be well to add that your miniature does not even bear a resemblance to any known portrait of Cromwell by Cooper, and thus another instance of imagination in history is laid bare.

Mr. FORD made the following communication:

My colleague Mr. Alfred B. Page has called my attention to a hitherto unsuspected connection between two broadsides in the collections of the Society, and his investigation has developed this connection so as to place it beyond any question. He has prepared the following note embodying the material found upon the subject.

In April, 1751, was circulated a printed broadside, containing some satirical verses entitled, "A Mournful Lamentation for the sad and deplorable Death of Mr. Old Tenor," etc. The poem had no name of author signed to it, and the broadside gave no name of a printer. It was occasioned by a law enacted January 26, 1748–49, having for its object the withdrawing from circulation of the bills of credit issued by the Province, the last act in a long-continued experience of paper issues.[1] The broadside was presented to the Society in 1882

[1] Mass. Provincial Laws, III. 430. It is almost needless to call attention to the important studies made of this subject by Andrew McFarland Davis. The course of legislation and experience in bills of credit of no other colony has received so full and careful attention.

by Miss E. S. Quincy, and was then printed in the Proceedings (XX. 30), but not so accurately as could be desired. It is now reproduced in fac-simile. Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, in the Brinley Catalogue, attributes the authorship of the verses to Joseph Green, a wit of some note in his day, but long since forgotten.

A | Mournful Lamentation | For the sad and deplorable Death of | Mr. Old Tenor, | A Native of New-England, who, after a long Confinement, by a deep and mortal Wound | which he received above Twelve Months before, expired on the 31st Day of March, 1750.

He lived beloved, and died lamented.

To the mournful Tune of, *Chevy-Chace.*

A Doleful tale prepare to hear,
As ever yet was told:
The like, perhaps, ne'er reach'd the ear
Of either young or old.
Tis of the sad and woful death
Of one of mighty fame,
Who lately hath resign'd his breath;
OLD TENOR was his Name.

In vain ten thousands intercede,
To keep him from the grave;
In vain his many good works plead;
Alas! they cannot save.
The powers decree, and die he must,
It is the common lot,
But his good deeds, when he's in dust,
Shall never be forgot.

He made our wives and daughters fine,
And pleased every body;
He gave the rich their costly wine,
The poor their flip and toddy.
The labourer he set to work;
In ease maintain'd the great:
He found us mutton, beef and pork,
And every thing we eat.

To fruitful fields, by swift degrees,
He turn'd our desart land:
Where once nought stood but rocks and trees,
Now spacious cities stand.
He built us houses strong and high,
Of wood, and brick, and stone;
The furniture he did supply;
But now, alas! he's gone.

The merchants too, those topping folks,
To him owe all their riches;
Their ruffles, lace and scarlet cloaks,
And eke their velvet breeches.
He launch'd their ships into the main,
To visit distant shores;
And brought them back, full fraught with gain,
Which much increas'd their stores.

Led on by him, our Soldiers bold,
Against the foe advance;
And took, in spite of wet and cold,
Strong CAPE BRETON from *France.*
Who from that *Fort* the *French* did drive,
Shall he so soon be slain?
While they alas! remain alive,
Who gave it back again.

From house to house, and place to place,
In *paper doublet* clad,
He pass'd, and where he shew'd his face,
He made the heart full glad.
But cruel death, that spareth none,
Hath rob'd us of him too;
Who thro' the land so long hath *gone*,
No longer now must *go.*

In *Senate* he, like *Cæsar*, fell,
Pierc'd thro' with many a wound,
He sunk, ah doleful tale to tell!
The *members* sitting round.
And ever since that fatal day,
Oh! had it never been,
Closely confin'd at home he lay,
And scarce was ever seen.

By the HONOURABLE

SPENCER PHIPS, Esq;

Lieutenant-Governour and Commander in Chief, in and over His Majesty's Province of the *Massachusetts-Bay* in *New-England*.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS there has been lately published and dispersed within this Province, an anonymous Paper in the Form of a Ballad, called, *A sad and deplorable Lamentation*, &c.---- wherein are contained many Expressions horribly prophane and impious, and such also as reflect the greatest Indignity and Contempt upon the Authority of the Legislature, and tend very much to weaken, if not subvert the happy Constitution of this Government: And whereas one *Robert Howland* of *Duxbury*, and one *Fobes Little* of *Little-Compton*, are informed against for industriously publishing and dispersing, and one or both of them strongly suspected to be the Authors of the Paper aforesaid:

I Do therefore, with the Advice of His Majesty's Council, and at the Desire of the House of Representatives, hereby require His Majesty's Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs, and other Officers, with other His Majesty's Subjects, to use their utmost Endeavours for the seizing, apprehending and securing the said *Robert Howland* and *Fobes Little*, that so they may be brought to Justice: And for the Encouragement of the said Officers and others concerned, any Person or Persons that shall seize upon and secure the said *Robert Howland* and *Fobes Little*, or either of them, so that they, or either of them, shall be delivered up to Authority, he or they shall receive out of the publick Treasury the Sum of TEN POUNDS Lawful Money for each of the said Persons they shall so secure and deliver up as aforesaid, together with all necessary Charges.

GIVEN at the Council-Chamber in Boston, *the Eighteenth Day of* April 1751, *in the Twenty-fourth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord GEORGE the Second, by the Grace of* GOD *of* Great-Britain, France, *and* Ireland, *KING, Defender of the Faith*, &c.

By Order of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governour, with the Advice of the Council,
J. WILLARD, Secr.

S. Phips.

GOD Save the KING.

BOSTON: Printed by *John Draper*, Printer to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governour and Council.
1751.

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Until the last of *March*, when he
Submitted unto fate ;
In anno Regis twenty three,
Ætatis forty eight.*
Forever gloomy be that day,
When he gave up the ghost :
For by his death, oh ! who can say
What hath *New-England* lost ?

Then good OLD TENOR, fare thee well,
Since thou art dead and gone;
We mourn thy fate, e'en while we tell
The good things thou hast done.
Since the bright beams of yonder sun,
Did on *New-England* shine,
In all the land, there ne'er was known
A death so mourn'd as thine.

Of every rank are many seen,
Thy downfall to deplore;
For 'tis well known that thou hast been
A friend to rich and poor.
We'll o'er thee raise a SILVER tomb,
Long may that tomb remain,
To bless our eyes for years to come,
But wishes ah ! are vain.

And so God bless our noble state,
And save us all from harm,
And grant us food enough to eat,
And cloaths to keep us warm.
Send us a lasting peace, and keep
The times from growing worse,
And let us all in safety sleep,
With SILVER in our purse.

* Mr. OLD TENOR was born in the Year 1702.

FINIS.

Sold at the *Heart* and *Crown* in Cornhill, *Boston ;* Price, *Three Half Pence.*

Apart from any sentimental feelings that could be entertained for these bills of credit, feelings that were again experienced after 1865, when the "blood-stained greenback" became a phrase by which to conjure, it appears there existed an extreme sensitiveness to criticism on the part of the members of the General Court. What seem to us doggerel lines were then regarded as dangerous to the State, in that they tended to bring into contempt and even to subvert the constitution of the government. Action began in the House of Representatives, and the following resolution became of force :

In the House of Rep^ives April 12, 1751
Voted that His Honour the Lieutenant Governour be desired with the advice of the Council to Issue out a Proclamation (offering a Suitable Reward) for Apprehending the Bodies of Robert Howland of Duxborough and Fobes Little of Little Compton who are suspected of Publishing and Dispersing a Printed Paper containing sundry Expressions tending to bring into Contempt and Subvert the Constitution of this Government.

Sent up for concurrence

T. HUBBARD Spk^r

In Council April 13 1751 Read and Concurr'd.

J. WILLARD Secry[1]

Accordingly, Spencer Phips, then Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, issued a Proclamation, dated April 18, 1751. A

[1] Mass. Archives, CII. 582, 583; Mass. Prov. Laws, XIV. 517.

copy is also in the Society's Library, and it is reproduced in fac-simile.

By the Honourable *SPENCER PHIPS*, Esq ; Lieutenant-Governour and Commander in Chief, in and over His Majesty's Province of the *Massachusetts-Bay* in *New-England*.

A Proclamation.

WHEREAS there has been lately published and dispersed within this Province, an anonymous Paper in the Form of a Ballad, called, *A sad and deplorable Lamentation*, &c. — wherein are contained many Expressions horribly prophane and impious, and such also as reflect the greatest Indignity and Contempt upon the Authority of the Legislature, and tend very much to weaken, if not subvert the happy Constitution of this Government: And whereas one *Robert Howland* of *Duxbury*, and one *Fobes Little* of *Little-Compton*, are informed against for industriously publishing and dispersing, and one or both of them strongly suspected to be the Authors of the Paper aforesaid:

I Do therefore, with the Advice of His Majesty's Council, and at the Desire of the House of Representatives, hereby require His Majesty's Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs, and other Officers, with other His Majesty's Subjects, to use their utmost Endeavours for the seizing, apprehending and securing the said *Robert Howland* and *Fobes Little*, that so they may be brought to Justice: And for the Encouragement of the said Officers and others concerned, any Person or Persons that shall seize upon and secure the said *Robert Howland* and *Fobes Little*, or either of them, so that they, or either of them, shall be delivered up to Authority, he or they shall receive out of the publick Treasury the Sum of TEN POUNDS Lawful Money for each of the said Persons they shall so secure and deliver up as aforesaid, together with all necessary Charges.

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GOD Save the KING.

BOSTON: Printed by *John Draper*, Printer to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governour and Council. 1751.

It will be noticed that while the resolution of the General Court merely intended to arrest the parties for publishing and dispersing the verses, the Proclamation asserted that it was strongly suspected that one or both wrote them. The subsequent proceedings under the proclamation are developed in certain papers in the Massachusetts Archives, and would indicate that the writer or writers of the verses sought to avoid the consequences of their act by having them printed in Rhode Island.

Prov: of the Mass$^{a.}$ Bay. To James Warren Esq^{r} Sheriff of the County of Plymouth or to either of His Deputies Greeting

In His Majesty's Name You are hereby required and impowered forthwith to take the Bodies of Robert Howland of Duxborough Hezekiah Cane of Pembroke and Jethro Sprague of Duxbrough into your Custody and bring them before this House to give Answer for their Contempt of the Order of this House and such other matters as shall be laid to their Charge.

Given under my Hand and Seal in the Chamber of the House of Representatives this Ninth Day of April. Anno Domini 1751. And in the 24th Year of His Maj^{es} Reign

T. Hubbard Spk^{r} [1]

The following entry of the return on this warrant is endorsed on the back of it:

Plym^{o} ss April y^{e} 10:1751
then persuant to Warrant I have tuck the Bodeys [of] y^{e} with In Named Hezekiah Keen and Jethro Sprage and them Brout Before the Honorabel house of Representifes and I have made deligent Sarch for the with[in] named Robert howland and Cold not find him with in my present [precinct]

pr Joseph Josselyn
Dep^{t} Sheriff [2]

Nath^{l} Churchill of Plymouth of lawfull age testify's & says that he was at the house of Jethro Sprague in Duxborough on Monday 11th March past, where were severall Persons & being askt by s^{d} Sprague whether he had ever heard the Verses on the Death of Old Tenor I told him no, whereupon he desired us to sit down & we should, upon this he called upon one Robert Howland who was then at

[1] Mass. Archives, cii. 580; [2] 581.

Spragues house, smoaking his pipe, to say or repeat them, at first he seemed somewhat backward, but afterwards taking his pipe out of his mouth, he repeated in the hearing of myself & severall other persons then present a Number of Verses, on the Lamentation of the Death of Old Tenor. Afterwards Joseph Morton & myself went out of the House in order to pursue a person who had broke out of Plymouth Goal & (as we heard) was in Duxbury, said Howland told us he was going that way & would show us the House where y^e^ person was, & as we were rideing along, he heard the s^d^ Howland tell s^d^ Morton, that the s^d^ Verses were gone severall weeks before, to R^d^ Island in order to be printed & that he believed he would hear more of them hereafter; And since that I have seen some Verses printed, which according to the best of my remembrance I verily believe to be the same I heard repeated by the s^d^ Robert Howland, which contained severall very hard reflections on the Generall Court I further say not

NATHANIEL CHURCHEL

SUFFOLK SS. BOSTON 1st April 1751.

Nath^l^ Churchill appeared & made solemn oath that the above Deposition by him subscribed is just & true

Before me T. HUBBARD J Peace[1]

In the affidavit of Joseph Morton, Jr., of Plymouth, to the same effect, he states that on the "fryday or Saterday following [March 11, 1751] Thomas Foster Esq^r^ Shew me a printed Copy of Verses which I took to be . . . the Same Verses." It also appears that there were two or three sets or renderings of these doggerel lines, and it is likely that the more offensive were not contained in the printed sheet.

MR. FORD submitted for publication a copy of the following letter on slavery in Virginia, written by one Virginian to another at the time of the Missouri Compromise excitement.

FRANCIS CORBIN TO JAMES MADISON.[2]

MY DEAR SIR, — I had fixed on the 25th of last month to do myself the pleasure of paying my respects to yourself and Mrs. Madison, hoping that my son Robert would have returned by that time from his Tour thro' upper and lower Canada. But a few days ago I received a letter from him, dated at Kingston, on his way from Quebec to York, to Niagara, and so on through Gennessee and by the great Canal to

[1] Mass. Archives, CII. 585.

[2] From the Madison Papers in the Library of Congress.

New York. He was detained at Quebec to attend the Obsequies of the late unfortunate Duke* of Richmond, to whom, being one of my youthful acquaintance, when he was Captain Lenox, I had given him a letter of introduction. His presence here, therefore, cannot be calculated on till late in the present month. Until he arrives, I dare not, in common prudence, leave my affairs to the sole management of overseers, who, in these days, are but little respected by our intelligent Negroes, many of whom are far superiour in mind, morals, and manners to those who are placed in authority over them. Nor is there any prospect of a change for the better, but on the contrary, our white people, of a certain description are, unhappily, becoming, day by day, more profligate, whilst our Negroes, happily are becoming more enlightened and more observant. I think slavery is working it's own cure. Under the best management, with daily vexation and never ending violence to our feelings, it does not afford us two per cent upon our Capital, and often brings us into debt. It is impossible, I think, that the present state of things can last. We must either abandon all the pure morality of Republicanism, or the gross and glaring immorality of slavery. They cannot co-exist many years longer. This Union must snap short at last where Liberty ends, and Slavery begins. The Missouri Question is bringing on the Crisis.

You have now had experience enough, my dear Sir, as a *practical* Farmer, to be convinced, I suspect, that my opinion, namely, "that Slavery and Farming are incompatable," is not wholly unfounded. This opinion, indeed, seems to be a necessary consequence of the former one. Without industry, carefulness, and frugality, no *Farmer* ever did, or ever can prosper in any Country. But where there is Negro Slavery there will be laziness, carelessness, and wastefulness. Nor is it possible to prevent them. Severity increases the evil, and humanity does not lessen it. What nett profit will your fine wheat estates yield you now at a Dollar a Bushel, after more than one half is deducted for Expences and carriage to market? Tobacco, our antient staple, it is true, sells for a comparative little. But even this affords us more profit, and enables us to make both ends meet at the end of the year, if we are skilful in the management, and judicious in our disposal of it. Such Tobacco as you can make upon the rich Lands I rode thro' at Montpelier, if stemmed, put up dry and clean, and prized loose, would, in the London or Liverpool Markets, always command a good price. That is to say, in the present depressed state of the market, it would

* The melancholy manner of his death was this. He had a tame Fox with him. His favorite little Dog, Blucher, got into a squabble with this Fox. The Duke fearing injury to the Dog, interposed his Hand, and was bit. The Fox was mad, and died the next day. Several days after the poor Duke was seized with a Hydrophobia. [*In margin.*] He was Charles Lennox, fourth Duke of Richmond. See Dictionary of National Biography.

sell for 9*d* sterling a pound. This, if your Hogsheads weigh, as they ought to do, 1500 lb. nett will give you a clear £50 Sterling a Hogshead. This £50, Sterling, if you import your own Wines, Negro Clothing, etc. etc. will be more than equal to an £100 currency expended in our stores, besides the advantage of getting every thing of superiour Quality. This is the course your Father, I know, and my Father pursued, and in this course they prospered. Our National Pride indeed revolts, sometimes, at this *apparent* continuance of our old colonial dependance. But it is a senseless pride, for, after all "trahit suum quemque," and according to the Greek Proverb, "God made all men to assist, and be dependent on one another." * If the Peace of Europe continues for twenty years, or even for Ten, we shall see Wheat and Flour selling, from foreign countries, cheaper than our own in our own Markets. In some of my late English Reviews I see it stated *as a fact* that there are, even in England, at this time, twenty millions of Acres of waste land, capable of culture. Should these be inclosed and cultivated, and the vast saving of seed by the Drill Husbandry be adopted generally, and her corn laws be repealed, which the Landed Interest must submit to at last, that Country alone will be enabled to export grain of different kinds in great quantity. The average crops of wheat are stated at 32 Bushels, and the consumption of London at about 5,600,000 Bushels. If the population of this overgrown City, this Head too large for the Body, be rated at one million, or 1,200,000 souls, being a tenth nearly of the whole Population of England, Scotland and Wales, then 2 millions of that 20 millions of acres brought into cultivation would supply those three Countries, and enable them to export largely.† It is very clear to my vision that if we would prosper (I speak of our cismontane part of the State only) *we* must *stick* to our old Planting Staples, Corn and Tobacco.‡ Slave labor is notoriously the most expensive of all labor. It ought, therefore, to be applied to the culture of those Articles which are liable to the smallest loss. In Corn and Tobacco nothing is lost. We save all even to the storks and stems. But in wheat, particularly the bearded wheat, I am confident that, with me, not more than three fourths of it is saved. All the rest is lost in getting up, getting in, and getting out. Besides it makes Drunkards of all our people. When the Harvest commences and the Whiskey or Brandy begin to

* This sentiment is conveyed in one of the most beautiful Greek Hexameters whether sense or sound, morality or versification be considered, that ever was penned. Ἄλλου ἀαλλον ἔθηκε Θεὸς γ' ἐπιδευέα φωτῶν.

† What may not be expected from Poland, Sicily, France, and other parts of Europe, and even from Mediterranean Asia (Notolia) and from Africa, where wheat is made at 50 per cent less cost than here. [*In margin.*]

‡ In order to have 20 effectives we are obliged to feed, clothe and pay the Taxes of 40 or 50 non-effectives. [*In margin.*]

circulate, every body with us is *flustered.** The expense runs away with much of the Profit, and the little that remains hardly pays for the labor. Five or six Bushels for one are as much as we get from Corn fields; from Tobacco Lots not more than twenty to twenty five. The labor of farming too is much more severe than that of planting, whilst the Harvest lasts, and by no means so conducive to the Health of our Negroes, upon whose increase ("miserabile dictu!") our principal profit depends. Tobacco is not only an Antidote to Contagion but is to the poor negro a luxury. Under our old Corn and Tobacco system our Lands improved more than they do at present. We all kept more stock, and more plentiful tables than now. Our Tobacco Lots I admit, monopolized all our Manure. But our Corn fields by being cultivated only once in three years, and not "*put into wheat,*" afforded two constant Pastures, 3 when the corn was off, supported more numerous stocks and were kept in better Heart than now. Great stress might be laid upon the precariousness of the wheat crop and the greater certainty of Corn and Tobacco, upon the greater Capital, which few of us have, that Farming requires than Planting. Upon the wear and tear of Team and Gear and Geoponical instruments of every kind. Upon our burning sun, which, after the month of June, five years out of six, causes the clover and other Grasses † to crackle under our feet. Upon our scanty population of Whites, ‡ the universal and inevitable consequence of Negro Slavery. For who can live, comfortably, in a free country, would migrate into a slave one? We see no Foreigners of any note or mind coming to settle in Virginia. So long as Slavery exists we have no prospect of any change for the better. A regular system of progressive improvement in Agriculture is not to be expected, for our Lawgivers have clinched the nail which Slavery has driven. Under the groundless and *ludicrous* fear, as I conceive, of a landed Aristocracy, they have even deprived us of the Right to make our wills, as if property were the *Creature* of *Society*, instead of Society's being the *Creature* of *property*. Lands are divided and subdivided in China even to Acres. But yet Despotism and a *monied* Aristocracy prevail there instead of a landed one. Of the two, I am Virginian enough, "Lord of the soil" enough, to prefer the latter, if, as it seems, we must have the one or the other. Under the sanction of our State Constitution we boast of our *Freehold*, and of our *permanent* Interest in it. But the Laws have taken from it all permanency, and made it

* In this slave country serious mischiefs may grow out of this by and by. [*In margin.*]

† Every thing here this summer was burnt to a cinder, and even at this time our mill ponds are all very low. [*In margin.*]

‡ These it will be seen by the census next year, I suspect, do not increase "pari passu" with the Blacks, notwithstanding the numerous sales and migrations of the latter to the new Countries. [*In margin.*]

to shift and change with the Wind. In this state of things few will forego present enjoyment for future benefits which may or may not accrue to their own Posterity. Stability and the fair prospect of handing our landed Property down, from generation to generation, are the *only stimuli* to *permanent* improvement. These are taken away from us. The universal sentiment now is, with few exceptions, "It will last my time. If it remain in the family after me, let those who may hold it do the best they can with it, or sell it for what it will fetch, and migrate to the Westward." The consequence is that agriculture languishes, that all our antient Mansions in the lower Country are falling into Ruins, and those who have been accustomed to live in good Houses, unwilling to *sink* money on them *in the Country*, are flying to our Towns, where, if they build, they can sell again without much, if any, loss. Agriculture is thus left to overseers and negroes. The antient hospitality of this antient Dominion is dying away, our habits and our manners are changing, the virtuous simplicity and ingenuousness, by which the "prisca gens mortalium" was characterized, are vanishing before the ludicrous affectation, and fantastic Ostentation, which the "nova gens mortalium" is introducing into Fashion. Effeminacy and luxury and vanity and Folly, the common vices of all Towns, are creeping silently into the Country, and contaminating all classes of the Community. Our Agricultural Societies and agricultural Essays will avail us nothing so long as the present Fashion prevails, and this will continue until some radical change takes place in our "*Codification.*" Some change more congenial with the notions and wishes of the people on the subject of Landed Property, upon the stability and uncontrouled descent of which, from generation to generation, according to the free and unrestrained will of the Possessor, depends the *permanent* existence of liberty and happiness under every form of Government. For, after all, it is the landed property of every Country that makes and unmakes Governments; and when this property ceases to have *hereditary* stability, "Chaos is come again." When I use the word hereditary I use the language of Nature. The Land of our Fathers is that which we prize above all others.*

> "Beatus ille qui procul negotiis,
> Ut prisca gens mortalium,
> Paterna rura, bobus exercet suis."

But, under the present order of things, the predilection for the "natale solum" is wearing away, and with it the very foundation of Patriotism. Those who exclaim "It does not signify in whose Hands

* This is the language of Rousseau, whose "Social Contract" and "Considerations on the Government of Poland," are much quoted, little read, and still less digested by the Advocates of Liberty in these days. [*In margin.*]

the landed property is," are ignorant of human nature, or affect opinions, which, in their Hearts, they do not entertain. It does signify and much whether land be in the hands of those who are attached to it by a thousand infantile recollections and cordial feelings, or of those who only estimate it by the number of Dollars it cost, and are ever ready to part with it for a few more Dollars than they gave.* Who can doubt which of the two will make the best citizens? the truest Patriots? We hold our property of every kind, at this time, by a very precarious tenure. "If to mitigate the rigors of Slavery, to indulge the feelings of humanity," and to avoid as much as possible the perplexity and vexation which our negroes and overseers occasion to us, we invest our money in Banks and public Funds, we only seem "to fly from evils that we have to those we know not of." Upon this subject I have long wished to open myself to you, as I have done, in regard to the topics I have already touched on, (and on many others, for more than thirty years past,) always relying on your friendship to excuse my errors, or on your good sense to correct them. But, our Banks and public Funds, and general System of Finance require a separate and distinct letter, which I will *endeavor* to write to you shortly. In the meantime I beg you will do me the favor to present my respectful esteem to Mrs. Madison, and accept for yourself the long-standing, sincere and friendly regards of &c

FRANCIS CORBIN.

The Reeds, near White Chimmis Po: off:
Oct. 10th. 1819.[1]

* "Et patriam vendere auro." [*In margin.*]

[1] In "Writings of James Madison," III. 193, is a letter from Madison, apparently in reply to this one, but printed as being of date November 26, 1820.

MEMOIR

OF

WILLIAM PHINEAS UPHAM.

BY ROBERT S. RANTOUL.

WILLIAM PHINEAS UPHAM, for thirty years an active member of this Society, died at Newton, November 23, 1905, in his seventieth year. It is due to no lack of regard for his memory that the customary tribute has not been placed earlier upon our records. This the warm words from the President, when his death was announced, sufficiently attest. The duty of preparing a memorial of him was duly assigned, and most fitly, to our late associate, Mr. John Noble, who had been charged with supervising, as Clerk of the Courts, the important work which Mr. Upham undertook, in 1884, in behalf of the County of Suffolk and the Commonwealth. While my knowledge of his earlier career in Essex County was intimate, Mr. Noble's association with him covered the period of his later and more conspicuous service. But Mr. Noble died before the memoir was complete.

Mr. Upham was born at Salem, January 19, 1836. One of the last of a numerous family to succumb, most of them in childhood, to pulmonary disease, his career was a protracted struggle with his insidious foe. He owed the last years which were vouchsafed him to the devotion of a wife,[1] who, with two daughters, survives him. His was a most useful and exemplary life, and to those who enjoyed his intimacy, for he was a close friend, his memory is precious.

A turn for antiquarian research was in the blood. His father, Charles Wentworth Upham, a Harvard graduate of the Class of 1821, was for twenty years pastor of the historic First Church of Salem. Among many civic honors which he

[1] He had married, December 1, 1880, Cynthia Bailey Nourse, a lineal descendant of Rebecca Nourse, the witchcraft victim commemorated by Whittier.

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enjoyed were a seat in the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention of 1853, the presidency of our State Senate, and a seat in Congress. He had been mayor of Salem. But his bent was for literature and study. He had been the president of Harvard chapter Alpha of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, and of the older organization, the Institute of 1770, and later a copious contributor to various literary and historical publications. He was a lecturer before the Lowell Institute, and also in behalf of the Board of Education in an effort to commend to public favor the Common-School System. He became an early, constant, and valued promoter of the work of the Essex Institute when that body in its formative years craved every one's support. He was allied, as his middle name suggests, with the distinguished family of Wentworth, and was born at St. John, New Brunswick, of a stock since colonial times identified with Massachusetts. His father, Joshua Upham, a native of Brookfield, was a Harvard graduate of the Class of 1763, an attorney-at-law in Boston and in New York, and later a Justice of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick, from the organization of that Province. Six generations of New England deacons and Indian-fighting ancestors ranged themselves behind him.

Charles Wentworth Upham had become, in 1832, a member of this Society, to resign his seat twenty years later, and to resume it for life in 1867. He died, succeeded by his son, in 1875. His contributions to our publications and discussions were frequent and important. Doctor George E. Ellis, afterwards President of the Society, pronounced his eulogy at Salem and prepared his memoir; Vice-President Charles Francis Adams announced his death; President Robert C. Winthrop recalled his youth; and the resolutions passed bear "willing testimony to the usefulness of a long life spent in the performance of the duties to which he was called in Church and State, as well as in the paths of letters and historical investigation."[1] His chief works were his account, in two volumes, of the witchcraft delusion at Salem, and the three concluding volumes with which he supplemented Octavius Pickering's opening chapters of the life of Timothy Pickering.

The mother of the subject of this memoir was a daughter of Doctor Abiel Holmes, for forty years the venerated pastor

[1] 1 Proc., xiv. 103; xv. 182.

of the First Church at Cambridge, — a pioneer in American historical writing. He was a graduate of Yale, an honorary *Artium Magister* and overseer of Harvard, and for many years our Corresponding Secretary. His father had been a provincial captain in the French and Indian War. John Holmes, the great-grandfather of Doctor Abiel Holmes, had removed from Roxbury to become one of the earliest settlers of Woodstock, in Connecticut, and there Doctor Abiel Holmes, the annalist, was born. He had married, first, a daughter of Ezra Stiles, — an earlier and no less distinguished New England chronicler, diarist, historian, and scholar, "accounted, both at home and abroad, as the most learned and accomplished divine of the day in this country," the long-time president of Yale, and a Corresponding Member of this Society. The second wife of Doctor Abiel Holmes was Sarah, a daughter of Judge Oliver Wendell, — a pre-revolutionary Boston merchant, colonel, executive councillor, and judge of probate, — and she was the mother of his children. Anne Bradstreet, called in Mather's Magnalia "The Tenth Muse," — the daughter of one colonial governor and the wife of another, — was counted among the ancestry of Doctor Abiel Holmes, as well as of Judge Oliver Wendell, contributing of her gifts and graces to the common stock. Her descendant, Mrs. Upham, was no stranger to the graces of the pen. In 1861, she dedicated to the Salem Drill Club, in which one of her sons was leaving home for the front, a spirited ode, written to "Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled!" the refrain of which was, "Forward! Every Man!" This was well received, and showed once more that the lyric gift is not incompatible with the function of motherhood. Anne Bradstreet is credited with at least eight children. But, if Doctor Ellis is correct, Mrs. Upham was the mother of fifteen.

So that young Upham came, on either side, of the best New England blood. His father, his maternal grandfather, and in addition his two uncles, Oliver Wendell Holmes and John Holmes, were all associated, in one way or another, with this honorable body. His middle name, Phineas, which means "first-born," Mr. Upham derived from a Lieutenant Phineas Upham, — the first Upham born in New England, — who perished in 1675–76 in the Swamp Fight with the Narragansetts. The name recurs through all the generations.

When Mr. Upham was growing up, the family were living on the site of the home from which, in 1692, Bridget Bishop had been dragged forth to suffer death by process of law for her alleged complicity with the powers of evil. Just across the way was the site of the residence of that pastor of the First Church who denounced and excommunicated the accused, and opened with prayer the witchcraft trials. Mr. Upham's father, then in the same pulpit, was deeply immersed in examining the occult phenomena of witchcraft, and had already delivered, before the Salem Lyceum, a course of lectures on the engaging theme, afterwards developed, through two editions, into his standard, historical treatment of the terrible delusion. The young son's active fancy was not slow to enlist him in the local researches incident to his father's work. Probably no other scholar ever made himself so thoroughly familiar with the *situs* of the witchcraft frenzy, and the documents relating to it. When the final edition of 1867 reached the press, the critical examination of court records and of real-estate titles contributed by the son, and represented throughout the book by plans and maps and topographical statements, had become so salient a feature of the work as to make it felt by his friends that, but for the ties of blood, the generous acknowledgment made by the author would have been still more emphatic. An amusing incident, perhaps not wholly out of place even in a paper of this nature, shows the extent to which young Upham had, early in life, become imbued with the atmosphere of the paternal roof. I was sitting by the mother, at a Salem-Infantry dance in Hamilton Hall, during my law-school days, and I called her attention to the evident enjoyment which her son was deriving from the scene. "My dear sir," Mrs. Upham replied, "no one can imagine the relief I feel to see William show any interest in a woman who has been born since 1640!" Mr. Noble confirms this view, in writing of Mr. Upham just after his death. "I knew little," he says, "of his personal life. He never spoke of it, and though we were together all those twenty years, it was only his work on the Records that we talked about, — the doings of two centuries ago."

With such antecedents and with such hereditary leanings, young Upham was fitted for Cambridge in the excellent Salem schools of his day, passed through Harvard with credit, and took his bachelor's degree, in due course, in 1856, with

a class which counted in its membership the President of this Society, our late associate members, Stephen Salisbury and George Bigelow Chase, and such conspicuous citizens as George Dexter Robinson and Jeremiah Smith. While in college, Mr. Upham had taught a district school — a common practice of the time — in Canton for a winter or two. He read law in the Dane Law School for a year, and then in the Salem offices of David Roberts, a writer on admiralty law, afterwards mayor of Salem, and of William Gardner Choate, later a judge of the Federal District Court in New York City. Mr. Upham was admitted to the Bar in 1859, and opened offices successively in Danvers and in Salem, devoting himself mainly to practice in the Probate Court. From this time on, he was gaining a minute acquaintance with the ancient probate records of Essex County, thus unwittingly fitting himself, before undertaking his labors in the service of the Commonwealth, for the stupendous task of classifying and indexing the vast and ever-growing accumulations which congest our files.

If Mr. Upham was at all times without a stock of reserved strength upon which to draw, he made up for the lack of it by his nervous energy, his cheerful temper and his high spirits. I well remember an interview I had with his distinguished uncle, not long before his death. Doctor Holmes told me that he had but recently tested the nephew's physical condition, — that it was hopeless, and that he could not give him six months to live. But the nephew was found in his place with the group that gathered at the uncle's grave and outlived him by a dozen years. Says Mr. Noble, who watched with a discerning eye Mr. Upham's waning strength, "Nothing but his inflexible determination and his indomitable courage carried him through, sustained by the unremitting devotion of his wife. . . . Courage and pluck were marked characteristics from boyhood. His companions, from the early days, recall him as a leader and champion among them. His slight frame never excluded him from the ranks of the foremost."

The extinguishment of fires was not, before the Civil War, the purely mechanical process it has now become, but rather partook of the nature of a neighborly, social function, as had been still more the case in the century before 1750 when

the whole town, women and all, took a hand at a fire. Afterward select fire-clubs knitted together the best citizenship of the place, and pledged the best efforts of every club-man in behalf of his threatened neighbor. Fire-clubs originated with Franklin in Philadelphia in 1737. An account of a meeting, in 1768, of Harrison Gray's Boston Fire-Club, including such names as Lovell, Faneuil, and Boylston, enlivens a volume of this Society's Proceedings.[1] The Essex Institute has printed a monograph[2] on the early Fire-Clubs of Salem, — sixteen of them between 1783 and 1832. In it occurs this significant reference to Mr. Upham. In the disastrous Franklin building fire of October 21, 1860, the property of Mr. James Emerton, a member of the Naumkeag Fire-Club, "was greatly imperilled. . . . Mr. Emerton's store was occupied by some of the members of the Club until the fire was under control." The secretary of the club (in his official record) remarks: "extraordinary efforts in the duties belonging to the practised fireman were made by some of our members. On this occasion the efforts were well timed, judicious and effective. One instance of the cool bravery and energy of a young member, one who finds his Alma Mater in Old Harvard, may be particularized. He was on the roof . . . spreading sails and throwing buckets of water on them, and performing this duty with the same composure with which one would water a flower-garden." This young member was William P. Upham. The secretary, in another allusion to the incident, says, Mr. Upham and I "held the sails down on the roof for hours. It was plain that he was a much bolder fireman than I. It was a cold, drizzling rain-storm at the time." This incident in the life of a young man, in the frailest health, a stranger to rough work, is certainly noteworthy, and chimes in well with the grit he showed in later life when he would come toiling up my office stairs and meet my greeting with, "Don't you think I am doing pretty well to keep myself above ground all these years?"

Being advised that practical farming held out some hopes for the invigoration of his health, he secured a modest acreage in West Peabody, where he could live within easy reach of the Registry of Deeds and the Probate offices at Salem, and at the same time might, Antæus-like, keep in touch with Mother

[1] 2 Proc., x. 38. [2] Hist. Coll. Essex Institute, xxxix. 22, 23.

Earth, — might watch his growing crops and scent the new-mown hay, the breath of kine and the odors of the fresh-turned sod. Later it was felt that a drier, inland air might be more helpful still. It was then that he removed his residence to Newtonville, a ward of Newton, forming new business relations under our late associate, the Clerk of the Courts, — a scholar of life-long antiquarian tastes, and of approved judgment in historical research, — at that time much engaged, under the inspiring auspices of the late Chief-Justice Gray, himself an antiquary of no mean pretensions (as witness the learned note appended to volume IX. of Gray's Supreme-Court Reports), in bringing to light and properly arranging, transcribing, mounting and indexing the hidden treasures of the Court-House vaults.

Mr. Upham's contributions to the volumes of the Essex Institute, dating from 1863, speak for themselves. A mere catalogue of them is all that space will warrant, but the student of our local antiquities will ask no more. Beside these printed contributions, he devoted all his leisure to an endless variety of official work. It was said of his uncle, Doctor Holmes, that through most of his life he followed four laborious professions, either of which would have been burden enough for the common man. He was at once a voluminous writer, a ubiquitous lyceum lecturer, a busy family physician, and a working professor at the Medical School. Upham was doing, outside of his profession, during the first half of his mature years, an amount of exacting work which showed once more, if the demonstration were needed after Carlyle and Whittier, what a heavy load a feeble man can bear. Whatever no one else was at hand to do fell to him. During most of these early years the Institute was living from hand to mouth, wholly without funds, and resorting to personal solicitation to meet specific and imperative demands. In May, 1863, Mr. Upham became a member of the publication committee and also the curator of manuscripts, holding the latter position until his death, and for nineteen years he served as librarian.

Mr. Upham's first printed contribution was a memoir of General John Glover of Marblehead, prompted by the interest which his descendant, Benjamin Tyler Read, a classmate of the elder Upham, felt in his distinguished ancestor, and this

interest led to the erection of the statue of Glover which stands near the entrance of Commonwealth Avenue, in Boston. He early enlisted in the enterprise of publishing, in the Institute Bulletin, a critical account of the first houses built in Salem, — a series of four most valuable papers widely quoted and later reproduced. When Mr. Upham completed his transcription of the Town Records of Salem, covering the years from 1634 to 1659, — the first ever attempted, — it was at once put in print, and became volume IX. of the Institute's Historical Collections, and has been ever since in such demand that the book may generally be recognized on the shelf from its being either newly bound or without whole covers. So the White Murder Trial may be found, without recourse to the index, from the soiled and worn condition of the paper, in a Salem copy of Whipple's Collection of Webster's Great Speeches. His numerous communications indicate the trend of his thought and show what an indefatigable worker he was. Among them may be mentioned an account of the dedication of the Rebecca Nourse Monument, the erection of which was due to him;[1] the Beverly First Church Records, carefully copied by him, which appeared in six successive volumes of the Institute Collections; Craft's Journal of the Siege of Louisburg, with notes; Depositions relating to Philip English and the Witchcraft Delusion; a History of Stenography; an Account of the Dwelling-Houses of Francis Higginson, Samuel Skelton, Roger Williams and Hugh Peter; a Letter of Samuel Sewall, with a biographical sketch; Extracts from Letters[2] written at the time of the occupation of Boston by the British; a Memoir of General John Glover of Marblehead; Notes on the Report as to the authenticity of the First Meeting-House in Salem; Papers relating to the Reverend Samuel Skelton; Papers relating to a Suit, in 1664, between John Pickering and the owners of the

[1] The monument stands on the Nourse homestead estate in Danvers, and bears these lines, contributed by Whittier:

"O! Christian Martyr!
who for Truth could die,
When all about thee
owned the hideous Lie!
The world, redeemed
from Superstition's sway,
Is breathing freer
for thy sake to-day."

[2] Largely Wendell family letters.

"New Mill," now the "City Mills," in Salem; the Pedigree of the "Browne Family"; Records of the First Church at Salisbury, 1687–1805; Town Records of Salem, 1634–1659, carefully copied and annotated by him; "First Houses in Salem," printed in the Essex Institute Bulletin.

The estimate in which Mr. Upham was held by the Essex Institute is attested by the Memorial of its Board of Directors, recording "their appreciation of that devoted interest which he constantly displayed toward the Institute," and referring to his long and valuable aid freely given as Librarian to "Doctor Wheatland, in fostering the growth of a collection which has now become one of the largest and most important in the country," and to "his frequent contributions to the Historical Collections of the Institute," which "aided materially in placing them among the more important publications of the Learned Societies of the United States," and to "his punctilious exactness, his courtesy and his cheerful readiness to be of service at all times to the Society, and to his associates." A report of his doings as Curator of Manuscripts for forty-one years, which proved to be his last report, is printed in the proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Institute, in May, 1905.

Mr. Upham was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, of the Essex Institute, and of the American Library Association, a corresponding member of the Rhode Island Historical Society, and a life member of the American Historical Association. He never cared to extend his membership to other societies, though invited, saying that he could not attend to more. He was an honorary member of the Phi Beta Kappa, chapter Alpha, of Harvard University.

He was elected a Resident Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, November 11, 1875, and was a most interested and valued member to the end of his life. He was a member of the Committee to nominate officers in 1877, 1878, 1879 and 1880, and of the Committee on the Library and Cabinet in 1891.

His contributions were numerous and important, — sometimes of manuscripts and documents, sometimes of brief notes and references, sometimes of elaborate and exhaustive papers. To recount some of the titles will show their extent and variety; among them were heliotype copies of papers relating to

Major Robert Pike; Winthrop's chart of 1630, and his map of eastern Massachusetts; shorthand in Lawrence Hammond's Journal; Governor Leverett's instructions to Captain Daniel Henchman; shorthand in one of Jonathan Danforth's plans; the Suffolk Court Files; manuscripts in custody of the Boston Athenæum; the Canada expedition of 1747; book of copies of Edward Taylor; shorthand of Jonathan Edwards; works in the Library on shorthand; Memoir of John Glen King and Memoir of Henry Wheatland.

Before approaching what may well be accounted as Mr. Upham's life-work, and which fortunately Mr. Noble, before his illness, was able for the most part to describe in words so well chosen that it only remains for me to make them mine, let me dwell in some detail on Mr. Upham's labors in the records of Essex County, and on his life-long and very deep interest in the study and practice of shorthand writing, — an ancient art, just now galvanized into new life by the demand for rapid dictation created by modern type-writing machinery.

Mr. Upham's interest in stenography and its cognate branches was early enlisted, and lingered late. He printed his first paper on the subject in the Essex Institute Historical Collections for 1877, dealing briefly with the history of the art, and outlining a new method of phonetic shorthand devised by himself. Another paper followed in the Proceedings of the Historical Society for 1892, on shorthand in Hammond's Journal; a third, in 1894, on the shorthand of Jonathan Edwards. The series closed with the last communication he laid before this Society, in which, in November, 1902, he reviewed all the works on the subject to be found on our shelves.

It appears that his great-grandmother Holmes used some system of shorthand, that she sat under the preaching of Doctor Dwight, and that she reported his sermons, — the first woman-stenographer on record in New England. It appears that Governor Endecott used a shorthand method of his own in his court records, and elsewhere, and Governor Bradstreet reported the witchcraft trials in shorthand. The Salem town-clerk, Ralph Fogg, and the parson of Salem Village, the Reverend Samuel Parris, both used shorthand. It was a rather common accomplishment with people of quality in those days, but each writer seems to have indulged himself in a system of his own. Some five hundred methods, in all, have been cata-

logued. Since A. D. 1300, the use of systems of one sort or another has been common in England, and the general employment, both in England and America, of shorthand in making court, legislative and parliamentary reports and in business and personal correspondence, has quite vindicated the claim it makes to economic value. It is commended as "swift, secret and a key to strange tongues." It has its history, its literature, its cult, its high-priests and its organs. Undoubted reference to Greek systems is found as early as A. D. 195. Xenophon is thought to have reported Socrates in shorthand. Pepys's Diary was written in shorthand. Fifty-four editions of Metcalfe's System of Shorthand had appeared before 1700. If, as is generally supposed, shorthand was in common use in Shakespeare's day, that fact would go far to account for the varied readings of his text. Parliament was panic-stricken when it was first proposed to print *verbatim* reports of what was said in its halls; but the right of reporting its debates in shorthand has not been questioned since 1802. England supports shorthand weekly journals and monthly periodicals, read by from thirty-five to fifty thousand persons. Knighthood was conferred, in 1894, on Sir Isaac Pitman, for his system, which has been taught to ninety-one thousand students in England, and has been adopted as the text book for the schools of New York. From the systems in use until the eleventh century, supposed to have been developed from the Greek by Cicero's centenarian freedman and biographer, Tiro, down through the eight or nine hundred modern systems, the art has stood its ground and retained its votaries. The British Museum shows some of Tiro's tablets.

The Boston Organ of Stenography spoke thus of Upham's work in its sketch of him, "In his death the shorthand profession, and particularly those who are interested in the history and literature of shorthand, have suffered an irreparable loss." And the Federal Bureau of Education, in its report of 1884, names, in its catalogue of recognized systems of shorthand, the work of Upham. Of course all this life-long study of the theory and practice of phonetics, the fruit of which must for the most part perish with him, stood him in good stead when the time came for him to decipher manuscripts of the colonial period which had before his day defied interpretation. When our associate, Ford, in 1902, found

himself unable to interpret the Cotton manuscript, he turned in his need, he says, "to Mr. Upham, — to the one man who is so entirely able as to leave no doubt of the correctness of his reading."

Essex is the maritime county of Massachusetts. One hundred miles of the county's outline — about two thirds of the entire boundary — are washed by tide-water. It has five good harbors, and a score of off-shore islands held by every sort of title. Moreover, the lordly Merrimac skirts its northern frontier for thirty miles, with the incidents of town-landings, and rights of ferryage, and ancient mill-rights attaching to it and to its tributary streams. The county, too, has its fair share of the "Great Ponds" of the Commonwealth, with all their closely guarded rights of fishing, ice-cutting, boating and bathing. In tracing these intricate riparian and littoral rights, many of them relating back to the earliest grants, — rights to clam-fisheries and fresh-water fisheries and tide-mill privileges, and ship-building privileges, with beach-rights to the gathering of kelp and eel-grass and to the husbanding of the soil of mussel-beds and clam-flats, and rights of water-supply, these last vital to the dozen cities and large towns of the county, all often drawn into litigation, — no county affords a more constant field for the antiquary who is also a lawyer. In this field the average practitioner is none too well equipped. And here town and county officers and, at last, the Commonwealth, found themselves inclined to turn to Mr. Upham.

Mr. Upham's specific services to the County of Essex were threefold. Between 1859 and 1884 he revised the Probate indexes for the two centuries embraced between the years 1638 and 1840, grouping surnames alphabetically in consecutive volumes covering convenient periods of years, — the given names under each surname being arranged alphabetically also, — and introducing a system which took root and has survived. During these twenty-five years he made the first revised index of grantors and grantees in the Essex Registry of Deeds, covering the years from 1820 to 1855. Before this, deeds were indexed in the order in which they were received for record. His system was adopted and ultimately extended through the earlier and the later years. And before 1869 he completed, for the County Commissioners of Essex, the mounting of sixteen folio volumes of the early Court Files

of the County. The extent to which all succeeding practitioners at the bar are laid under obligations by this rare demonstration of patience, energy and skill is best appreciated by those conveyancers who had occasion to look up Essex County land-titles and probate records before 1860.

For the last twenty years of his life Mr. Upham was engaged in the office of the Clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court for Suffolk County, in work upon what have been designated as the "Early Court Files," — a term covering a vast agglomeration of papers which embrace not only the files of the highest courts of the Colony, the Province, and the Commonwealth before 1800, but also papers relating to other courts of the Colony and of the Province, as well as both originals and certified copies of records, documents and matter of various sorts which had been used in, or come into the possession and custody of, the Court of Assistants and the Superior Court of Judicature. This is not the place to attempt to describe them. An exhaustive description of them, with some account of the history of this unique mass and of the whole matter, from the pen of Mr. Noble, may be found in the Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts (III. 317). The manuscripts were in bad condition, scattered about in many places, exposed to depredations of all kinds and to ultimate loss. Some of them were in almost the last stages of decay. Chief-Justice Gray had long been specially interested in them, and anxious that measures should be taken for their rescue, collection, lodgment in security, and arrangement for convenient reference and use.

Between 1875 and 1880, efforts were made, by the Chief-Justice and the State in conjunction, to carry out this purpose, but delays of various kinds occurred; and it was only after Judge Gray was on the Bench of the Supreme Court of the United States that the object was attained. In October, 1883, an order passed by the Board of Aldermen of Boston, acting as County Commissioners, and approved by the Mayor, provided "that the Clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court of Suffolk be authorized to arrange conveniently for examination and reference the Early Files in Suffolk County." An appropriation was made and the Clerk was further authorized to "employ such assistance as will be required." An order of the Supreme Judicial Court, through its then Chief-Justice Morton, was

made, providing that its Clerk "in pursuance and furtherance of the order of the Board of Aldermen . . . be directed to remove all the Court Files and papers wheresoever the same may be . . . to such room in the Court House as he may be authorized to take for the purpose of carrying out and executing said Order; and to take all necessary and appropriate measures therefor." A room in the Court House was secured, and the papers brought together from their various places of deposit. Their volume could only be estimated roughly in terms of cubic bulk. A general plan of operations was agreed upon, and a fit person was to be found to take charge of the immediate details of repairing, reducing to order and mounting this heterogeneous mass. Mr. Upham, from his success in dealing with the sixteen volumes of Essex court manuscripts, seemed to be marked out for this work, and his services were secured. In December, 1883, he approached the task with a single expert assistant. His force was gradually increased until it numbered twelve. The papers were first arranged by centuries, then by decades, and finally by their exact dates. Then papers belonging to the same case, or relating to the same subject-matter, which had been scattered in many groups, were brought into their normal relation. Many papers were badly mutilated, and the missing fragments, as far as possible, had to be found and put in place. Often they were crumbling to pieces and so frail that the utmost dexterity and delicacy of handling were called for. Some were caked into solid paper bricks, to be separated only by the use of solvents and by patient manipulation. Extreme care and skill were everywhere demanded.

It is a matter of deep regret, Mr. Noble feelingly remarks, that Mr. Upham could not have lived to see the consummation of an undertaking that was, in its way, stupendous. For the service demanded of him qualifications which are very exceptional, — a patience that never failed, an industry that never flagged, systematic methods and habits never intermitted, high standards of execution, broad and exact knowledge of colonial and provincial history, and a ready familiarity with all that had been written concerning it. His fitness had been recognized by his classmate, Governor Robinson, in naming him on a commission to systematize the State Archives. He entered upon the service with an enthusiasm that would have

sustained him to the end had not the time come when shattered health compelled him to pause and finally to stop.

The work upon the collection of "Early Court Files," so called, had gone on without interruption for more than twenty-three years. When finished, the collection will contain — this is Mr. Noble's estimate — over one hundred and twenty-five thousand, possibly two hundred thousand, separate cases or matters, some including but a single paper, some fifty and upward, and a few from one hundred to one hundred and fifty. The whole number of individual papers will exceed a million. When Mr. Noble died, some twelve hundred and fifty large folio volumes were already on the shelves, and probably there will be, in the end, nearly or quite fifteen hundred.

Other work of a like nature was going on during these years in the Clerk's office. It was proposed to transcribe, print and distribute the records of the Courts held between 1630 and 1692 by the Governor and Assistants, this being the highest judicial tribunal sitting in the Colony from the time of the settlement to the date of the provincial charter. Of these records there is extant a single complete volume, bound in vellum, — mostly in Rawson's handwriting, and well preserved, — which covers the dates between 1673 and 1692. This completes the line of records of the highest court from 1673, through the Colony, the Province and the Commonwealth, to the present day. Scattered records are found in the State Archives and elsewhere, but they are incomplete, and when they have been reprinted they have been unsatisfactorily transcribed. The object was to produce a consecutive, reliable account of the doings of our highest court from the beginning. In pursuance of this design, the files not only of Suffolk but of Essex and Middlesex as well, and, in fact, of the record offices of the Commonwealth and of the older States of the Union, were ransacked, that nothing might escape notice which could contribute to so rare a consummation. It was found advisable to begin the publication with the volume in the Clerk's office covering the period between 1673 and 1692, though this was the latest and not the earliest period to be covered by the research.

This had been a long desired object. The volume was too valuable and too frail to be subjected to ordinary handling, and was in fact a sealed book to all not versed in archaic penmanship. A copy accordingly had been made by an expert

some years before. This was placed in the hands of the printer, and at this stage of the work the services of Mr. Upham were secured, to read the proof, to see the galleys through the press and to assist in other ways. Much new type was required for special characters, and here Mr. Upham's experience and taste were in requisition. While the printing was going on, material for filling the gaps was collecting. Everything outside Massachusetts in record offices and elsewhere had already been secured. The second volume, to cover the years from 1630 to 1643–44, was begun. Mr. Upham verified the copy by the manuscripts in the State Archives and by the Barlow copy, and it was made an exact reproduction so far as manuscript may be reproduced in print. This had been the aim throughout. Many liberties had been taken in making the reprint in the Massachusetts Colony Records. Every faulty reading and error was now corrected, and absolute accuracy in every point is believed to have been secured in these Records of the Court of Assistants.

Two volumes have been issued, I. in 1901 and II. in 1904. At the time of Mr. Upham's death nearly a fourth of volume III. was in plate and some further pages were in proof.

It was in his work on these volumes that Mr. Upham took especial pride, as it gave full play to his rare qualifications. His knowledge of early colonial history, his antiquarian tastes and his untiring research were of a unique value. The merest fragment of a record was suggestive, and there was at once a recognition of what it represented or bore upon, and where something might be found to explain and illustrate it.

"But for his faithful and invaluable services throughout the more than twenty years we worked together," says Mr. Noble in closing, "the perfection of accomplishment which he aimed at, in the details of all this work, would have been impossible. Here was the almost entire occupation of these years of his life, and he regarded the result as his best monument of labor and achievement. For that reason so much space has been here given to an account of it, and for the further reason that nothing illustrates better his habits of mind, his methods of work, his skill and knowledge in his chosen field, and in so many ways the leading characteristics of the man."

FEBRUARY MEETING

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 10th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the senior Vice-President, SAMUEL A. GREEN, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian read the list of donors to the Library during the last month.

The Vice-President, for the Corresponding Secretary, reported the receipt of a letter from Samuel W. McCall, of Winchester, accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society.

He also reported that the Council has accepted the deposit of the Knox Papers of the New England Historic Genealogical Society on the conditions contained in a vote of the Council of that Society on February 2, 1910.

Announcement was made of the gift to the Society by Archibald Murray Howe, of Cambridge, of the papers of James Murray and Thomas Aston Coffin, loyalists, to be known as the "James Murray Robbins" collection. The letter of gift follows:

BOSTON, February 2, 1910.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Esq.,
President of Massachusetts Historical Society.

MY DEAR SIR, — I take pleasure in giving to the Society a collection of manuscripts of the Murray family and its connections.

Their history is told in the preface of "Letters of James Murray, Loyalist," edited by Nina Moore Tiffany and Susan I. Lésley, printed in 1901.

Believing that they will be better safe-guarded and more accessible to historical students in the Historical Society than in private hands, I give them, with the understanding that they are to be freely used by any person honestly interested in historical research.

It is my wish that this collection shall be known as the "James Murray Robbins" collection.

I hope in the future to add to it manuscripts still in the possession of heirs of Mr. Robbins, who was a member of your Society.[1]

Very sincerely yours,

ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE.

Governor LONG reported for the Committee appointed by the Council at the last meeting to oppose the change of the name of Dudley Square to Hale Square, that they had presented a remonstrance on the subject to the Mayor, and that the Board of Aldermen had declined to make the change.

Dr. John Collins Warren, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, and Edward Doubleday Harris, of New York, a Corresponding Member.

Governor LONG presented a memoir of James Madison Barker, and Mr. STANWOOD one of Egbert Coffin Smyth.

Mr. Mead read, for Professor HART, who was unable to be present, the following account of the recent celebration at Geneva of the four-hundredth anniversary of the birth of John Calvin, which he, and Mr. Mead also, attended as delegates of the Society:

THE QUATER-CENTENARY FESTIVITIES AT GENEVA.

To the world at large Geneva seems a place of peace: it lies in a smiling region, far from such centres of turmoil as St. Petersburg, Barcelona and Pittsburg; it was the seat of the famous Geneva Arbitration of 1872; the Geneva Convention is a landmark in the history of neutrality. Nevertheless Geneva is and has been for centuries a centre of strife and contention. Right here Cæsar and the Gauls began that contest which was intended to furnish a beginner's Latin text for later school-boys. Here Farel and Calvin planted the standard of reform and set up an independent Protestant state. Here their loving neighbor and former lord, the Duke of Savoy, watched his chance and, in 1602, by the Escalade came near extinguishing this torch of modernism. The whole history of Geneva is seasoned with strife. Among her children were Necker, the financier, Madame de Staël, Rousseau and Albert Gallatin, — none of them exactly peacemakers; and Voltaire was a near neighbor.

[1] 2 Proc., III. 206.

To this day these ancient feuds are unextinguished. Of late years this independent and Protestant stronghold has been invaded by people from the French territory which nearly surrounds the city; and there is a distinct rivalry between the native and the immigrant elements, though as in Boston the new-comers take on more or less of the spirit of the place. There are more Catholics than Protestants in the "State," — that is, the city and surrounding country districts; and the two confessions clash in the city government and in social life. Nevertheless the Protestant influence is still dominant; a great Salle de la Reformation has been built as a centre of Protestantism; and the recognized protagonist of Geneva, whether looked upon as saint or as iconoclast, is still John Calvin.

In the week of festivities in July, 1909, it was found expedient to disentangle the threads of state policy so that the celebrations of the two institutions of public education should not commit the state to approval of Calvin and all his works. With some difficulty a movement was headed off for a Servetus celebration to be held in the same streets and at the same time as the Calvin function. For there is in Geneva a Servetus cult, principally by free-thinkers who erroneously adopt him as an exponent of protest against all religion. Fortunately the city fathers saw too many explosive elements in this hand-to-hand revival of a controversy four centuries old. As eventually arranged, the festival week included four celebrations, — the Church, the College, the Calvin Memorial, and the University, with the addendum of the Historical Pageant. All these events were interlaced and subdivided. But out of the diversity came the unity of a big good time.

Geneva is what is called in America a convention city: in twelve months twenty-six international bodies of various kinds are said to have met there. Abundant and good hotels, a central situation, and beautiful surroundings make the city a place of world pilgrimage. For this occasion extra preparations were made, beginning some three years ago. Each delegate received a packet on reaching his hotel, containing a literature of information: the *Schola Genevensis*, an account of the College; *Les Jubilées de Genève*, which is a whole illustrated magazine, including portraits of distinguished delegates; little booklets such as *Au Pays de Genève*, with lively colored prints; a *Petit*

Guide Pratique; a set of special stamps; even a pamphlet on Esperanto, which might be expected where Professor Ostwald was a delegate.

Most elaborate preparations were made also for the social pleasure of the guests. Each of the delegates was assigned to a hotel, the bills to be "on the house." The State of Geneva gave a banquet. The University was the centre and seat of a great part of the festivities; and the most bountiful private hospitality was afforded. The Genevese are canny people; and a resident Englishman asserts that one day he saw a woman knocked down by an automobile in the streets; she was unconscious. "Is she Genevese?" he asked; being assured that she was, he put into her hand a five-franc piece; the fist closed, the case was proved thus not to be critical. Perhaps it is the watchfulness of ancestors for five-franc pieces that makes possible the unstinted and generous hospitality of the present. The wealthy Genevese make little show in their own living, but on public occasions they throw open their beautiful town houses and country villas. Dinners and garden parties follow each other, and boats are chartered at the expense of individuals, which carry hundreds of people at a time on long lake trips. Special provision was made for the ladies while their husbands were attending state dinners and other masculine duties. The only thing that the authors of the fêtes did not seem to include was a useful preliminary smoker with opportunities for easy acquaintance and intercourse among delegates.

All these preparations and expectations were conditioned by the weather. The report ran that certain fervent Catholics had for forty days been praying that it might rain; whether for that cause or some other, the week was consistently rainy, — some people came to Geneva and went away without once seeing the sun. Still there were dry intervals, and the old city with its steep roofs and twin cathedral towers is picturesque in all weathers.

First of the series was the celebration of the founding of Calvin's church. Geneva is the place to learn the intricacies of the Protestant revolution. Though Luther seemed to the prelates of his time a destroyer, the Lutheran Church, like the English, retained much of the doctrine and some of the forms of the parent church. The Reformed Church, of which

Calvin was the apostle, was a much wider departure, included principles of freedom which ultimately led to free civil government, and was often at odds with the Lutherans. There must have been a magic foment in religious principles which could arouse people so diverse as the Scotch, the English Independents, the Dutch, the French, the Western Germans, and the New Englanders. The wide spread of Calvinistic doctrine and philosophy was shown by the number of delegates, — not only from the countries mentioned, but from South Africa, and from Hungary, from which four million Calvinists sent a hundred delegates to Geneva. Naturally they are the most orthodox and militant of Protestants, the most eager to proclaim their principles.

The proceedings formally opened on Saturday evening, July 3, with a cantata, *Post Tenebras Lux*, sung in the ancient cathedral of St. Pierre. To those, like the relator, who found seats only underneath the chorus, it was less striking than it might otherwise have been; the chief feature was the introduction of the splendid Genevese psalm tunes of the Calvin period.

Monday was the day for the "College," which is of course the college in the French sense, a boys' secondary school, founded in 1559, and ever since in operation. It holds in Swiss Geneva the historic position of the Boston Latin School in the Geneva of America. What we saw was chiefly processions of students and former students, after a dinner set for two thousand people. To the American visitors the best part of the day was the reception by the American minister, Mr. Clay. Like his predecessor, Mr. Hill, now Ambassador to Germany, who was a specially invited guest during the festal week, the American representative lives at Geneva, about three hours by rail from the capital, Berne.

Tuesday was the great day of the Church celebration. A service was held at the church of St. Gervinus, a centre of reform in the old days, and embellished with a spirited modern window representing the Escalade, in which aquiline Puritans thrust down to perdition the fierce papist soldiers of the Duke. Addresses were made in various languages, chiefly French; and the Court Preacher of Berlin read a telegram of congratulation and good will from the Theodore of Germany, His Majesty, Wilhelm II. No pious occasion is any longer

complete without such a telegram. On Wednesday, notwithstanding the displeasure of the heavens, two steamer loads of people went the length of the lake; and in the Castle of Chillon was produced the biblical drama of Abraham and Isaac, written by Theodore de Bèze, colleague of Calvin. As an exchange of ideas, as a means of mutual acquaintance, as a rallying point for the unity of Protestantism, the Church Congress was a great success.

In many ways the most striking of all the festivities was the Calvin memorial, which not only threw up in relief the only figure of the Reformation who squarely stands alongside Luther as a world-power, but brought out a side of Calvin overlooked by the modern world. The key-note was struck in the remarkable address at St. Pierre by M. Doumergue, historian of Calvin. It was an inspiriting moment when he appealed to the rafters of the church to reverberate, "For Calvin was here," said he; and the address was to a large degree made up of extracts from sermons delivered by Calvin from the very pulpit in which the speaker stood. His object was to show, from Calvin's own utterances, the intensely human side of the man, his appeals to common illustratives, his use of colloquial and even slang phrases, his homely similitudes, — "Like a child that does n't know enough to blow his nose — comme l'on dit."

This view of Calvin as a man, with a man's friendships, prejudices and experiences, is the present Genevesan view. The leaders of that city repudiate the picture of Calvin as a fanatic or a gloomy theologian, or a prelate on a pinnacle — they emphasize his power and insight as a leader of men, as the resourceful head of a state which he made a great power in Christendom. For this man they chose on the four-hundredth anniversary of the summit of his influence to lay the corner stone of an "International Monument of the Reformation at Geneva," in which he shall appear as one of a group of men who took part in that marvellous work. For several years they have been accumulating funds; and upon a spirited competition they selected a unique and beautiful design. At the foot of the old ramparts of the city they are to build a granite wall, standing out from which shall be statues of the four principal figures in the Genevesan movement, — Calvin, Farel, Bèze and John Knox. Six other

statues will flank the main group — Coligny, William the Silent, the Great Elector of Brandenburg, Oliver Cromwell, Bocskay the Hungarian prince, and Roger Williams. The originality and beauty of this competition won the unanimous approval of a jury of experts; and it appeals to all the churches which have participated in Calvinism. Of the sum of 400,000 or 500,000 francs necessary, about a third is in hand. America has not yet come up to her opportunities in subscriptions, perhaps because some people think John Winthrop a better representative of American Calvinism than the Salem minister who disagreed with Winthrop, and was the first founder of a commonwealth to proclaim religious toleration as a principle of government. Of this beautiful structure there exists at present only a tablet in the wall, unveiled in a solemn session in the open air, — the main event in the Monument festivities.

The fourth celebration and the most picturesque was the four-hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the University of Geneva, to which nearly three hundred sister universities accredited delegates. Beside banquets and receptions and garden parties, there were two grand functions. The first on Thursday was the reception of delegates in the Cathedral of St. Pierre. A procession formed in the rain at the University and solemnly marched up the hill to the cathedral, to a great crowd of admirers displaying a rare variety and splendor of academic costume. The scarlet and crimson and lavender robes of the English and Scotch, the parti-colored doctors' hoods of America, paled before the massive gold chains of the German rectors, the Franz-Hals ruffs of the Dane, the ermine of the Austrians, the blue parasol-hats of the Portuguese with a circle of pendent tassels, the green embroidered court suits of the members of the French Academy. Places were assigned by nations; as each country was called, all its delegates marched up to the platform in a body; each university was then called in turn, and its delegate presented a written address, — adding a few words if he felt inclined, in any language that came handy. Meanwhile the representatives of the student corps and burschenschafts made a background by a multitude of brilliantly colored banners, and stood about holding enormous ox-horns adorned with flowers.

On Friday was held the degree session, at Victoria Hall, a beautiful auditorium. The University of Geneva has not been in the habit of conferring numerous honorary degrees, — in fact, had saved up its strength for this occasion. The result was a batch of a hundred and fifty at once, which were announced without calling up the person, if present, so that the audience lost the pleasure of recognizing the distinguished men as they were named.

Ten of the plums fell into the laps of Americans — beside one to Ostwald, who is by adoption a Harvard man: William R. Smith (M.A.), Jacques Loeb of California (M.D.), James Mark Baldwin of Columbia (S.D.), William James (S.D.), Herbert D. Foster of Dartmouth (Litt.D.), Henry van Dyke (LL.D.), John Martin Vincent of Johns Hopkins (LL.D.), Williston Walker of Yale (D.D.). On Curtis Guild, who was present, and one evening made a good speech in good French, was also bestowed an honorary S.T.D., apparently under the impression that so good a man must be a parson.[1]

Saturday afternoon came the Historical Pageant, for which months of preparation had been made, and in which marched twelve hundred people and three hundred horses. Notwithstanding the rain it was a fine show — including the simulacra of numbers of noble and royal students who had sometime attended the University. The most popular character was, of course, the executioner, in official black with "the huge two-handed engine at the door." That evening the final touch was given by a great "Commers," which included many novelties, such as ladies at the tables sharing the public beer, singing by a Russian choir, and a boxing match.

The bad weather made little difference with the indoor sessions; and the four festivals were all highly successful. The speech-making, of which there was abundance, was less witty and more infused with conventional French general phrases than might be expected. Count Haussonville, descendant of Madame de Staël, was the only really eloquent man, except Doumergue, and some of the foreign church representatives. But it was all well sustained. Considering such long preparation, such persistence in a difficult enterprise by a small community, one can understand how Geneva came to be such a power in the world.

[1] Professor Hart received the degree of Litt.D. — Ed.

Mr. Bradford spoke at length on the recent political contest in Great Britain, drawing from it some illustrations of changes in the organization of governments.

Mr. Sanborn read the following paper:

William Ellery Channing and John Brown.

I present to the Historical Society today a little volume which, though printed four and twenty years ago, was never published nor sold, and is as much unknown today as if it had never been issued from the Boston press. It is the short poem of William Ellery Channing, my neighbor and for ten years my house-mate, on my old friend John Brown, of Kansas and Virginia. Ellery Channing was the only professional poet I have ever known; answering in these modern days to the Homeric rhapsodist, the Irish or Welsh bard, or the minstrel of the middle ages. Like most of those traditional persons, his work is little known, and probably always will be. He made his appeal in youth to the mass of readers, and there was no response; his verses were quoted in the books of others, but seldom read in his own volumes, which lay unbought on the bookseller's shelf, and hardly found their way even into libraries.

When I was first in London, in the summer of 1890, and was received at the British Museum with generous hospitality by the late Dr. Richard Garnett, then the Keeper of Printed Books, I was pleased to find that he had gathered into that great collection more volumes of Channing's verse than could then be found in any New England library, except that in Concord, and perhaps the Boston Athenæum. Dr. Garnett made a specialty of collecting the books of the Concord authors, and had a taste for first editions. At that time he lacked two rare books, the first edition of Hawthorne's "Fanshawe" and that of Emerson's "Nature," and he communicated to me his wish to acquire them for the Museum Library. He said he felt authorized to offer for "Nature" in the edition of 1836, seven pounds sterling. I told him I had a friend in New England (the late Marston Watson of Plymouth) who had two copies, and would part with one, I thought. I put Dr. Garnett in communication with him, and I think he paid Mr. Watson five pounds for the thin volume. At the very time our con-

versation occurred, the London bookseller, Quaritch, was advertising a copy of Emerson's "Nature" for seven shillings, which Dr. Garnett would have paid twenty times as much for. Quaritch's copy was bought by an American, Dr. S. A. Jones, of Ann Arbor, and got as far on its way to him as to New York City, where somebody stole it from the post office, and it never reached Michigan. "Fanshawe" at that time was held at a price beyond the Museum's rate, — I think for some five hundred dollars a copy; and whether Dr. Garnett ever bought the book I cannot say.

Ellery Channing began to write good verse at fourteen or earlier, and he continued to write it after he was eighty. He also wrote much bad verse, and seldom seemed capable of distinguishing between a good verse and a bad one. His first poem was sent by his father, Dr. Walter Channing of Boston, or by some admiring friend, to be printed in the *old* "New England Magazine," in 1835, and came out before the poet was seventeen years old, in October, 1835, — a fanciful octosyllabic piece called "The Spider." Emerson printed several pages of Channing's poems in "The Dial" from 1840 to 1844, some of which appeared in his first volume of "Poems," in 1843, printed at the cost of Channing's intimate friend, the late Samuel Gray Ward, then of Boston. He published himself several poems in the "New York Tribune," which he helped Horace Greeley edit in 1844–45; and he issued a second series of them in a volume in 1847, another volume in 1849, and two long blank-verse poems, — "Near Home" in 1858, and "The Wanderer" in 1871. The public manifested more interest in these, but bought few of the copies; so that by 1855, when I made this poet's acquaintance, he had come to regard himself as unable to win public attention in verse. Yet he kept on writing it, and made himself, as indeed he had done from 1841, the laureate of his intimate friends. Poems of his, celebrating Emerson, Hawthorne, Thoreau, Elizabeth Hoar, Caroline Sturgis, Marston Watson, Bronson Alcott, Daniel Ricketson, Fanny McGregor, and other friends, were printed by him from time to time; sometimes without notifying the subjects of his verse that he had done them that honor. Thus at my marriage in 1862 he sent to the "Commonwealth" newspaper, which my friend Moncure Conway was then editing, an "Epithalamium" of which I long afterwards found

that I was the subject. He addressed me another poem in 1866, upon a birthday, and did not then conceal the fact that he was the writer. I found on his table after his death in December, 1901, a copy of verses addressed to the infant daughter of one of his young friends; which must have been written after he was eighty, since the child was not born at his eighty-first birthday.

The volume which I present today contains two poems in blank verse, both in honor of John Brown. The shorter one was written to make a part of Rev. Samuel Orcutt's "History of Torrington," where Brown was born, — the same volume for which I wrote a brief life of Brown. It was published in 1878, and I found among the correspondence of Channing, left to me at his death, some letters of Mr. Orcutt, while the verses were printing, which show that editor's high appreciation of the verses. Mr. Orcutt had before published a "History of Wolcott" in Connecticut, where Mr. Alcott was born, six months before Brown was born at Torrington; and for this volume Channing had written verses in honor of Louisa Alcott and her father; and I had written sketches of their lives up to 1873. Both the verses and the biography for the Torrington volume were written in 1877, and the book seems to have gained some favor in consequence of their presence among its pages. Writing to Channing in February, 1877, Mr. Orcutt said, "I am now at work completing the 'History of Torrington,' the birthplace of John Brown, and am nearly ready for your poem." A year later, having received and printed the verses, he wrote:

> Please don't think I have forgotten you, or that I am ungrateful for your very appropriate and interesting lines on the burial of John Brown in my history of the town of Torrington. The John Brown Memorial, and the poem on his burial, add very greatly to the work. I was at first frightened at the great cost of the printing, but a better sale than I expected, during the few days they have been out, has quieted my nerves a little. [March 16, 1878.]

> Your very kind letter afforded me peculiar comfort of mind, for at that time I was in doubt as to the success of my book. Therefore such cheering words were well appreciated. It is quite certain now that the work is a success in all respects; and will give me pleasure as well as many others. The space occupied in it by John Brown is a joy to me

always, and a great honor to the book. For your continued consideration, and generous expressions of interest, I shall ever be grateful. [April 11, 1878.]

Soon after the printing of the shorter of these two poems in Mr. Orcutt's history, as mentioned, I received the following note from its author, in lieu of a visit he was in the habit of making me every week:

CONCORD, Thursday, Feb'y 7, 1878.

DEAR SIR, — Do you think the poem I sent you yesterday would be taken by either of the magazines, under the circumstance of its publishing elsewhere, in a local book without circulation? As I have not parted with my property in this piece, I do not think Mr. Orcutt would object to its being printed elsewhere, as it would do for an advertisement. It is, to be sure, not favorable to the South, but it would make a good poem to illustrate. Of course it would be stated whence it came, i. e. the "History of Torrington." As Mr. Orcutt's book will have no general circulation, and as I get nothing for my work, I should be glad to have my contribution to the memory of "our greatest hero" get at least *some kind* of publishment.

If you think anything of the kind can be done, please send forward the poem without delay. Truly yours,

W. E. C.

It was not feasible, as magazines are in the present age of the world, to get the verses into a monthly, although in 1873–78 Mr. Channing had some slight access to the magazines for his verse and prose.

The dramatic poem had a different history. It was not written for any special use, nor submitted to any bookseller before publication. It may have been written years before, but seems not to have been communicated to any friend, either before or after printing. He had produced an earlier poem, "Near Home," in this same quiet way, before printing; but when it was once in type he brought copies of that to his Concord friends, — to Emerson, Thoreau and myself, — he at the time being a resident of New Bedford, where he was editing the daily "Mercury." But in 1886 Emerson and Thoreau were dead, Alcott was stricken with paralysis, and his later friends, Dr. W. T. Harris and Mr. Emery, and the unknown Connecticut poet Treadwell — all now dead — do not seem to have been consulted. Mrs. Waldo Emerson, to whom the

dramatic poem is dedicated, no doubt received a copy; and as the second poem is inscribed to me, it is probable that I had one; but that I cannot recall. When, in the autumn of 1891, Mr. Channing came in a very feeble state of health, to reside with me and be cared for, I soon persuaded him to sell his own house, which had been built by Samuel Hoar (father of the Judge and Senator), by Colonel Whiting, and a few other citizens of Concord for the newly chartered Concord Academy, and have his library removed to the upper story of my house, where was room for the four thousand volumes. I made the removal myself, handling every volume with my own hands, and in so doing found the hundred volumes, more or less, of this work, which I have since been giving away to those persons, in this country and in Europe, who valued the irregular verse and the peculiar genius of Ellery Channing. Very few are now left, and when I perused it a few days ago, it seemed to me to be a proper gift, ὄλιγόν τε φιλόν τε, as Homer says, — for this library, the catacombs of so much departed literature. It has a certain historical value, and a certain poetic merit, in neither case very considerable, but worth preserving.

As actual history, the longer poem bears much the same relation to a marked chapter in American history, that any given play of Shakespeare, such as "Richard III," has to that chapter of English history which has been so much fabulated and distorted. The actual personages here dramatized, a dozen of whom I knew, are true to their character, as shown in their speeches, and much that is related is historically true. But over all is thrown a mist of imagination, and a veil of strange English, which makes the book hard reading. Passages of fanciful beauty occur here and there, as, for instance, Stevens, the handsome and daring lieutenant of Brown in Kansas and Virginia, speaking of the prairie life, says,

> And the old Kansas life ran in our veins, —
> The wild romance, the charms of the free air;
> To sleep within the moon, and feel the night wind
> Curl around your form, the bending grass
> Whisper its loving secrets to your ear,
> And sing you into utter dreams of peace;
> Your friends the wailing winds; the halls of light, —
> Your dazzling halls, — the stars!

Although Brown spent in all some five days in Concord, as my guest, or Emerson's, or Thoreau's, I doubt if Channing ever saw him. He was living in New Bedford when Brown first came to spend a few days with me; and on his second visit, in May, 1859, although Channing had then returned to his house at Concord, he was not in the habit of going to public meetings, and he did not call on me while Brown was at my boarding-house, near the Fitchburg Railroad station. But he had heard much of Brown's unusual character, from Thoreau, his most intimate friend, from Emerson and from Alcott; and he had read all the lives of Brown including my thick volume, published a year before this volume was printed. And I may say that there was no part of the world where Brown's true character was better known and valued than in our little town. We enjoyed then the presence of two or three men who had that intimate and prescient knowledge of mankind which is the privilege of genius. The human being who could elude or deceive the searching gaze of Emerson was rarely seen; and Thoreau, with more prepossessions, and a certain perversity of wit, had much the same clear vision. Hawthorne was a third in that circle who possessed the same insight into character; but he never saw Brown. Alcott and Channing in a less degree shared the same faculty. When therefore men who never saw Brown, or who are as destitute of any faculty of judging mankind as the owl is of daylight vision, undertake to give their account of Brown's insignificance, insanity or crimes, — if their statement reaches my intelligence at all, — I fall back on the judgment passed upon him by these masters in penetration and judicial fairness. Their view of Brown, with some softening from the gentler pathos of Channing's mood, is taken in these rude verses, and if each person does not stand out with clearness in these dialogues and soliloquies it is because Channing used a dialect capricious and rather vague, though sometimes as startling in its revelations as in the unlike roughness and abruptness of Browning's contorted verse.

In behalf of the PRESIDENT, Mr. Ford presented for publication an address made in 1841 by John Quincy Adams on the War between Great Britain and China. The manuscript was recently sent to the President by Miss Palfrey, who found it

among the papers of her father, John G. Palfrey, where it had lain since the address was delivered. The history of the manuscript was briefly as follows:

The idea of writing upon the war between Great Britain and China had first been suggested to Mr. Adams by Dr. Palfrey, then editor of the "North American Review," who intended to print the essay in that periodical. For nearly a year Mr. Adams had worked upon the subject at such intervals as he could find, and the article was nearly finished when, on November 11, 1841, Dr. Shattuck and Dr. Lowell, successively, came to him to ask him to deliver the opening lecture in a course instituted by the Massachusetts Historical Society.[1] The invitation was accepted, and in the eleven days allowed to him the essay was completed, closing, as he says, abruptly, hardly having passed the threshold of his subject. He outlined a series of three papers on the topic, but under his readings the scope expanded, and he realized that his point of view would not be that then generally prevalent in the United States.[2] On the evening of Monday, November 22, the address was delivered in Masonic Temple, which was "crowded to overflowing."[3] An editorial summary appeared in the "Boston Courier," November 25, which opened by saying that the lecture "was calculated to excite the surprize of most of the audience," by its point of view, and closed with the paragraph,

> We are not sure that we have given the full train of reflections, or the argument; but by this abstract we are confident that our readers may gather some accurate notion of the substance of the lecture, which occupied one hour and twenty minutes in the delivery, to as crowded an auditory, notwithstanding the torrents of rain, as was probably ever assembled within the walls of the Temple on any similar occasion.

What followed is related in the Adams Diary:

> Mr. P. Q. Mason brought me a letter from George Roberts, editor of the Times and Notion newspaper, requesting permission for Mr. Mason to read my last evening's lecture to make an abstract of it for the newspaper, as he had not been able to get a seat last evening to take notes. I told him I had lent the manuscript, but if he would call

[1] Proc., II. 226. [2] Memoirs, XI. 30.
[3] Daily Advertiser and Patriot, November 23, 1841. See also Memoirs, XI. 30.

to-morrow morning at nine, he should have the perusal of it. [November 23, 1841.]

Mr. Mason from the Times and Notion Office called this morning for the manuscript of my lecture, which I lent him to make an abstract for publication in the newspaper. I pointed out to him the parts which I had omitted in the delivery, and requested him not to notice them. He said he was [would] not; but said if I would consent he would publish all that I did deliver. I declined, having promised it to Dr. Palfrey as an article in the North American Review. . . . After dinner Dr. N. L. Frothingham and Mr. Gould, a committee from the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, came with an earnest invitation to me, to repeat my lecture on the Chinese War before that Society next Friday evening, to which I consented. The lecture was so different from what was expected, and from the opinions prevailing here, that it has produced what is called a sensation, not of approbation, but of curiosity. [November 24, 1841.]

A quarter before seven Dr. Frothingham came, and I went with him to the Masonic Temple, and delivered before the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, the lecture on the War between Great Britain and China. Immediately before, Mr. T. B. Smith had called, and intreated me to deliver it again tomorrow evening before the Boston Lyceum, at the Marlborough chapel.[1] I told him that I had an engagement for tomorrow evening; but asked him to call tomorrow morning at nine for a definitive answer. The Temple this evening was not crowded, and scarcely filled; but the lecture was well received. [November 26, 1841.]

He declined the Lyceum on the following morning, because of an engagement, but he was informed by Harriet Welsh that "in the Times newspaper of this morning [November 27] there was a promise to publish in the Notion of next Friday, the whole of my lecture on the Chinese War." The manuscript was sent to Dr. Palfrey on Sunday, November 28, "with authority to use it at his pleasure."

The notice in the Boston Times of an intended publication in full of the Lecture greatly disturbed Mr. Adams, who had promised the manuscript to the North American Review, and had expressly restricted the reporter from the Times to a mere summary of its features. The Boston Notion was one of those huge blanket sheets which prevailed at that time,

[1] Peter Augustus Jay also asked, on behalf of the New York Historical Society, that the lecture be given in New York, "at such time and on such terms as will be agreeable to yourself." — November 26, 1841, MS.

and boasted of being the "largest mammoth weekly published in America." It was made up of essays, sermons, and serial stories, with little advertising, and at this time was filled by borrowings from abroad as well as from home, the novels of Lever, Dickens, Bulwer, and James finding place in its columns. In this year a smaller sheet, known as the "Quarto Notion, or Roberts' Weekly Journal of American and Foreign Literature, Fine Arts and General News," was published weekly from the same office, and in the issue (I. No. 9) for Saturday, December 4, 1841, the Adams lecture appeared in full, occupying three full pages, or fifteen columns, of the sheet. How the misunderstanding, to use no stronger term, about the use of the Adams manuscript arose, is explained in the letters received from the reporter and publisher:

Mason to Adams.

Times Office, Saturday Evening.[1]

Sir, — Regretting exceedingly that misconception on my part, should give to you cause for the slightest offence, may I flatter myself that the following explanation will not be deemed wholly unsatisfactory. On delivering Mr. Roberts note at your house on Tuesday I was ignorant of its contents but believed it to contain a request for permission to publish your lectures at full length, a permission which it was my impression was granted during the short [conversation] with which you honored me on the same day. On Wednesday morning, you said you did not wish it published entire *for the present*, and again I misconceived you, as I supposed you merely meant a delay until after the second delivery. In this I was confirmed from several of the morning papers having given garbled and imperfect notices of the first. I was to blame. I should have been more particular in my enquiries as to your wishes. On returning to the office on Wednesday Morning having out business to attend I left the MS. for Mr. Roberts with a verbal message for Mr. Roberts that in *the daily* you wished merely extracts to appear, but this message was unfortunately not accurately delivered, and the work was at once put into the hands of the Compositors — got up and corrected from copy. I was obliged to absent myself from business in consequence of a severe Rheumatic attack and remained in ignorance of what was done until Friday, when I saw it announced for publication in "The Notion" of next week. The announcement has brought in a vast quantity of extra orders for the

[1] Endorsed, 25 November, 1841.

paper, and Mr. Roberts having had to leave Town this afternoon on business, I am placed in a most awkward situation. In short, if the Lecture is not published the credit of the paper will be much lessened after so positive a promise from the Proprietors. You can form some idea of the manner in which it has been got up from the appearance of the accompanying paper. Mr. R. will cheerfully publish it in pamphlet or any other form if you wish. I know this explanation must appear imperfect, but at this moment I am suffering excruciating pain and incapable of writing as I would wish. Pain which will be much increased if I am not fortunate enough to obtain your sanction to publish.

Regretting sincerely the error I have committed, I have the honor to be, Sir, with unfeigned Respect, Your most obed. Servant

PHILIP Q. MASON.[1]

ROBERTS TO MASON.

JONES HOTEL, PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 30, 1841
12 o'clock Midnight.

DEAR SIR, — I received your note this afternoon at 4 o'clock at the Sun office (too late for me to answer it by the steamboat mail) informing me that Mr. Adams had written me a letter which Mr. Kettel in my absence opened, the tenor of which letter forbade my publishing Mr. Adams Lecture on the China question.

Mr. Adams came on to this city in the Cars with me this evening, and I have this moment had an interview with him on the subject. He says he never authorised you to use the MS. entire for the very important reason that it had been some time previously promised to Mr. Palfrey, the Editor of the North American Review. Indeed he farther states that he first wrote on the subject at Mr. Palfrey's desire, and that it was merely accidental that he embodied it in a Lecture.

Under these circumstances I fear you were mistaken in Mr. Adams offering you the privilege of giving it to me for publication entire in the Notion, and I am convinced it is justly the property of Mr. Palfrey.

I therefore request that you cause its publication to be stopped, if it

[1] "When I put the manuscript into his [Mason's] hands, he asked me if I was willing that you should publish the whole. I answered explicitly and positively No. That I could consent only to such an abstract as you had requested he might be enabled to make; nor did I even offer to allow him the perusal of any subsequent lecture that I may hereafter deliver on the same subject. I could make no such engagement, having already promised the manuscript to another person. I therefore forbid the publication in the Notion of next Friday, which I could not but consider as a violation of the confidence which I had reposed in Mr. Mason by the loan of the manuscript at your request." — John Quincy Adams to George Roberts, November 27, 1841. He had declined an offer to print made by William Hayden, Editor of the "Atlas."

be among the possibilities, although I am fearful this will reach you too late. If so I shall ever regret that we applied for the use of the MS. at all, and I shall hope that you will retain some circumstances connected with the conversation you had with Mr. Adams that will bear you out in having given it to me for publication. Yours in haste,

Geo. Roberts.

Roberts to Adams.

Times & Notion Office
Boston, Dec. 8, 1841.

Respected Sir, — I have just returned home to Boston, and very much regret to find that my letter from Philadelphia, written after I had the conversation with you on the night of Tuesday Nov. 30th (a copy of which I herewith annex) arrived here too late to prevent the publication of your Lecture. It was received on Friday morning, and the Notions containing your Lecture were all printed, and a large portion, nearly three fourths, had been sent off to our Agents and mail subscribers, it being the usual packing day.

I was absent from Boston, as you are already aware, when your letter of the 27th was received at my office, viz ; on the morning of Monday, Nov. 29th. Had I been at home I assure you the Lecture should not have been published.

Mr. Mason is the sole cause of having led me into the difficulty; and he informs me that after my departure from Boston on Saturday Nov. 27th he repeatedly called at your house to see you on the subject, but failing, addressed you in a long letter detailing his impressions of the conversation he had with you, and the authority which from those conversations he supposed you gave for its publication. He further states that on the receipt at my office of your letter on Monday, he again called at your house and learnt for the *first time* then you had left for Washington. He immediately wrote you another letter, addressed to Washington, stating that the Lecture was already printed on the outer side form of the paper, that I was absent from Boston, and that its suppression would be, after the *three* promises made to the public in the Daily Times of *Thursday*, *Friday*, and *Saturday*, not only highly injurious to the paper, but from the peculiar position in which he stood absolutely ruinous to himself. I would here further add that its suppression at that time would also have been an *actual loss* to me of more than $350.00 in the destruction of paper, labor, etc.

From the foregoing statement which I consider due to you, I leave it with you to judge how far I am to blame, if at all, in the matter; and I can only repeat that I sincerely regret that any thing should have

occurred in my establishment to have caused your disapprobation, and am ready to make any reasonable reparation in my power. I am, Dear Sir, Very Respectfully Your Obt. Servt.

GEO. ROBERTS.

In the meantime the manuscript itself had been returned to Mr. Adams, liberally marked by the inky fingers of the compositors on the Notion, and was sent to Dr. Palfrey. The good editor found himself facing a problem, not unusual with those who conscientiously seek to give the public what it wants, as well as the information that is necessary to strengthen rather than to form an opinion. The prevailing prejudices undoubtedly ran counter to Adams's view, and the "North American Review" was not accustomed to undertake an opposition to a conservative view of public questions. Our President recalls that some forty or fifty years ago, at his father's table, Dr. Palfrey told, with some amusement, how he had asked for the article, and how pleased he was as editor to have his invitation accepted, feeling as if he had struck a bonanza. Subsequently the manuscript reached his hands, and he found to his amazement and despair that Mr. Adams had taken a view of the matter wholly opposite to his own. Greatly disappointed in the result, he decided that he could not print the paper in the Review, and seizing upon the opportunity offered by the fact that it was only a preliminary treatment of the subject, he wrote as follows:

PALFREY TO ADAMS.

8 CHESTNUT STREET,
29th November, 1841.

DEAR SIR, — I am very much obliged to you for sending me your manuscript.

I believe I shall best express my respects and my sense of your kindness in this instance, by stating frankly what occurs to me on reading the paper.

Your argument convicts the Chinese of offending against international morals by an unsocial and selfish policy, and an insolent deportment. But the further question, whether these have constituted an injury, for which the English government may seek redress by war, you do not yet discuss; and I must own it appears to me that the best justice could not be done to your argument by publishing it in the N. A. Review, without

the addition of what you propose as a sequel, touching that all-important practical point. Your own reflections have led you to the opinion respecting it, which you decidedly announce; but readers, I think, would feel the want of the reasons which have conducted you through that particular part of the process.

If it were proper, I should ask you to allow the piece to be printed, omitting the expression of any opinion on the ulterior point, and embracing only a discussion and condemnation of the Chinese policy and measures. But I perceive that this would be too great a mutilation of what will, all of it, eventually, be seen forcibly to bear on the practical conclusion.

Entertaining these views, I have thought that I ought not to take the risk of putting you to any inconvenience, by retaining the manuscript in my hands after your departure today.

Be pleased to believe me, I am, Sir, with the highest regard, and sincere wishes that you may have a safe journey and a useful and happy winter, Your obliged friend and servant,

John G. Palfrey.

Mr. Adams never called for or gave directions concerning the manuscript, and it has since that time been in its original wrapper in the Palfrey family.

A long search for a copy of the Quarto Notion followed, without success. A few issues of the larger sheet for this latter part of 1841 were located at the Boston Public Library, and some of these bore the name of Caleb Cushing, afterward minister to China. No copy of the Quarto Notion was found until a volume of pamphlets and newspaper clippings, brought together by George Parkman, and relating almost wholly to John Quincy Adams, was received from the Boston Athenæum. In it were two leaves of the Quarto Notion for December 4, and these two leaves contained the lecture on China. A long and close intimacy had existed between Adams and Parkman, and some of these pieces bear presentation marks from Adams to his friend.

Meanwhile the Notion had gone into circulation, and a copy found its way to China, where it fell into the hands of the editor of the Chinese Repository, published in Macao, China. In the issue (ix. No. 5) for May, 1842, the larger part of the lecture was reprinted, and to it the editor added the following note:

One of the strongest inducements to place this lecture of Mr. Adams upon the pages of the Repository has been in this manner to exhibit the principal arguments that can be stated in behalf of this view of the merits of the present struggle between China and England. These remarks are the views of a man of extensive experience in public life, and as such are worthy of attention and deference; and they also show in a lucid manner one of the strongest reasons why the Chinese government has not the right to shut themselves out from the rest of mankind, founded on deductions drawn from the rights of men as members of one great social system. While, however, we differ from the lecturer with regard to the influence the opium trade has had upon the war, for it has been without doubt the great proximate cause, we mainly agree with him as to the effect that other remote causes springing from Chinese assumption, conceit, and ignorance have also had upon it. In its progress, these features have been more and more prominently brought forward, and on the part of this government, the war is probably regarded as one of supremacy or vassalism, according as the Chinese win or lose. We do not see how the war could have arisen, had not the opium trade been a smuggling trade, — we think it would never have gone on as it has were the Chinese better acquainted with their own and others' rights. But whatever be its course, it must, we think, be the hearty desire of every well-wisher of his race, that the almighty Governor of the nations would in his own chosen way educe lasting good to both parties, and cause that these two mighty nations may in their future intercourse be a mutual benefit.

It was in all probability in the Chinese Repository that it was seen by Russell Sturgis, who began to prepare a reply to the arguments of Adams, but never completed it. The fragment is printed in the privately printed volume (p. 220) prepared by the son, Julian Sturgis, entitled "From Books and Papers of Russell Sturgis." The paper, once delivered before this Society, is now after seventy years included in its Proceedings.

Correspondence relating to China, presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of her Majesty. 1840.

The existing state of the relations between the kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Empire of China, opens for discussion questions of deep interest to the whole human race; and of pre-eminent interest to the People of the North-American Union.

Great Britain and China are at War. The questions which immedi-

ately rise for consideration, in this conflict between two of the mightiest Nations of the Globe, are

1. Which of the two parties to the contest has the righteous Cause?
2. What are the prospects of its progress and termination?
3. How the interest of other Nations, and particularly of the United States are already, or are likely to be hereafter affected by it?
4. What are the duties of the Government and People of the United States resulting from it?

For the solution of the first of these questions we must resort to a statement of the facts in which the controversy originated, and for a candid application to those facts of the Laws of Nature and of Nations.

But before entering upon this enquiry, it may be proper to remark that an eminent French writer upon the subject of international Law, has contended that there is and can be no such thing. And he makes it a subject of grave and serious charge against the English language itself that it applies the word *Law* to the obligations incumbent upon Nations. His argument is, that Law is a rule of conduct prescribed by a superior, a Legislator; that is, an act of Government, deriving its force from Sovereign authority and binding only upon the subject. That Nations being independent acknowledge no superior, and have no common sovereign from whom they can receive the Law. That all the relative duties between Nations result from *right* and *wrong*, from convention or compact, and from usage or custom to neither of which can the term *Law* be properly applied. That this system of rules had been called by the Romans the *Jus Gentium*, and in all the languages of modern Europe the *Right* of Nations, or the Rights of War and Peace. Upon the vigorous analysis of the meaning of words it must be admitted, that there is much force in this objection. Law and Right, we know but too well, by the experience of mankind in all ages including our own, are not convertible terms. *Law*, necessarily imports command on one part, and obedience on the other. Right is the gift of the Creator to Man, at once the Charter of his own freedom, and the Law of his reverence for the same right of his fellow creature man. In this sense Right and Law are convertible terms; but the Law is the Law of God, and the right is the right of Man.

It is urged by the writer to whom I now allude, that the Nations speaking the English Language, by the use of this word *Law*, to express the rules of intercourse, between Nations, have habituated themselves to confound it with the municipal *Law* of their own realm; and to infer that the same Legislative authority which is competent to make the Laws of the Land for them, is equally competent to prescribe Laws for all the nations of the Earth.

How far this reproach of a French writer upon the Freedom of the

Seas (Rayneval)[1] is justified by the facts which he alledges in its support, is not now my purpose, nor have we time to enquire. It behooves us however to remember that the English language is now the mother tongue not of one, but of many Nations; and that whatever portion of them, believe that the fountain of all human Legislation is the Omnipotence of the British Parliament, we as one of those Nations acknowledge no such supremacy. We think with the great jurist of our mother country, that the *omnipotence* of the British Parliament is a figure of speech rather too bold; and the first act of our existence as a separate Nation, was a Declaration of the self evident inalienable *Rights* of all Men, by the *Laws* of Nature and of Nature's *God*. This is the only omnipotence to which we bow the knee, as the only source direct or indirect of all human Legislation, and that thus the Laws of Nations are identical with the *rights* of man associated in independent Communities.

The practical organization of our social system is not altogether consistent with our theory. The existence of Slavery is incompatible with that Law of Nature and of Nature's God, which has given to all men the inalienable Right to Liberty. The Law of the Land is thus in conflict with the Law of God; but we have easy consciences. We *opine* that the self-evident truths of Man's inalienable rights are merely ornamental parts of the Declaration of Independence. We are all agreed that Congress has no power to interfere with the Institutions of the States; we are not quite sure but that one portion of mankind was made for dominion, and another for toil. *Perhaps poverty* is Slavery all the world over. Perhaps *Labour* is Slavery. And if men must be poor and work, it is better that they should be slaves than free. There always have been slaves. The chosen people of God were slaves in Egypt. They were Slaves to, and made Slaves of the Philistines. Slaves again of the Assyrians, of the Babylonians, of the Romans. Christianity accommodates itself well with slavery. Onesimus was the slave of Philemon, and when he ran away Saint Paul sent him back to his master. The *African* Slave trade to be sure is an abomination. We pronounce it *Piracy*, and we will hang any man that we can catch engaged in it. But then we will hang too by his side any man who shall dare to interfere with the *internal* Slave-trade, because of the Institutions of the States, and — Hush! Hush! Hush![2]

"And Mammon makes his way, where seraphs might despair."

But we speak the English language and what the men of other tongues call the Right of Nations, we call the Laws of Nations. What then are the Laws of Nations by the rules of which the right and wrong

[1] Joseph Rayneval.

[2] The paragraph was struck out, probably not to be read for want of time.

of the present contest between Great Britain and China are to be ascertained? And here we are to remember that by the Laws of Nations are to be understood not one Code of Laws, binding alike upon all the Nations of the Earth; but a system of Rules, varying according to the character and condition of the parties concerned. The General Law of Nations is derived from four distinct sources, denominated by Vattel the Necessary, Voluntary, Conventional and Customary Laws of Nations. The Necessary Law is the application of the Laws of Nature to the intercourse between independent communities, and this itself can be enforced only between Nations who recognize the principle that the State of Nature is a State of Peace. It is a religious principle of the Mahometan Nations, that it is their duty to propagate their religion by the sword. Time was, when this cruel, absurd and unnatural principle was inscribed on the holy banners of the meek and lowly Jesus. The vision of Constantine himself, who seated Christianity upon the throne of the Cæsars, the vision by which he pretended to have been converted to the faith of the blessed gospel, falsified all its commands, and perverted its nature. The cross of Christ was exhibited before his eyes and the words inscribed upon it were, "by this *conquer*" — conquer, persecute, enslave, destroy, kindle the fires of the holy hermendad, burn the heretic at the stake, tear his nerves to atoms by the rack, hunt him with blood hounds, pluck out his vitals, and slap them in his face — all for the salvation of his Soul — by this *conquer!*

By the Laws of *Nations* between the communities, subscribers to this creed, the Bishop of Rome, the self styled servant of servants, by the seal of the fisherman's ring was for many ages invested with authority to distribute all the kingdoms of the Earth out of the pale of Christianity, to whomsoever he pleased. And accordingly in January, 1454, His Holiness Nicholas the 5th did, of his own proper motion, without petition from any one, by his mere liberality and certain knowledge, after full deliberation and in the plenitude of Apostolic power, give, grant, and convey the whole kingdom of Guinea, and all its negro inhabitants, to Alphonso king of Portugal, and his Son the Infante Don Henry,[1] and their heirs and successors forever. And forty years after in 1493, Alexander the 6th, the Nero of the papal tiara, the year after the discovery by Christopher Columbus, of the Western Hemisphere, did in like manner give and grant the same hemisphere to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. This was about 25 years before the publication of the 95 theses of Martin Luther at the University of Wittenberg. That was the Law of Nations, between Christian communities of that day. Since the protestant reformation, the power of the Pope to distribute kingdoms at his pleasure is hardly an Article of the Law of Nations even among Catholic communities. Yet even now there is a law of

[1] Alfonso V (1432–1481) was succeeded by his son João II (1455–1495).

Nations between Roman Catholics, strictly confined to them, and which is of no validity for any other portion of the human race.

There is also a Law of Nations between *Christian* communities, which prevails between the Europeans and their descendants throughout the globe. This is the Law recognized by the Constitution and Laws of the United States, as obligatory upon them in their intercourse with the European States and Colonies. But we have a separate and different Law of Nations for the regulation of our intercourse with the Indian tribes of our own Continent; another Law of Nations between us, and the woolly headed natives of Africa; another with the Barbary Powers and the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire; a Law of Nations with the Inhabitants of the Isles of the Sea wherever human industry and enterprize have explored the Geography of the Globe; and lastly a Law of Nations with the flowery Land, the celestial Empire, the Mantchoo Tartar Dynasty of Despotism, where the Patriarchal system of Sir Robert Filmer, flourishes in all its glory.[1]

And this is the heathen Nation with which the Imperial Christian realm of Great Britain and Ireland, is waging a War, in which all or many other of the Christian Nations of the Earth, and among the rest our own United States of America are in imminent danger of being involved.

The Law of Nations then by which the right and wrong of the present contest is to be tried, is as between the parties themselves the general and necessary Law of Nations; but as it may affect the other Christian Nations whose rights are involved in the issue, it is the Christian Law of Nations which must furnish the principles for discussion. It may be necessary to remember this distinction.

By the Law of Nature, the right of property results from two sources, occupancy and labour. Occupancy gives possession, and labour confers the exclusive right to its fruits, but possession is either temporary or permanent. It may be exclusive or common. Possession may be permanently maintained of that which can be carried about with the person. The occupancy of the soil to give the right to the *soil* must be permanent, at least for a season; to be permanent it must be divided by metes and bounds; and this can be effected only by agreement. The right of property being thus established by labour, by occupancy and by compact, the right of exchange, barter, or in other words of commerce, necessarily follows. If the state of Nature between men is a state of Peace, and the pursuit of happiness is a natural right of man, it is the duty of men to contribute as much as is in their power to one another's happiness. This is most emphatically enjoined by the Christian precept to love your neighbour as yourself. Now there is no other

[1] "Patriarcha, or the National Power of Kings asserted," first published in 1680, became the accepted manifesto of the absolutist party.

way by which men can so much contribute to the comfort and well-being of one another as by commerce or mutual exchanges of equivalents. Commerce is then among the natural rights and duties of men. And if of individuals, still more of communities; for as by the law of Nature every man though he love his neighbour as himself, must provide for his own preservation and for that of his family, before he can minister to the wants of his neighbour, it follows that he can give in exchange to his neighbour only the excess of the fruit of his labour beyond that which is necessary for his and their subsistence. The exchange itself may indeed be of necessaries, and that leads to the division of labour, one of the greatest blessings of association; but that cannot be without commerce.

This duty of commercial intercourse between Nations is laid down in terms sufficiently positive by Vattel, but he afterwards qualifies it by a restriction, which, unless itself restricted, annuls it altogether. He says that although the *general* duty of commercial intercourse is incumbent upon Nations, yet every nation may exclude any particular branch or article of trade which it may deem injurious to its own interest. This cannot be denied. But then a Nation may multiply these particular exclusions until they become general and equivalent to a total interdict of commerce, and this time out of mind has been the inflexible policy of the Chinese Empire. So says Vattel, without affixing any note of censure upon it. Yet it is manifestly incompatible with the position which he had previously laid down, that commercial intercourse between nations is a moral obligation incumbent upon them all.

The Empire of China is said to extend over three hundred millions of human beings. It is said to cover a space of seven millions of square miles; about four times larger than the surface of these United States. The People are not Christians, nor can a Christian Nation appeal to the principles of a common Faith to settle the question of right and wrong between them. The moral obligation of commercial intercourse between Nations is founded entirely, exclusively upon the Christian precept to love your neighbour as yourself. With this principle you cannot refuse commercial intercourse with your neighbour, because commerce, consisting of a voluntary exchange of property mutually beneficial to both parties, unites in one the selfish and the social propensities, and enables each of the parties to promote the happiness of his neighbour, by the same act whereby he provides for his own.

But China, not being a Christian Nation, its inhabitants do not consider themselves bound by the Christian precept, to love their neighbour as themselves. The right of commercial intercourse with them reverts not to the execrable principle of Hobbes, that the state of Nature is a state of War, but to the Law of Nature independent of the precept of Christianity. By that Law, every one has a right to buy, but no one

is obliged to sell. Commerce becomes altogether a matter of convention. The right of each party is only to propose, that of the other is to accept or refuse, and to his result he may be guided exclusively by the consideration of his own interest, without regard to the interests, the wishes, or the wants of his neighbour.

This is a churlish and unsocial system. And I take occasion here to say that whoever examines the Christian system of *morals*, with a philosophical Spirit, setting aside all the external and historical evidences of its truth, will find all its precepts tending to exalt the nature of the animal *man;* all tending to its avowed purpose of Peace on Earth, and good will towards men. Ask the Atheist, the Deist, — the Chinese, and they will tell you that the foundation of their system of morals is *selfish* enjoyment. Ask the Philosophers of the Grecian Schools, Epicurus, Socrates, Zeno, Plato, Lucretius, Cicero, Seneca, and you will find them discoursing upon the Supreme Good. They will tell you it is pleasure, ease, temperance, prudence, fortitude [Justice]. Not one of them will whisper the name of Love, unless in its gross and physical sense, as an instrument of pleasure. Not one of them will tell you that the source of all moral relations between you and the rest of mankind is to love your neighbour *as yourself.* To do unto him as you would that he should do unto you.

The Chinese recognize no such Law. Their internal Government is a hereditary, patriarchal despotism, and their own exclusive interest is the measure of all their relations with the rest of mankind. Their own Government is founded upon the principle that as a Nation they are superior to the rest of mankind. They believe themselves and their country specially privileged over all others, that their dominion is the celestial empire, and their territory the flowery land. At a period of their history so remote that they have no authentic record of the time, to make their separation from the rest of the world more effectual, they built a wall 1500 miles long between themselves and their next neighbours the Tartars, which however has not saved them from being more than once conquered. The last time that this happened was in the year 1644, and the second century is about closing upon the Dominion of the Mantchoo Tartars. That conquest however produced no other revolution of Government than the transfer of the Imperial scepter from one family to another. It is a remark of Hume that if the conquest of France by Henry the 5th of Monmouth had been maintained by his successors, the result would have been to convert England into a French Province.[1] Such in the natural course of events must be the result of the conquest of a larger by a smaller adjoining People. And this is precisely what has happened with China and Tartary. The principle of the Chinese Government is, that the whole Nation is one

[1] History of England (1854), II. 318.

great family of which the Emperor is the father. His authority is unlimited, and he can not only appoint which of his sons he pleases to succeed him, but may even transfer the succession to another family. Idol-worship, polygamy, infanticide, are the natural consequences of such a system, within the realm, and the assumption of a pretension to superiority over other nations, regulates their intercourse with foreigners.

To the Greeks and Romans of antiquity, the very existence of the Chinese Nation was unknown. The first notice of them received by the Europeans of the middle ages was from the Venitian, Marco Polo, in the 13th century. When the Portuguese two hundred years later found their way round the Cape of Good Hope to India, they soon pushed forward their Navigation and their commercial enterprize along the whole coast of China. They were allowed to trade for several years at various ports; but abusing of this privilege, and of their navigating power, they were soon excluded from all access to the Empire. A few years later the coast was infested by pirates. One of these, named Tchang-si-lao, obtained possession of the Island of Macao; there held the whole coast in a state of blockade, and besieged Canton itself. Utterly destitute of all naval power, the Mandarins of the Celestial Empire were obliged to have recourse to those very Portuguese to defend and deliver their country from the depredation of a single bold and desperate pirate. They sent from Sanciam, where they had a trading establishment, an expedition which raised the siege of Canton, and drove Tchang-si-lao back to Macao, where to escape from the fate which awaited him, had he fallen into the hands of his pursuers, he died by his own hands. In reward for this service the Emperor of China gave to the Portuguese the Island of Macao, which they hold to this day, and from which station they and the other navigating Nations of Christendom have carried on all their commercial intercourse with the interior of China.

This grant, in full sovereignty, of an island at the very entrance of the China seas, to a foreign and Christian power, would seem to be a wide departure from the fundamental system of excluding all foreigners from admission within the Empire, but it was in truth a necessary consequence of that system, the seclusion of the Empire from all other Nations, was a necessary renunciation of all maritime enterprize and all naval armament. The coast was thus left defenceless against the assaults of single desperate adventurers. The traffic which the Portuguese solicited was altogether advantageous to the Chinese. The Portuguese brought gold, silver and precious stones. They took away silks Nankeens, porcelain, varnish, medicinal plants and tea, the produce of the soil and manufacturing industry of the Country. A small island upon the coast as a permanent abode for the Portuguese traders,

given to them as a possession, was a compromise for their claim of admission to the territory necessary for carrying on that importation of the precious metals, and that exportation of Chinese industry, the benefits of which could not but be felt and could not be overlooked.

Other navigating Christian nations followed in the wake of the Portuguese. The Spaniards, the Dutch, the English, the French, the Danes, successively came as rival competitors for the lucrative commerce. It was chiefly though not always confined to the port of Canton, but no European was even admitted within the walls of that City. The several trading nations were allowed to establish small factories, for counting houses, on the banks of the river without the City; but they were never suffered to enter within the gates; they were not permitted to introduce even a woman into the factory. All their intercourse with the subordinate Government of the Province was carried on through the medium of a dozen Chinese traders, denominated the Hong Merchants; all their remonstrances against wrong or claims of right must be transmitted not directly to the Government, but through the Hong. All in the form of humble supplication, called by the Chinese a PIN, and all must be content to receive the answers of the Viceroys in the form of edicts, in which they, their Sovereigns, and their Nations, were invariably styled *outside barbarians:* and the highest compliment to their kings was to declare them *reverently submissive* to his Imperial Majesty, monarch of the celestial empire and father of the flowery land.

It is humiliating to think, that not only the proudest monarchs of Europe, but the most spirited, enlightened and valourous Nations of Christendom have submitted to this tone, and these principles of intercourse so long as to have given them, if prescription could give them, a claim of right and a colour of conformity to the Law of Nations.

There are three principles of the Law of Nature applied to Nations laid down in the preliminary chapter to Vattel's treatise, a close attention to which is indispensably necessary to the adjustment of the question of right and wrong in this issue of fact between the British and Chinese Governments.

1. "The first general law, which the very end of the Society of Nations discovers, is that each nation ought to contribute all in its power to the happiness and perfection of others.

"But the duty towards *ourselves* having incontestably the advantage over our duty with respect to others, a nation ought in the first place, preferably to all other considerations, to do whatever it can to promote its own happiness and perfection." [1]

Here is a fallacy. The first and vital principle of Christian morality,

[1] Vattel, Law of Nations (ed. 1811), lxi. Mr. Adams has made his own translation.

is to love your neighbour *as yourself*, to do unto others as you would that they should do unto you. It does not permit you to promote your own happiness and perfection in preference to all other considerations. It makes your neighbours happiness so far as your action is concerned a part of your own. It does not permit you to sacrifice his happiness to yours any more than yours to his. The importance of this distinction will be seen, by referring to the second and third preliminaries laid down by the same author, and by deducing the consequences inferrible from them all.

"Nations being free and independent of each other, in the same manner as men are naturally free and independent, the second general law of their society is that each nation ought to be left in the peaceable enjoyment of that liberty it has derived from Nature. . . . From this Liberty and Independence it follows, that every nation is to judge of what its conscience demands, of what it can or cannot do, of what is proper or improper to be done; and consequently to examine and determine, whether it can perform any office for another without being wanting in what it owes to itself."[1]

Now for the third general Law.

"Since men are naturally *equal*, and their rights and obligations are the same, as equally proceeding from Nature, nations composed of men, considered as so many free persons living together in a state of nature, are naturally equal, and receive from nature the *same* obligations and rights." Hence.

"If it (a Nation) makes an ill use of its Liberty, it offends; but others ought to suffer it to do so, having no right to command it to do otherwise." . . .

"The Nation that has acted wrong, has offended against its conscience; but as it may do whatever it has a right to perform, it cannot be accused of violating the Laws of Society."[2]

Let us separate the question of right and wrong from that of the right of either party to compel by force the performance of right by the other, and how stand these three corner stones of Vattel's Laws of Nations towards each other? If it be true that each Nation ought to contribute all in its power to the happiness and perfection of others, how can it be true that a nation ought *in the first place and preferably to all other considerations* to do whatever it can to promote *its own* happiness and perfection, and to be the exclusive judge of what that is. If the vital principle of all human Society be that each is bound to contribute to the happiness of all, it surely follows that each can not regulate his conduct by the exclusive or even by the paramount consideration of his own interest.

In applying his own principles to the cultivation of *Commerce*,

[1] Vattel, Law of Nations (ed. 1811), lxii; [2] lxiii.

Vattel begins by laying it down as a moral obligation. He says expressly, the Nations are obliged to cultivate the home trade, because it promotes the welfare of the community; and "From the same reason drawn from the welfare of the State, and to procure for the citizens every thing they want, a Nation is obliged to promote and carry on a foreign trade." And yet, because every one has a right to buy, and every one an equal right to refuse to sell, therefore every Nation having exclusively, or in preference to all other considerations, regard to its own interest has a right to interdict all commerce with other Nations.

Here is manifest inconsistency between the two principles. The vital principle of commerce is reciprocity; and although in all cases of traffic, each party acts for himself and for the promotion of his own interest, the *duty* of each is to hold commercial intercourse with the other, — not from exclusive or paramount consideration of his own interest; but from a joint and equal moral consideration of the interests of both. If the object of any particular traffic is advantageous to one party and injurious to the other, then the party suffering has an unquestionable right to interdict the trade, not from exclusive or paramount consideration of his own interest, but because the traffic no longer fulfils the condition which makes commercial intercourse a duty.

The fundamental principle of the Chinese Empire is anti-commercial. It is founded entirely upon the second and third of Vattel's general principles; to the total exclusion of the first. It admits no obligation to hold commercial intercourse with others. It utterly denies the equality of other Nations with itself, and even their Independence. It holds itself to be the centre of the terraqueous globe, equal to the Heavenly host, and all other Nations with whom it has any relations, political or commercial, as outside tributary barbarians reverently submissive to the will of its despotic chief. It is upon this principle openly avowed, and inflexibly maintained, that the principal maritime Nations of Europe, for several centuries, and the United States of America, from the time of their acknowledged Independence, have been content to hold commercial intercourse with the Empire of China.

It is time that this enormous outrage upon the rights of human nature, and upon the first principles of the Rights of Nations should cease. These principles of the Chinese Empire, too long connived at, and truckled to by the mightiest Christian nations of the civilized world, have at length been brought into conflict, with the principles and the power of the British Empire; and I cannot forbear to express the hope that Britain, after taking the lead in the abolition of the African Slave trade and of slavery; and of the still more degrading tribute to the barbary African Mahometans, will extend her liberating arm to the farthest bounds of Asia, and at the close of the present con-

test insist upon concluding the Peace on terms of perfect equality with the Chinese Empire, and that the future Commerce shall be carried on upon terms of equality and reciprocity, between the two communities, parties to the trade, for the benefit of both, each retaining the right of prohibition and of regulation, to interdict any article or branch of trade injurious to itself; as for example the article of Opium, and to secure itself against the practices of fraudulent traders and smugglers.

This is the real, and I apprehend the only question at issue, between the Governments and Nations of Great Britain and China. It is a general, but I believe altogether mistaken opinion that the quarrel is merely for certain chests of *opium* imported by British Merchants into China, and seized by the Chinese Government for having been imported contrary to Law. This is a mere incident to the dispute; but no more the cause of the War, than the throwing overboard of the Tea in Boston Harbour was the cause of the North American Revolution.

The cause of the war is the pretension on the part of the Chinese, that in all their intercourse with other Nations, political or commercial, their superiority must be implicitly acknowledged, and manifested in humiliating forms. It is not creditable to the great, powerful and enlightened Nations of Europe, that for several centuries, they have for the sake of a profitable trade, submitted to this insolent and insulting pretension, equally contrary to the first principles of the Law of nature and of revealed religion — the natural equality of mankind.

Auri sacra fames
Quid non mortalia pectora cogis?

This submission to insult is the more extraordinary for being practised by Christian Nations, which in their intercourse with one another push the principle of equality and reciprocity to the minutest punctilios of forms. Is a treaty to be concluded between the British and Russian Empires, it must be in both their languages or in a third agreed upon by the parties. The copies of the same Treaty are to be so varied that each of the parties is first named in the copy retained by itself, the signatures of the Plenipotentiaries must either be in parallel lines or alternate in their order upon the two copies. Duels have been fought, between Ambassadors of two European Courts to the Monarch of a third, for the *precedence* of admission to his presence; and in the reign of Charles the Second, a bloody battle was fought in the streets of London between the retinues of a French and a Spanish Ambassador, in a struggle between the two coachmen, which should lead the other in a procession.

Among the expedients to which the British Government had resorted to hide their faces from the shame of submission to this principle of commercial intercourse with China, was that of granting the mo-

nopoly of trade to a company of merchants. The charter of the East India company was the instrument of this monopoly; and as the company possessed none of the attributes of Sovereignty, whatever compliances their thirst for gain might reconcile with their self-esteem as men, or their pride as Britons, was supposed to involve no sacrifice of the national honour and dignity. They submitted therefore to accept the permission to trade with the people of China, as a boon granted to their humble supplication, called a *Pin*. But their trade was to be confined to the single port of Canton, in an Empire of seven millions of square miles with a population of 300 millions of souls. Even into that city of Canton, no British subject was ever to be suffered to set his foot. They were permitted to erect on the banks of the river below the City, the buildings necessary for a counting house, over which they might display the degraded standard of their Nation, but from which their wives and families were to be forever excluded. For the superintendence of this trade certain officers were appointed by the East India company, and it was to be exclusively carried on with ten or twelve Chinese merchants of the City, called Hong merchants, through whom alone the outside barbarians had access by the *Pin* to the Government of the City.

In the year 1792, just at the time when the Wars of the French Revolution, in which Great Britain took so prominent a part, were breaking out; the British Government instituted a splendid Embassy to the Emperor of China, Kien Lung, who was then approaching the termination of a reign of sixty years.[1] The selection of the time for this mission excited a general suspicion throughout Europe, that its object was connected with the policy dictated by the approaching conflict, and that an alliance at least defensive against Revolutionary France was contemplated under the ostensible appearance of placing the commercial intercourse between the two countries upon a more just and equitable footing. From the historical account of this Embassy, published by Sir George Staunton, it appears that its object was to prevail upon the Chinese Government, to admit the establishment of a permanent diplomatic British Minister to reside near the person of the Emperor at Pekin, and thereby to secure a more effective protection to the commerce between the two Countries than it had before enjoyed. This was a fair and laudable purpose, and so reasonable did it appear that Mr. Ward,[2] who published his excellent history of the Law of Nations in 1795, before the result of Lord Macartney's embassy was known, in the passage of his work, where he noticed this exclusive and

[1] Died February 11, 1799, after a reign of sixty-three years.

[2] Robert Plumer Ward (1765–1846), who published in 1795 "An Inquiry into the Foundation and History of the Law of Nations in Europe from the Time of the Greeks and Romans to the Age of Grotius."

excluding policy of the Chinese, added a note announcing the expectation that very shortly thereafter, a permanent British diplomatic mission would be established at the Imperial Court of Pekin. But this was not the conclusion of Chinese logic or Chinese benevolence. From the moment that Lord Macartney landed in China, till he embarked in the *Lion* to return home, he was considered as the vassal of a distant, subordinate, petty prince, sent by his master to do homage, and bear the tributary presents to the superhuman Majesty of the celestial empire. Laudandum, ornandum, tollendum, was the unvarying policy of the treatment which he received. All possible courtesy of forms was observed towards him, and with occasional gross exceptions to the numerous retinue of the embassy; but two grandees of the Empire, Chow-ta-zhin a civilian, and Van-ta-zhin a military commander, were sent to accompany and escort him to Pekin, with a third Legate, a Tartar in every sense of the word, whose office was all but avowedly that of a spy. Arrived at Pekin, Lord Macartney found that the Emperor was absent in Tartary, and was advised to follow him thither, which he accordingly did. He was lodged with his suite, at sundry unoccupied imperial palaces on the way, and given to understand that this, and many other petty observances, were transcendent honours, such as no outside barbarian had ever before been indulged in. Meantime he was advised to practice the Ko-Tow, or ceremonial prostration, knocking his forehead nine times on the floor, which would be required on his being presented to the Emperor. Lord Macartney who perfectly understood the meaning of this ceremony importing that his Sovereign was but the tributary vassal of the celestial Emperor, proposed as a compromise, to perform his part of the ceremony on condition that a Chinese Mandarin of equal rank with himself, should perform the same ceremony before the portrait of the king of Great Britain. This proposal was not accepted, but the old Emperor as a special favour consented to receive the Embassador, as he was accustomed to approach his own Sovereign on one bended knee.[1]

Before the presentation however Lord Macartney had a private interview with the Colao or prime-Minister of the Empire,[2] in which he disclosed the principal object of his mission, and was sufficiently forewarned of its failure.

"His Excellency (says Sir George Staunton) found it necessary to the great tenderness and many qualified expressions, in conveying any idea that a connection between Great Britain and China, could be of any importance to the latter, either by the introduction of European commodities, of which taken in barter, the necessity was not felt; or by the supply of cotton or of rice from India, which some of the

[1] Staunton, 313.

[2] Staunton gives "Ho-choong-taung Colao," as the full name.

Chinese Provinces were equally fit to cultivate; or of bullion of which the increase had sometimes the inconvenience of unequally increasing the prices of the useful or necessary articles of life; or lastly by the assistance of a naval force to destroy the pirates on the coast, against whose mischief the sure resource existed of an internal communication by rivers and canals. Such were the avowed or affected notions entertained by the Chinese government, of the superiority or independence of the empire, that no transaction with foreigners was admissible by it on the ground of reciprocal benefit, but as a grace and condescension from the former to the latter.

"His Excellency was not unwilling to negotiate even on those terms: and the Colao obligingly said, that they should have frequent opportunities of meeting during the continuance of his Excellency's visit at the Chinese court."

The value of this promise was very shortly after, ascertained. The presentation of the Embassador and the delivery of his credential letters was affected with great solemnity, and he was magnificently entertained by the Emperor upon his birth-day, the 17th of September. But the letter and the presents were no sooner delivered, than he received significant hints, that it was expected he would apply without delay for permission to depart. The Emperor returned after a few days to Pekin preceeded by the Embassador. There Lord Macartney, to avoid the appearance of obtruding himself too long upon the generous hospitality of the flowery land, wrote to the Colao, informing him of his intention to ask permission to depart in the ensuing month of February, at the beginning of the Chinese New-Year. Instead of answering this letter, the Colao, sent for Lord Macartney to come to him and informed him, that the Emperor was greatly concerned for the health of the Embassador and of his suite, and that the climate of Pekin would be very unfavourable to them in the winter; but that it was perfectly at the Embassador's own option to depart or to remain, the solicitude of the emperor being caused solely and exclusively by his regard for the Embassy and the Embassador himself. Lord Macartney assured the red button mandarine that he was not under the slightest apprehension for himself or for his companions of suffering from the climate of Pekin, that he had many important objects of negotiation to present to the consideration of his Imperial Majesty and "that he, the Colao, had, when at Zhe-hol been so good to flatter him with the hope of many meetings with him, which however anxiously he wished for, his sudden departure would necessarily prevent."

The reply of the Colao was in the most approved style of courtly dissimulation. Without particularly noticing the appeal to his previous promise, his words were so gracious, that the interpreter, a native

Chinese, concluded that it would be perfectly at the Embassador's option to stay as long as might suit his purpose.

The Colao gave not the most distant intimation to His Excellency the Embassador, that the Emperor's answer to the credential letter from the King of Great Britain was already prepared, and was to be delivered to him the next day, as it actually was; and that he might make no mistake as to the intentions of his Chinese Majesty, Chow-ta-zhin and Van-ta-zhin were sent to him, to inform him gently with great reluctance, and under some depression of spirits, that they surmised but did not know that the Emperor's answer would be delivered to him on that day; and that the moment it should be received, it would be advisable to make application for permission to depart.

Early next morning the Embassador was again sent for to meet the Colao at the great Hall of Audience in the Palace of Pekin, as soon *as he could get ready.* Though severely indisposed he had no choice but to obey the summons, and after traversing a considerable part of the Tartar city, on reaching the foot of the great hall of the palace, found the Emperor's answer to the letter from the King of Great Britain, in a large roll covered with yellow silk, and placed in a chair hung with curtains of the same colour. It was afterwards carried in form up the middle of three flights of stairs; while the Colao and others who had stood by it, and the Embassador and his suite went up the side steps to the hall. The answer was placed in the midst of the hall, and not delivered to the Embassador, but was afterwards sent to his hotel, *in state.* That this humiliation of the British Nation in the person of their Embassador should lack no appropriate appendage, "It seemed to be part of the intended ceremony of the day, to display the beauties of the palace to the Embassador; which his indisposition obliged him to decline; and to leave the honour of this perambulation to Sir George Staunton himself, and to other gentlemen of the Embassy. The Colao led them through a great number of separate edifices erected on a regular plan, in a high style of magnificence, all intended for public occasions and appearance, while the Emperor's private apartments were pointed out at a distance in the interior palace.

With the Emperor's answer to the letter of his Britannic Majesty, *farewell* presents for him, for the Embassador and for every person of his suite, were sent to the Hotel. Lord Macartney was extremely reluctant at coming to the conclusion that his Embassy was at an end, and that he had nothing more to do, but to ask permission to depart and return to his own country; but a kind friend, at the Imperial Court, whose good offices he had secured, suggested to him that the Chinese had no other idea of an Embassy, and that there was in truth no other alternative. To relieve him from his embarrassment, his British pride, and this Tartar courtesy, he just at this time received

advices of the war which the National Convention had declared against the king of Great Britain and the Stadholder of the Netherlands, and he comforted himself with the anticipation, that by returning home immediately in the *Lion*, the ship which had conveyed him to China, she might at the same time perform the service of conveying in safety the East India Company's fleet of merchantmen then bound to Europe.

This ship, however, which had landed him at the mouth of the Pei-ho river within three days journey of Pekin, had already sailed from the neighbouring island of Chu-san and was returning to Canton. The distance from that city to Pekin is from twelve to fourteen hundred miles, the whole of which Lord Macartney and his whole Embassy were transported by inland river and canal navigation, at the cost of his Imperial Majesty, in the custody of a succession of Mandarins, civil and military, of the very highest dignity, every where treated with distinguished honours, occasionally buffeted with humiliating insults, and never suffered to stray a single mile from the river or canal upon which they were boated into the Country, through which they were passing; or to pass a night in one of the numerous cities through which they were conducted. They were nearly three months in the performance of this inland safe-conduct, and at the expiration of his voyage and embassy Lord Macartney, knew about as much of the condition of the interior of China as if he had during the two years of his absence continually resided in Pall Mall or Piccadilly, within a stone's throw of the Palace of St. James.

This embassy however appears to have been treated with more respect than any other from an European Government during the two centuries of the reign of the Ta-Tsing or Mantchoo Tartar dynasty. The narrative of Sir George Staunton distinctly and positively affirms that Lord Macartney was admitted to the presence of the Emperor Kien-Lung, and presented to him his credentials without performing the prostration of the Ko-Tow, the Chinese act of homage from the vassal to the Sovereign Lord. Ceremonies between superiors and inferiors are the personification of principles. Nearly twenty-five years after the repulse of Lord Macartney, in 1816, another splendid embassy was despatched by the British Government in the person of Lord Amherst, who was much more rudely dismissed, without being even admitted to the presence of the Emperor, or passing a single hour at Pekin. A Dutch Embassy, instituted shortly after the failure of that of Lord Macartney, fared no better, although the embassador submitted with a good grace to the prostration of the Ko-Tow. A philosophical Republican may smile at the distinction by which a British Nobleman, saw no objection to delivering his credentials on the bended knee, but could not bring his stomach to the attitude of entire prostration. In the discussion which arose between Lord

Amherst and the celestials on this question, the Chinese to a man insisted inflexibly that Lord Macartney *had* performed the Ko-Tow, and Kei-King the Successor of Kien-Lung and, who had been present at the reception of Lord Macartney, personally pledged himself that he had seen his Lordship in that attitude. Against the testimony to the fact of the imperial witness in person, it may well be conjectured how impossible it was for the British Noble to maintain his position, which was after all of small moment. The bended knee, no less than the full length prostration to the ground, is a symbol of homage from an inferior to a superior, and if not equally humiliating to the performer, it is only because he has been made familiar by practice with one and not with the other. In Europe the bended knee is exclusively appropriated to the relations of Sovereign and subject, and no Representative of any Sovereign in Christendom ever bends the knee in presenting his credentials to another.

But the personal prostration of the Embassador before the Emperor was in the Chinese principle of exaction symbolical, not only of the acknowledgment of subjection, but of the fundamental Law of the Empire, prohibiting all official intercourse upon a footing of equality between the Government of China, and the Government of any other Nations. All are included under the general denomination of outside barbarians, and the commercial intercourse with the maritime or navigating nations is maintained through the exclusive monopoly of the Hong Merchants.

It has been seen how the British Government and Nation had accommodated themselves to this self-arrogating system of the Chinese. It was by establishing a monopoly on their part adapted to the monopoly of the Chinese Hong. The exclusive right of trading with China was granted to the East India company, and all the commerce of British subjects with the celestial empire was transacted by means of commissioned supercargoes appointed by those merchant princes, without diplomatic character, and without direct intercourse with any officer of the Chinese Government.

But on the expiration and renewal of the East India Company's charter in 1833, the exclusive right of trading with China was discontinued, and thenceforth the quasi-political intercourse between the two Nations transacted by mere commercial agents of the East India company ceased, and in the third and fourth year of the reign of William the 4th an act of Parliament was made and passed, "to regulate the trade to China and India."

In pursuance of the powers conferred upon the crown by this act the sailor King issued three Orders in Council. 1. Constituting and appointing William John Lord Napier, William Henry Chicheley Plowden, and John Francis Davis *Superintendents of the Trade of*

British Subjects in China, with an order for the government of British subjects within the Chinese dominions. 2. Creating a Court of Justice for the purposes therein mentioned. 3. Imposing duties on the ships and goods of British subjects trading to China, for the purposes therein mentioned, that is of defraying the expenses of the establishment. The order for the imposition of duties was afterwards rescinded, and the order for the constitution of a Court of Justice was suspended for further consideration. The Chief Superintendent, Lord Napier, was *instructed* to announce his arrival at Canton *by letter to the Viceroy*. The Superintendents were instructed to take up their residence at the port of Canton, and to discharge the duties of their Commission within the river or port of Canton, or at any other place within that river or port, or at any other place thereafter to be designated by an order in council, *and not elsewhere*.

One of the most remarkable circumstances attending all these transactions is, that in giving these Instructions to the Superintendents to take up their residence at Canton, and to the Chief Superintendent to announce his arrival by letter to the Viceroy, they appear not to have been aware of the possibility of any objection to this course of proceeding on the part of the Chinese.

Accordingly on his arrival in China, after organizing the board of Superintendents at Macao, Lord Napier, with his colleagues and the secretary of the Commission, proceeded immediately to Canton. For the scenes which ensued of dramatic interest, partaking at once of tragedy and farce, recourse may be had to the official despatch of the Chief Superintendent to His Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State.

"In obedience to his Majesty's commands (says Lord Napier in his Letter of 9 August, 1834, to Lord Palmerston,) conveyed to me by your Lordship, of the date of the 25th of January last, desiring me to announce my arrival at Canton by letter to the Viceroy, a letter, a copy of which is enclosed, was addressed to his Excellency the Viceroy, which being rendered into Chinese by the Rev. Dr. Morrison, the Chinese Secretary and Interpreter, was carried to the City gates by Mr. Astell [the Secretary to the Commission] accompanied by a deputation of gentlemen from the establishment.

"It may be here stated that during the interval employed in translating my letter, the Hong Merchants, Howqua and Mowqua, arrived with the copy of an Edict addressed by the Viceroy to themselves for the purpose of being enjoined on the Superintendents by their body. Long experience having already proved to the servants of the East India Company the utter futility of such a medium of communication, and the compliance therewith only tending to degrade his Majesty's Commission, and the British public in general, in the estimation of the Chinese people, and to render the exertions of the Superintendents to

perform their various duties altogether ineffectual, the Hong Merchants were courteously dismissed, with an intimation, that I would communicate immediately with the Viceroy in the manner befitting his Majesty's Commission and the honour of the British Nation.

"Mr. Astell was therefore instructed to deliver my letter to a Mandarin, and to avoid any communication through the Hong Merchants, which might afterwards be represented as an official communication and a precedent on all other occasions.

"On the arrival of the party at the city gates, the soldier on guard was dispatched to report the circumstance to his superior. In less than a quarter of an hour a Mandarin of inferior rank appeared; whereupon Mr. Astell offered my letter for transmission to the Viceroy, which duty this officer declined; adding, that his superior was on his way to the spot.

"In the course of an hour several Mandarins, of nearly equal rank, arrived in succession; each refusing to deliver the letter; on the plea that higher officers would shortly attend.

"After an hour's delay, during which time the party were treated with much indignity, not unusual on such occasions, the Linguists and Hong Merchants arrived, who *intreated* to become the bearers of the letter to the Viceroy.

"About this time a Mandarin, of rank higher than any of those who had preceded him, joined the party, to whom the letter was in due form offered; and as formally refused.

"The Mandarins having seen the superscription on the letter, argued, 'that as it came from the Superintendent of trade, the Hong Merchants were the proper channels of communication' but this obstacle appeared of minor importance in their eyes upon ascertaining that the document was styled a *letter* and not a *petition*.

"The Linguists requested to be allowed a copy of the address, which was of course refused.

"About this time the Kwang-Heep, a military officer of considerable rank, accompanied by an officer a little inferior to himself, arrived on the spot; to whom the letter was offered three several times, and as often refused. The senior Hong Merchant, Howqua, after a private conversation with the Kwang-Heep, requested to be allowed to carry the letter in company with the Kwang-Heep, and ascertain whether it would be received.

"This being considered, as an insidious attempt to circumvent the directions of the Superintendents, a negative was made to this and other overtures of a similar tendency.

"Suddenly all the Mandarins took their departure, for the purpose, as it was afterwards ascertained, of consulting with the Viceroy.

"Nearly three hours having been thus lost within the city, Mr. Astell

determined to wait a reasonable time for the return of the Mandarins, who shortly afterwards reassembled; whereupon Mr. Astell respectfully offered the letter in question three separate times to the Kwang-Heep, and afterwards to the other Mandarins, all of whom distinctly refused even to touch it: upon which Mr. Astell and his party returned to the factory." [1]

You have now in this portion of the narrative of the first despatch from Lord Napier to Lord Palmerston, the primitive and efficient cause of the present War between Great Britain and China. It was in the attempt to execute two points of the instructions to the Superintendents. 1. That the Chief Superintendent should announce his arrival at Canton, *by letter*, to the Viceroy; and the other that the Superintendents should take up their residence at Canton. Lord Napier, with the open-hearted and inconsiderate boldness of a British Sailor, attempted to execute these points of his instructions to the letter, without for an instant conceiving that each of them was in direct conflict with the vital and fundamental laws of the Celestial Empire. This ignorance was very natural and very excusable in a Captain of the British Navy; but how it came to be shared by the Privy Council and the Secretary of State of the British Empire is more unaccountable. The instructions were explicit and positive. Had there been the remotest suspicion at the time when they were prepared that their execution would meet with resistance by the Chinese authorities, it could not have failed to be noticed in them, with directions how the Superintendents were to proceed in such an event. Until then the official protector of British commercial interests in China, had been a supercargo of the East India Company, denominated by the Chinese a Taepan, whose representations or remonstrances in behalf of British subjects, to the Governor of the two Provinces Kwang-tung and Kwang-see were always presented in the form of PETITIONS, and always communicated through the medium of the Hong Merchants, without obtaining or claiming direct access to the Chinese dignitary himself. That this mode of communication was to cease from the time of the expiration of the exclusive privilege of the East India Company, was equally well known to the British and Chinese Governments, and in the controversy which immediately followed this first collision between Lord Napier and the Governor of Canton, the latter once and again asserted, that ample warning had been given to the British Merchants that when, by the expiration of the privilege of the East India Company, the functions of the Taepan would be superseded, some suitable manager must be substituted to settle with the Hong Merchants those trifling and insignificant concerns of commerce, which it was far beneath the dignity of the Government of the celestial Empire to provide for or to notice.

[1] Correspondence relating to China, 8.

But I am already trespassing upon your patience. A brief and summary notice of the sequel is all that your time will at present allow. The proud and generous British noble mariner persisted in his determination to hold direct communication with the Governor of the two provinces, *Loo*, and to continue his residence at Canton, till he was obliged to call for an armed force from the British frigate in which he had performed his passage, and for that frigate and another to force their passage up to Canton, for the protection of his person from assault by the armed force of the Governor, who on his part issued edict after edict against the barbarian Eye, *laboriously vile* Napier, who had come by sea more than ten thousand miles to the flowery land of the celestial empire, for what purpose, the Chief of the two-eyed peacock feather could not tell, but against all reason, and ignorant of all dignities, pretending to correspond with the viceroy of the two Provinces of Kwang-tung and Kwang-se, upon matters of trade, *by letter* instead of *by petition*, and to assume the functions which for a century and some tens of years had always been performed in all humility by a Taepan, petitioning through the medium of the Hong Merchants. Three of the principal Hong merchants attempted for several days to negotiate a compromise between the Governor and the noble Lord Superintendent, without success, till at length an edict was issued by the Governor which *suspended the British trade.* The British Commerce in China, was prostrated at a blow, and the only alternative left to Lord Napier was to retire under numerous insults, and indignities, to Macao, where on the 11th day of October, 1834, he died in the delirium of a fever, aggravated by ill usage and disappointment.

And here we must pause. My brethren of the Massachusetts historical Society, do I hear you enquire, what is all this to the *Opium* question or to the taking of Canton? These I answer are but *incidents* in that *movement of mind* on this globe of Earth, of which the war between Great Britain and China, is now the leading star. Of the four questions which I have proposed this evening to discuss, we have not even reached the conclusion of the first, the *Justice of the cause* between the two parties.

Which has the righteous *cause?* You have perhaps been surprised to hear me answer Britain. Britain has the righteous cause. But to prove it, I have been obliged to show that the opium question is not the cause of the war, and my demonstration is not yet complete. The cause of the war is the Ko-tow! the arrogant and insupportable pretension of China, that she will hold commercial intercourse with the rest of mankind, not upon terms of equal reciprocity, but upon the insulting and degrading forms of the relation between lord and vassal. The melancholy catastrophe with which I am obliged to close, the death of the gallant Napier, was the first bitter fruit of the struggle against that

insulting and senseless pretension of China. Might I in the flight of time be permitted once more to address you, I should pursue the course of this inquiry, through the four questions with which I have begun. But the solution of them all is involved in the germinating element of the first, the *Justice of the cause*. This I have sought in the natural rights of man. Whether it may ever be my good fortune to address you again is in the disposal of a higher power; but with reference to the *last* of my four questions, What are the duties of the Government and People of the United States, resulting from the existing war between Great Britain and China? I leave to your meditation, the last event of that war, which the winds have brought to our ears, the ransom of Canton. When we remember the scornful repulse from the gates of Canton in July, 1834, of Mr. Astell bearing the letter of Peace and Friendship from Lord Napier to the Governor of the two Provinces, and the contemptuous refusal to receive that letter itself, and compare it with the ransom of that same city in June, 1841, we trace the whole line of connection between cause and effect. May we not draw from it a monitory lesson, written upon a beam of phosphoric light — of preparation for *war* and preservation of *peace*.[1]

[1] In less than two years after, the President of the United States commissioned Caleb Cushing to be Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of China. In the instructions, dated May 8, 1843, the Secretary of State, Webster, said:

"It is of course desirable that you should be able to reach Pekin, and the court and person of the Emperor, if practicable. You will, accordingly, at all times signify this as being your purpose and the object of your mission; and perhaps it may be well to advance as near to the capital as shall be found practicable, without waiting to announce your arrival in the country. The purpose of seeing the Emperor in person must be persisted in as long as may be becoming and proper. You will inform the officers of the government, that you have a letter of friendship from the President of the United States to the Emperor, signed by the President's own hand, which you cannot deliver except to the Emperor himself, or some high officer of the court in his presence. You will say, also, that you have a commission conferring on you the highest rank among representatives of your government; and that this, also, can only be exhibited to the Emperor, or his chief officer. You may expect to encounter, of course, if you get to Pekin, the old question of the *Ko-tow*. In regard to the mode of managing this matter, much must be left to your discretion, as circumstances may occur. All pains should be taken to avoid the giving of offence, or the wounding of the national pride; but, at the same time, you will be careful to do nothing which may seem, even to the Chinese themselves, to imply any inferiority on the part of your government, or any thing less than perfect independence of all nations. . . . Taking care thus in no way to allow the government or people of China to consider you as tribute-bearer from your government, or as acknowledging its inferiority, in any respect, to that of China, or any other nation, you will bear in mind, at the same time, what is due to your own personal dignity and the character which you bear." — Webster, Works, VI. 470.

In July, 1844, a treaty of peace, amity and navigation, between the United States and China, was concluded at Wang Hiya. Alexander H. Everett was ap-

Jonathan Smith read the following letter of Caleb Cushing addressed to Dr. Francis Amory Holman:

Houston, Texas, February 5th, '47.

Dear Sir, — In the hurry of my departure from New England I neglected to attend to an important matter connected with my friend Ching-bang-whang-ching-fu, Emperor of China.

You know, perhaps, that during my visit to China I resided at his court in Pekin, and became familiarly acquainted with him and the different members of his family, as well as his most distinguished officers of State.

He is a man of liberal views and pursues an enlightened policy with his people although he is a Despot.

He is very anxious to establish an Asylum for the Insane, near Pekin, as some of the members of his family have become lunatics. He therefore wished me to secure, if possible, for him, the services of some young physician of promise; one who would be capable of superintending the erection of the buildings, the laying out and embellishing of the grounds and the medical department of the Institution.

I promised to do so, and after making enquiries I am persuaded you are precisely the person he wishes. Your known benevolence of character, your fine tall person, and your refined taste in the arrangement of trees, shrubs etc., the peculiar advantages you have enjoyed by being so long with Dr. Rockwell; all these circumstances and qualities combined eminently fit you to become extremely popular with this most fastidious Emperor and his fastidious Court.

I regret to hear you have been so much indisposed of late with the

pointed "commissioner" to China, and Buchanan, in this first despatch to him, of April 13, 1845, sends a letter of credence to the Emperor, "to be communicated or delivered to the Sovereign in such manner as may be most agreeable to His Majesty to receive it." — Buchanan, Works, vi. 139.

In 1859, Buchanan, then President, wrote in his annual message: "On the arrival of Mr. Ward at Peking, he requested an audience of the Emperor to present his letter of credence. This he did not obtain, in consequence of his very proper refusal to submit to the humiliating ceremonies required by the etiquette of this strange people in approaching their sovereign. . . . It is but simple justice to the Chinese authorities to observe that throughout the whole transaction they appear to have acted in good faith and in a friendly spirit toward the United States. It is true this has been done after their own peculiar fashion; but we ought to regard with a lenient eye the ancient customs of an Empire dating back for thousands of years, so far as this may be consistent with our own national honor." — Works, x. 347.

Not until 1873 were the foreign representatives received, and with the understanding that it was not to be a regular occurrence. In 1891 the visit was repeated, and in 1898 the wives of the foreign ministers were received by the Empress Dowager. — Moore, Digest of International Law, iv. 774.

prevalent Fever of Bratt. But I feel quite confident of your recovery in the hands of Dr. Rockwell; and the experience you will gain by this attack will be of immense advantage to you, for the Disease is by no means peculiar to our Country. I think it far more malignant in its character and fatal in its effects in China than any other portion of the Globe I have ever visited.

The fame of Dr. Rockwell has reached the ears of Ching-bang-whang-ching-fu, and it was his desire that I should procure the services of Dr. Rockwell in this project, because of his remarkable success in his treatment of the Matrimonial Fever, but I told him it would be impossible, that America would never let him leave her Shores. He then made the request that the Doctor's Portrait should be sent out to him. If you conclude to accept the appointment I would propose that you take it out to him. It will be a passport to his most distinguished favors.

I would also advise you at once to take up your residence at the Chinese Museum, and remain there until the ship arrives which he will send out for you, as soon as he knows I have succeeded in getting your services. You will there become quite familiar with the language, manners and customs of the people, which will be of immense advantage to you. Indeed, my dear Sir, I think I see a most splendid career before you. I think your prospects quite superior to those of Daniel at the Court of Belshazzar.

I would advise you to write to Ching-bang-whang-ching-fu, immediately. It will take less time than to write me first, as I am now so far from the States, or rather shall be before your letter should reach me. Believe me, my dear Sir, you have my best wishes for your success in this most delightful enterprise. It is not improbable we may meet in China, as I intend, as soon as we have conquered Mexico, and I am established there as Viceroy, to open a communication with China by way of Steam Ships.

Believe me, with sentiments of the most profound esteem, your obedient, humble servant,

CALEB CUSHING.

Mr. SHAW presented to the Society the originals of ten letters from Samuel Adams to Samuel Phillips Savage, President of the Massachusetts Board of War. Of these letters, one dated November 1, 1778, is printed in Wells, "Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams," III. 56; and two, of August 11 and September 14, 1778, are in Cushing, "Writings of Samuel Adams," IV. 49, 61. The other letters are now printed for the first time, and to them have been added three letters from Mr. Savage, copies of which were obtained from

the Samuel Adams papers, through the courtesy of the New York Public Library.

Adams to Savage.

Philadel. July 23, 1776.

My dear Friend, — I must plead the Want of Leisure as an Apology for not acknowledging your very obliging Letter, which came to my hand several Months ago. I assure you there is no one with whom I would chuse to keep up an epistolary Correspondence, rather than with you. The long Acquaintance I have had with you, and the unsuspected Sincerity of your Friendship, are strong Inducements to me to write to you very frequently, but I cannot give you any Reason to expect it. I would [therefore] beg you to favor me with your letters as often as [your] Leisure will allow. I shall receive them gratefully. You have before this time heard of the success of the Continental Arms in South Carolina.[1] This happy event has, I hope, given such a Check to the Power of the Enemy as to prevent their doing us any material Injury in that part of America. I do not say any thing of our Affairs in Canada, the Subject is too mortifying. We must at all times submit to the Determination of Providence, "whose ways are ever gracious, ever just." We now look towards N. York. May Heaven prosper our Arms there! The Express which brought the Carolina News, will return in a few days. I shall take that opportunity to forward your letter to your Son. He was in health last Spring, as one of the Gentlemen of this Colony inform[ed] me. The Post is this moment going. Present my friendly regards to Mrs. Savage, &c. and be assured that I am affectionately Your Friend.

[No signature.]

Savage to Adams.

Weston, 22 August, 1776.

My dear Sir, — A few days ago I received your very obliging Letter. I particularly thank you for the Intelligence about my son at S° Carol,[2] and for your promise of forwarding my Letter to him. At present I seem almost childless, one is at Barnstable, another at S° Carol, a third in the Army at Albany or Fort Stanwyx, and the young-

[1] Charles Lee's defence of Sullivan's Island.

[2] Samuel Phillips Savage, born April 27, 1718, was son of Arthur and Faith (Phillips) Savage, of Boston. Samuel married, November 11, 1742, Sarah Tyler, and had four sons: Samuel, born August 11, 1748; William, born June 14, 1750; Joseph, born June 14, 1756; and Henry, born December 18, 1758. Samuel was the son at Barnstable; William was in South Carolina; Joseph, a captain lieutenant at Albany; and Henry was at New York. The service of those in the Continental army is given in "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in Revolution," xiii. 836, 839.

est at New York with Mr. Park D. Q. M. G., or a private in the Regiment to which he belongs. With what Rapidity has the Storm arose in America, and how many thousand unforeseen events have taken place to bring on the important Scenes that are now acting among us? the ways of Heaven are misterious.

We can almost weekly look back and see how far we have shot ahead, like a Vessell with a strong tide under foot, and a leading Gale, passing down a River. I pity and honor those who sett at helm, and they had need be carefull as the fate of all America is onboard, and one blow may distroy the Bark; Many are the Dangers unto which we are exposed, but none so great as those which lie unseen. I dread the gold of Brittain more than her lead. Happy for America, Heaven hath hitherto guided our pilots, and done that for us which nothing but almighty power, under the direction of infinite Wisdom could have effected. How many States ever discordant till lately, are now united; Prejudice in favor of Brittain, which, but lately, was that by some too inveterate ever to be overcome, now subdued; difficulties almost insuparable, that lay in our way, removed, and an Army of our own sons, which were so fond of home, willingly offering themselves to the Service of their Country, jeoparding their Lives abroad. We yet, my dear Sir, have our Fears, and one of mine is when the present Army in December is disbanded, how we shall collect a new one. I have just now said, our Sons willingly offered themselves, and it was true until our late misfortunes at Canada, since which the troops raised for that Service have had from 50 to 100 Dollars ahead given them as a bounty by the Colony, Towns and individuals together, and if some plan is not early adopted, and methods taken to perswade those now in the service to enter again (for others there are not) we shall yet be in the Suds. Another of my Fears is, supporting the public Credit of our paper Currency. Would it not be well if all the money emitted on the Continent, had the Credit of all the Continent stampt on it? Otherwise it may be, some Goverments may emit more than their neighbours chuse to give a Credit to, which at this very critical Season may bring on some disagreable and perhaps dangerous disputes. But when I reflect I am no Statesman and that you know it, I feel the concious blush which for this once let attone for the fault. I only add in this subject that every one must be sensible that ten thousand difficulties are to be encountered and as many evils avoided in forming a new and a large State, and tho I have the highest opinion of the Wisdom and Virtue of the *present* Members of the Congress and think they have proved themselves equal to their Appointments, yet they must remember that neither Wisdom or Virtue are heriditary. I smiled on reading Genl. Carlton's orders; in the beginning he seems to be in a dire passion, but before he finishes

is strangely softened: he must either have had a severe reproff from How, (conveyed privately) or he really trembles at the late Resolves of that Congress, he seems so heartily to despise.[1] How far Retaliation may be lawfule to be excersised by *Man*, I will not undertake to say, but this I dare affirm, that if it ever was fit to be practised, it is with those (now our enemies), who pay no regard to Justice, Humanity or Honor. I rather think, that as long as that Text remains in sacred Writt, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay," it never will be practiced by English Americans, or any thing mark the line of their Conduct, y^{t} so much as seems to be contrary to the Will of Heaven.

The Tories in this Colony begin to be pretty saucy, and as How collects Strength, they more and more shew themselves. We have too many of them and the captured Scoth, among us, considering so many of our young men are absent, to be secure, unless they were disarmd; which for a long season I have thot a piece of prudence, and why that has not been done, those in power, best know.

I wish my Circumstances would allow of a Visit to the Southward, I should see then in Fact, what I can but faintly know by accts from others; but Prudence forbids.

When this Colony assumd Goverment, I thot [*seal*] (tho I freely own it was w^{t} much reluctance, as [*seal*] I was ever ashamed) to desire two Friends, if any *small* place turned up, which they thot I could fill, with honor to myself and advantage to my Country, to think on me. Sometime after, my Country honord me with an Appointment to the Seat of a Justice in the Inferior Court for this County; mistaking my Ability as much as they crossd my Inclination, but which thro the perswation of many Friends I accepted. It sitts ill on me, and I fear 'ere long like one of my Predecessors in the same County, I shall *nod* my Approbation, and sink into a State of Forgetfulness. My Country I wish to serve, but my pocket forbids a conspicuous post, if therefore any thing in which you think I may be serviceable, that would be a moderate standing dish, presents, and you mention my name, it will ever be gratefully be resented. but I had rather it should be omitted than once known I askd for it. I can only add, after wishing you y^{e} Divine presence a blessing, that I am your very Affect Friend.

[No signature.]

Adams to Savage.

Philad. Aug. 29, 1777.

My dear Sir: — I have stepped aside to write you this Letter. It will be delivered to you by Daniel Clymer Esq, who is warmly attached to our great Cause. He is besides Nephew to General Roberdeau,[2]

[1] Journals of the Continental Congress (Ford), v. 539.

[2] Daniel Roberdeau, a member of the Continental Congress, from Pennsylvania, 1777–1779.

whose character is well known to the Publick. Your friendly Notice of Mr. Clymer and Introducing him into the Circle of your Acquaintance will much oblige me. He tells me he has some Effects in Boston which he wishes to transport out of the state of M[assachusetts] B[ay]. If you can assist him consistently with the law, you will add to the favor. I am with Respect to our Friends very affectionately Yours.

Adams to Savage.

York Town, Pennsylva. Octob. 26, 1777.

My dear Sir: — I heartily congratulate you on the entire Victory obtained by General Gates over Burgoin. This is a striking Instance of the Truth of the Observation in Holy Writ, "Pride goeth before a Fall." Our sincere Acknowledgments of Gratitude are due to the Supreme Disposer of all Events. I suppose Congress will recommend that a Day be set apart through out the United States for solemn Thanksgiving.

I rejoyce that my Friend General Gates, *after what had happened*, is honored by Providence as the Instrument in this great affair. The N. England Troops stand high in the Estimation of all sensible and impartial Men.

Inclosed is a letter which shows that there are heroes also in this state. I fancy Howe is now as much in the Power of Genl. Washington as Burgoin was, of Gates. God grant he may share a similar Fate! Hazelwood and his brave officers and Seamen merit great Praise.[1]

I received your favor by the Post and thank you for the Inclosures. Adieu my Friend. Yours in haste.

Adams to Savage.[2]

York Town, June 8, 1778.

My dear Sir, — I had the Pleasure of receiving a Letter from you while I was on my late Journey to this Place, which I do not recollect to have answered.

Last Saturday, President Laurens received a letter from Lord Howe, and another from Gen. Clinton each enclosing Copy of an Act of the British Parliament conformable to the Bills which have already been published. An Answer was returned to his Lordship and the General in which they are informed that "When the British King shall be *seriously* disposed to put an End to the unprovoked and cruel War

[1] This refers to the attack of Donop upon Fort Mercer, Red Bank, October 22. Hazelwood's conduct later brought merited punishment.

[2] Addressed to Samuel P. Savage as President of the Board of War.

waged against these United States, Congress will be ready to attend to such Terms of Peace as shall be consistent with the Honor of independent Nations, the Interest of their Constituents, and the sacred Regard which they mean to show to Treaties." [1]

Will you permit me to recommend to your Circle, Mr. Doree, the Bearer of this letter. He is a French Gentleman and is mentioned to me by my Friends in this Town, as very deserving of Notice.[2] Be so kind as to call on my dear Mrs. A., and let her know that I am in health, and have not Leisure to write to her at present.

My Regards to Mrs. Savage, Mr. Scollay, and his Family, etc. Adieu my dear Sir.

Adams to Savage.

Philad. July 3d 1778.

My dear Sir, — Yesterday I arrived in the City, and today I have the Pleasure of receiving your Letters of the 10th and 18th of June, the last of which inclosed the News Papers of that Day. I observe a Paragraph under the Head of Paris, the 15th of April, mentioning the Arrival of Mr. Adams a few days before.[3] I hope it is true; but I wonder that no Notice was taken of it in a Letter from Portsmouth, of the 22d of the same Month, which mentions the sailing of the Commissioners from St. Helens on the 21st, and this was taken from a London Paper of the 25th, ten days after the announcing of his Arrival in Paris. Capt. Courter [4] brought us nothing new from France. You have commonly had News from Europe earlier than we, though not so authentically. Your Papers give us brilliant Accounts from that Quarter. "Spain has this day avowd her Acknowledgment and support of the Independence of America." "It is expected that Holland will be the next Power to recognize the Independence of America." &c. &c. These things we expected to hear of before this Time. They are the Effects of Instructions given to the Agents of Congress so long ago, as while they were at Baltimore in Dec. 76,[5] and at a time when the Enemy were striding through the Jerseys. Our affairs were then at a low Ebb indeed; but *Nil desperandum* was the Motto of the *true* Patriots of America. Heaven has since done great Things for us, for which, I

[1] See Journals of the Continental Congress (Ford), xi. 572, 574. Adams was a member of the committee which drafted the answer.

[2] Fidel Dorré, who had some commercial dealings with Congress.

[3] Adams embarked on the frigate *Boston*, February 13, 1778, and, after many exciting adventures, reached Paris, April 8.

[4] Harmon Courter. See Journals of the Continental Congress (Ford), xi. 557, 564.

[5] When Silas Deane was sent to France.

fear, we are not so thankful as we ought to be. Our Army has gained considerable Advantages over the Enemy since they left this City. The Particulars are not yet come to hand. You will doubtless have them before I shall be able to inform you of them. I now begin to promise myself the Pleasure of seeing the Liberties of our Country established on a solid Foundation. It will then be my most earnest wish to be released from all publick Cares, and sit down with my Family and a little Circle of *faithful* Friends in the Cottage of Obscurity. There we will give Thanks to the God of Heaven for the great things he has done for America, and fervently pray that she may be virtuous, without which she cannot long enjoy the Blessings of Freedom.

I am greatly concerned for my dear native Town, lest after having stood foremost in the Cause of Religion and Liberty she should lose her Glory. We may say *inter Nos*, Her Principles and Manners have had great Influence in securing the Liberties of America. But has she not exchanged her manly Virtue, for Levity and Luxury and a Train of ridiculous Vices, which will speedily sink her in Contempt. I am affraid the cry of too many is *Quærenda Pecunia primum est!*

Get Money, Money still
And then let Virtue follow if she will!

The inordinate Love of Gain, will make a shameful Alteration in the Character of those who have heretofore sacrificed every Enjoyment to the Love of their Country. He is the best Patriot who stems the Torrent of Vice, because that is the most destructive Enemy of his Country. Adieu my Friend.

My Friendly Regards to Mrs. Savage, Mr. Scollay &c. &c.

The inclosed Letters from General Washington have been received and published since writing the foregoing.[1]

Savage to Adams.

Boston, 29th July, 1778.

My very dear Sir, — I inclose a Letter which I dare say will give you pleasure; it is from One of your closest Friends.

Pray my Friend what occasioned the very sudden Return of Mr H[ancock]. He arrivd quite unexpected. Various are the Conjectures for the true Cause; his Friends say the Airs of Philadelphia doth not sute him.

I send your Favors of 3 July and 8 June, that by Mr Dorré but last Saturday — the good Gentleman having been sick. The Town of

[1] His letters of June 29 and July 1, giving an account of the affair near Monmouth Court House.

Boston have drawn a spirited Petition to the Select Men for a Meeting to prevent y^e^ Return of the Tories.

The present posture of our Affairs seems much more agreeable than of late. Heaven prosper the Expedition on foot. The post is just going. I can only add that I am Yr very Affecte and most Ob^t^ Serv^t^.

Adams to Savage.

Philad. October 17, 1778.

My dear Sir, — I suppose you will have seen before this reaches you the Pennsylvania Packett of tuesday last, which contains a Resolution of Congress expressing their Sense that true Religion and good Morals are the only Foundation, of Publick Liberty and Happiness; and earnestly recommending to the several States to take the most effectual Measures for the Encouragement thereof, and to prevent Stage playing and such kinds of Diversions, as are productive of Vice, Idleness, Dissipation and a general Depravity of Principles and Manners. Also enjoyning on all Officers of the Army to see that the Rules prescribed for the Encouragement of Virtue and the discountenancing of Prophaness and Vice are duly executed. You must know that in humble Imitation, as it would seem, of the Example of the British Army, some of the Officers of ours have condescended to act on the Stage; while others, and one of superior Rank, were pleased to countenance them with their Presence. This with some other Appearances as disagreeable to the sober Inhabitants of this City as to Congress, gave Occasion for the Resolution. I am sorry that by a Repetition of a theatrical Performance, which at least appeared to be done in Contempt of the Sense of Congress, another Resolution became necessary.[1] You will see it in the enclosed Paper. The young french Marquiss has discoverd the Dignity of the Citizen in the Regard he so readily paid to the sentiments of those in Civil Authority on this occasion. I hope that other Gentlemen "of the first Rank and Fortune who deny themselves the Pleasures of domestick life and expose themselves to the Hardships of a Camp in the glorious Cause of Freedom," show as much good sense and Attention to the Cause of Virtue. Adieu.

Savage to Adams.

Boston, Oct^r^, 1778.

My very dear Sir, — Yours of the 30^th^ septem^r^ I receivd, the Cover also with the Letters for M^r^ A and others, are delivered.

Your Observations on the education of Youth, gave me pleasure. A

[1] The two resolutions are printed in the Journals of the Continental Congress (Ford), xii. 1001, 1018. Probably Arnold was the officer "of superior rank" mentioned. See Penn. Mag. of History, iii. 364.

wise preceptor by the Choice of Subjects, might in every branch of Literature inspire the young mind with the love of God and his Country, and make that, Recreation which is too often considered and dreaded as a Task. I doubt not many a Genius hath been spoiled by being obliged to trudge on thro the dull round of stated exercises, and faulted if nature forces to an excentric motion.

You discover your love to dear N England in all you do or write: partiality here perhaps may be a Virtue: but to ascribe the happy Cause of American Independence to N E *only*, is with me a doubt. I also dearly love my Country, and tho I feel too great a partiality for her, yet the heroes and Statesmen, S° Caro: and Virginia have furnished for the Field and the Cabinet, lead me to believe their Constituents are inspired with the same glorious Spirit.

You ask me, whether a Nation may not be independent and at the same time bound in the strongest Fetters of Slavery. There was a time at the beginning of this bloody Contest when I trembled for my Country, fearing, whether free or bound, we should all turn Sots. The Vice is altered, The man's the same, and unless heaven interpose we shall all turn Sharpers, and tho free in a political, yet in a moral Sense, Slaves to the worst of passion, Covetiousness. What follows is between me and thee, and friendship must apologize for what is imprudent or otherwise amiss. I most sincerely value you as my Friend, but as much as I value you my Country lies nearer my heart, and I greatly fear the differences now subsisting between you and your once worthy Friend M[r] H[ancock] may greatly hurt her interest: the Effects are already visible; the enemies of America triumph in the Strife and are taking every measure to encrease the Flame. The Friends of their Country cannot stand by idle Spectators; they see the encreasing Contest with weeping eyes and aching hearts, & wish a Reconciliation. Permit me my Friend to attempt (however inadequate to the Task) a Restoration of friendship between two who once were dear to each other, and who now perhaps from mistakes and misapprehensions seem so distant.

It was an excellent Observation of Luther, between whom and Calvin a breach once happened, Calvin, says he, was first in the Transgression, but I glory in being first in the Reconciliation. Here was discoverable true greatness of Mind, and we have the evidence of Inspiration, that he who conquers himself is greater than he who taketh a city. I am sure, from your Soul, you detest the modern notions of honor, and pray, my dear Sir, tell me where lies the difference, but in degree, between him who settles a Dispute by a Sword or pistol and the man who but nurses an unfriendly sentiment against his brother: this temper you much dislike in another, why will you suffer a moment in your own bosom? The dear Master, who you now love was first in

the Reconciliation and hath forgiven you; "go thou and do likewise" let his precept, let his dear example force you to a reconciliation; let the Cry of the Widow and Fatherless throughout America, who dearly love and honor you both; let the dear Country plead the necessity — let every argument drawn from Calvary to the least Aceldama in America be urged to unite in Friendship, two Gentlemen, upon whose reconciliation so much good to the Country depends.

You are both men and must both die and, then, if not till then, this must be the Work, or the pillow of death will be uneasy. I could use a thousand arguments and point out as many motives, but words are needless; your own good sense can supply more and of more Cogency than my Invention can furnish.

Did I not remember I was writing to one who I believe to be a follower of the meek and lowly Savior, I should fear this unaccustomd freedom would dissolve a Friendship, I most highly prize, but as I trust the Friendship is mutual, I will believe you will receive it as it is really designed an Instance of the sincere Esteem and regard with which I am Yr most sincre (tho perhaps weak) Frd and Sert.[1]

ADAMS TO SAVAGE.

BOSTON, Nov. 29, 1785.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — Being from an intimate Acquaintance assured that you are a Friend to men of real Merit, give me Leave to recommend to you Saml Barret Esqr, who is desirous of being appointed Clerk of the Sessions and of the Common Pleas in your County. His good Character you well know. He has met with repeated singular Misfortunes during the late War and since. From his Representation, of the Truth of which I cannot doubt, he has conducted himself with Candour, Judgment, and Integrity. If it be not inconsistent with your own upright Views, you will oblige me by favouring his Wishes. I am affectionately Your Friend.

Dr. GREEN communicated the following note:

I have received from Mr. J. H. Morse, of San Francisco, for the Society, an interesting relic of former times. It is a ticket which entitles J. F. Fellows to a free pass for three months on the Winnisimmet Ferry between Chelsea and Boston. It reads as follows:

[1] Adams's reply is in Wells, "Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams," III. 56.

WINNISIMMET FERRY.

No. CHELSEA, *Oct. 1* 1845

This Ticket Entitles *Mr. J. F. Fellows* and the persons whose names are hereupon endorsed, to pass in the Steam Boats whenever they run between Boston and Chelsea, for a term beginning at this date, and ending *Jany, 1846*

Not Transferable.

D. W. SMITH *Cashier.*

[Endorsed] Miss Fellows.

Sixty-five years ago Chelsea was a village of five thousand inhabitants, and to-day, together with the towns of Revere and Winthrop set off from its territory, it has a population of sixty thousand persons. What interested me especially in the ticket was the fact that more than sixty years ago I knew Mr. John F. Fellows, who at that time lived in Chelsea and was connected with "The Boston Daily Atlas."

Colonel T. W. HIGGINSON submitted a series of war letters, extracts from which were, in his absence, read by Dr. E. H. Hall. These were private letters, written to his daughter by Dr. Seth Rogers, Surgeon of the First South Carolina Volunteers under Colonel Higginson in 1862–64, a regiment of that name enlisted under Brigadier General Rufus Saxton, Military Governor of the Department of the South. This regiment (renumbered in February, 1864, the thirty-third United States Colored Infantry under an alphabetical arrangement) was lately pronounced by the "Association of the Graduates of West Point" to have been "the first regiment of colored troops ever formed and enlisted into the service of the United States." The first Massachusetts colored regiment, Colonel Shaw's, was some months later; and it is to be remembered that the entire number of colored troops enlisted during the Civil War was 186,107, by official announcement.

A Surgeon's War Letters.

Camp Saxton, Beaufort, S. C.
December 27, 1862.

. . . There is a little more of solid reality in this work of camp-life than I have found in any previous experience. You remember my delight in the life of ship surgeon, when I had three hundred and fifty of the lowest Irish to care for. Multiply that delight by ten and you will approximate to what I get among these children of the tropics. A more childlike, jovial, devotional, musical, shrewd, amusing set of beings never lived. Be true to them and they will be devoted to you. I leave all my things in tent unguarded and at loose ends, as I could never think of doing in a white regiment, and if I ever lose anything you shall be informed. Their religious devotion is more natural than any I ever witnessed. At this moment the air is full of melody from the tents, of prayer and hymns, mingled with the hearty *yah, yah*, of the playful outsiders.

Last night I had too many business letters to get off in today's mail to allow me time for writing half of what I wished, and since then I have lived so long that much has been lost in the ages. I want, once for all, to say that Col. H. is splendid — pardon the McClellan word, — beyond even *my* anticipation, which, you know, has for years been quite exalted. I stood by General [Rufus] Saxton, who is a West Pointer, the other night, witnessing the dress parade, and was delighted to hear him say that he knew of no other man who could have magically brought these blacks under the military discipline that makes our camp one of the most enviable. Should we by possibility ever increase to a brigade I can already foresee that our good Colonel is destined to be the Brigadier General.

I am about selecting my orderly from among the privates, and just now a Lieutenant brought little "Charlie" before me: a boy of fourteen or fifteen, who saw his master shot at Hilton Head without weeping over it; who had some of his own teeth knocked out at the same time. He has always taken care of his master and knows so many things that I shall probably avail myself of his bright eyes and willing hands. We have had an old uncle "Tiff," whom I should take if I had the time and strength to wait upon him when he should get too tired to wait upon me. He is a dear old man who prays day and night.

I have forgotten whether I have written that the mocking-bird sings by day and the cricket by night. To me it is South America over again. The live oak grows to enormous size. Today I made thirty of my longest paces across the diameter of the branches of one of these

handsome trees. The beautiful gray moss pendent everywhere from its branches gave the most decided impression of fatherliness and age.

Col. H. kindly invited James and me to mess with him and the adjutant. Thus we have a pleasant little table under the supervision of "William and Hattie," in an old home just outside the camp. I am yet sharing the young captain's tent, but in a day or two shall have my own pitched. . . . We are not more than fifty rods from the shore. Our landing is remarkable for its old fort, built of shells and cement in 16— by Jean Paul de la Ribaudière.[1] Its preservation is almost equal to monuments perpetuated by Roman cement.

The chance for wild game here is excellent, and in anticipation I enjoy it much, while in reality I doubt whether I shall ever find time for such recreation, and actual profit to our stomachs. It is not very easy for us to get fresh meat here, but we shall not suffer, because oysters are plentiful and fresh.

Our Chaplain is a great worker, and has a good influence over the soldiers — I presume Mr. Wasson knows him, — Mr. [James H.] Fowler, who was not long ago at Cambridge.

My first assistant surgeon is Dr. Hawks[2] of Manchester, N. H. He is a radical anti-slavery man, somewhat older than I, and has had a large medical experience and in addition has been hospital surgeon at Beaufort during several months. He has been rigidly examined by three regimental surgeons from New England, and they have given him a very flattering certificate of qualification. I consider myself fortunate in having a man so well fitted for the place. The men and officers like him, and I fancy will take to him quite as much as to me. The second assistant is not yet decided upon, but will probably be a young man who has already been several months in the army. The hospital steward has also had experience . . .

December 31, 1862.

I examine from sixty to eighty men every morning and make prescriptions for those who need them. Doing this and visiting those in the hospital, usually keeps me busy from breakfast to dinner; after that my assistants can "see care" ordinarily of everybody till next morning. My afternoons are almost equally busy in contriving ways to keep the soldiers from getting sick, improving my hospital, etc. We have to make everything as we go on. The hospital is the upper floor of an old cotton gin building. I had the machinery moved and

[1] The writer appears to have been confused in his reference. Ribault's colony of 1562 was at Port Royal Sound, in the territory then known as Florida. Two years after René de Laudonnière established himself at the mouth of St. John's River, Florida, where he was superseded by Ribault in 1565. In that year the Spaniards under Menendez wiped out the settlement. See 2 Proc., VIII. 416.

[2] J. M. Hawks.

bedsteads made, beds made and filled with dry, coarse grass that the soldiers brought on their heads from the plains, and eight sick men were put in last Thursday. It was a hard day's work, but the men were very sick, and I had all the help that could work in the building. We have no such thing as pillows or sheets, but we have plenty of blankets, and the knapsacks answer nicely for pillows. Dr. Hawks had already got a good fire-place in the room and now everything is as systematic, and almost as comfortable, as in any hospital. . . . Some of our officers and men have been off and captured some oxen, and today all hands have been getting ready for a great barbecue, which we are to have tomorrow. They have killed ten oxen, which are now being roasted whole over great pits containing live coals made from burning logs in them.

January 1, 1863.

This is the evening of the most eventful day of my life. Our barbecue was a most wonderful success. Two steamboats came loaded with people from Beaufort, St. Helena Island and Hilton Head. Among the visitors were some of my new acquaintances. My friend, Mr. Hall of the voyage on the Delaware. But the dearest friend I found among them was Miss Forten, whom you remember. She is a teacher of the freed children on St. Helena Island. Gen. Saxton and his father and others came from Beaufort, and several cavalry officers hovered around the outskirts of our multitude of black soldiers and civilians, and in the centre of all was the speakers' stand, where the General and our Colonel and some others, with the band, performed the ceremonies of the day. Several good speeches were made, but the most impressive scene was that which occurred at the presentation of the Dr. Cheever flag to our regiment. After the presentation speech had been made, and just as Col. Higginson advanced to take the flag and respond, a negro woman standing near began to sing "America," and soon many voices of freedmen and women joined in the beautiful hymn, and sang it so touchingly that every one was thrilled beyond measure. Nothing could have been more unexpected or more inspiring. The President's proclamation and General Saxton's New Year's greeting had been read, and this spontaneous outburst of love and loyalty to a country that has heretofore so terribly wronged these blacks, was the birth of a new hope in the honesty of her intention. I most earnestly trust they may not hope in vain.

Col. Higginson was so much inspired by the remarkable thought of, and singing of, the hymn, that he made one of his most effective speeches. Then came Gen. Saxton with a most earnest and brotherly speech to the blacks and then Mrs. Frances D. Gage, and finally all joined in the John Brown hymn, and then to dinner. A hundred things of interest occurred which I have not time to relate. Everybody was happy in the bright

sunshine, and in the great hope. The ten oxen were eaten with hearty relish and barrels of molasses and water and vinegar and ginger were drunk to wash them down. Mr. Hall, Miss Forten and some others took dinner with us.

January 2, 1863.

. . . I did not observe any reporters at our barbecue yesterday, but I presume some of the journals will contain enough to make it unnecessary for me to write more than my letter of yesterday. I will, however, reiterate the statement that it was the most eventful day of my life. To know what I mean you must stand in the midst of the disenthralled and feel the inspiration of their birth into freedom. . . . There is nothing in history more touching and beautiful than the spontaneous outburst of these freed men and women just at the moment when our gallant colonel was receiving the flag of the regiment. None of us had ever heard them sing America, and the most infinite depth and tenderness of

My Country 'tis of thee
Sweet land of liberty

was inspiring to the last degree. I doubt if our Col. ever spoke so well and he justly attributed inspiration to the unexpected singing of the hymn.

January 6, 1863.

For the first time in the six weeks Colonel H. has been in camp, he to-day went to Beaufort. He returns with a more civilized air and informs me that there are yet many people outside our camp.

The rebel pickets above came down to the river bank this morning and announced that an armistice had been agreed upon for six months, and therefore laid aside their guns and sat on the bank, fishing. Their statement is not credited, because nobody believes the insanity of the nation has taken such a disastrous turn.

I am steadily becoming acquainted with very remarkable men whose lives in slavery and whose heroism in getting out of it, deepens my faith in negro character and intellect. The difference in physiognomy among them now seems to me quite as marked as among the whites and the physiognomy of their diseases is quite as apparent to me.

January 9, 1863.

This morning, the adjutant and I, with eight oarsmen, went down to Hilton Head in our surf boat. The distance cannot be far from twelve miles and the trip is a charming one, though the shores are wanting in those rugged qualities which help to make the difference in character between the North and the South. Our black soldiers sang as they

rowed — not the songs of common sailors — but the hymns of praise mingled with those pathetic longings for a better world, so constant with these people. There are times when I could quite enjoy more earthly songs for them, even a touch of the wicked, but this generation must live and die in sadness. The sun can never shine for them as for a nation of freemen whose fathers were not slaves.

My special business in going to Hilton Head was to test the honesty of a certain medical purveyor, who does not incline to honor the requisitions of the surgeon of the 1st Reg. S. C. Vol's. He has not yet heard of the popularity of the black regiments, but Uncle Samuel will teach him that, as well as a few other things. But it will be too late for him to repent in this world when he shall have learned the lesson.

The *Flora* — Gen. Saxton's steamer — came down from Beaufort and we were towed back by her to our camp. I met the General on the steamer and was delighted to find him in that mood over the purveyor's second refusal, which will work out a line of retributive justice. He read to me a letter just received by him from Secretary Stanton, which authorizes me to draw direct from New York. So we shall be all right within two weeks, I hope. In addition to all my other duties, I should quite like to prescribe for some of those pro-slavery scamps who disgrace the federal shoulder-straps. This particular case was polite enough to me, for which I was sorry. When Gen. [David] Hunter gets here there will be a bowing and scraping to the anti-slavery men that may awaken wickedness in my heart. . . .

I am just now busy in trying to discover the causes of such an excess of pleurisy and pneumonia in our camp, as compared with white regiments. Thus far I can only get the reiteration of the fact that negroes are more subject to these diseases than are the whites. I should be very sorry to find that their nightly "praise meetings," or "shouts," acted an important rôle in the development of these diseases, yet, thus far, our gravest cases are the most religious. It would be a sad but curious coincidence, if while the Colonel and young captain are diligently taking notes of the songs and hymns of the soldiers, the surgeon should note a marked fatality resulting from this sweet religious expression. We shall see. It is as difficult to inculcate temperance in religion here, among these sun-burned children, as to introduce it into a Methodist camp-meeting. I hope we shall not have to shut in religious expressions by military rules.

Speaking of coincidences, reminds me that I found the steward, this morning, putting up prescriptions in bits of the "Liberator." I don't believe Mr. Garrison's editorials ever before came so near these black soldiers. I wondered if the powders would not have some magic power conveyed to them. South Carolina is getting a simultaneous doctoring of body and soul.

Sunday evening, January 11, 1863.

At service today the President's proclamation was read and the Colonel asked all who wanted to fight for liberty, to say "Aye." The response would have satisfied greater enthusiasts than uncle Abraham. . . .

I have lost more than one hour's sleep since coming here, listening to the coughing of the soldiers in the night and in trying to contrive plans to meet the more obvious causes. In a climate so damp and with change of temperature so great between midday and midnight, I have steadily felt the importance of some means by which the soldier's *A* tents could, with their clothing, be more effectually dried and purified than is ordinarily done by the sun. To have a fire in a tent 7×8 for four men, without fireplaces, stove, or even an opening in the top, did not seem quite feasible, but we are trying in James's and one other company, an experiment which is likely to prove a success. Remembering the antiseptic influence of wood smoke, and also the primitive cabins from which many of our people came, we have, this evening, had fires built in the centre of the tents, the floor boards in the middle being removed and a hole being dug in the sand for the fuel. The soldiers enjoy this scheme. After the smoke ceases, the beds of coals make the tents seem very cosy. The Colonel is not backward in favoring every hygienic measure that offers any good to the soldiers. A few days experiment with two companies will settle the question by comparison of sick lists.

Monday evening, January 12, 1863.

Tonight I am seated in my own tent, and my orderly is patiently practising on a copy of his name on the other side of my little hard pine table. I have a double tent, two joined with a rough floor elevated about a foot from the sand and open at the sides so that the wind can whistle under, as well as over, my two rooms. These rooms are each nine feet square and parted by the folds of the two tents. I have room enough for a large family and it seems wrong that I should have so much, while those little 7×8 tents of the soldiers, literally steam with four bodies in them. But with the clothing allowed by Government, they could never be comfortable alone at night. On the whole, I like these little tents for soldiers better [than] those which receive a larger number. I see no way of isolating soldiers into decency. The unnatural life must, of course, have few material comforts. On the other hand the out-of-door life compensates for many violations of wholesome laws. I find our officers universally gaining flesh. . . . Instead of fire-places, I have found a little stove with so much draft that I can have all the front open and thus get the light which makes a tent so pleasant and social. . . .

January 13, 1863.

. . . When I sit down at evening it always seems as if there could be but one subject to write upon, the music of these religious soldiers, who sing and pray steadily from supper time till "taps" at 8.30, interrupted only by roll-call at eight. The chaplain's pagoda-like school-house is the scene of earnest prayers and hymns at evening. I am sure the President is remembered more faithfully and gratefully in prayer by these christian soldiers than by any other regiment in the army. It is one thing for a chaplain to pray for him, but quite another for the soldiers to kneel and implore blessings on his head and divine guidance for his thoughts. These men never forget to pray earnestly for the officers placed over them; such prayers ought to make us true to them.

This afternoon, for the first time, our men are getting some money — not direct from the Government, but through that constant friend to them — Gen. Saxton, who waits for Government to refund it to him. The real drawback to enlistments is that the poor fellows who were in the Hunter regiment have never been paid a cent by the Government. Without reflection, one would suppose the offer of freedom quite sufficient inducement for them to join us. But you must remember that not the least curse of slavery is ignorance and that the intellectual enjoyment of freedom cannot, by the present generation, be so fully appreciated as its material gifts and benefits. Just think how few there are, even in New England, who could bravely die for an *Idea*, you will see that the infinite love of freedom which inspires these people is not the same that fills the heart of a more favored race. . . .

Before breakfast this morning I stood on the shore and listened to the John Brown hymn, sung by a hundred of our recruits, as they came up the river on the steamer *Boston*, from St. Augustine, Fla. Our Lieut. Col. [Billings][1] went down last week for them and today we have received into our regiment all but five, whom I rejected in consequence of old age and other disabilities. It seemed hard to reject men who came to fight for their freedom, but these poor fellows are a hindrance in active service, and we might be compelled to leave them to the mercy of those who know not that "It blesseth him that gives and him that takes."

. . . I wish you could see how finely the Colonel appears in my dress coat. His was sent from Worcester quite a time before I left New England, but has never reached him. Very likely some miserable colonel of a poor white regiment appropriated it. I pity those who get so demoralized by association and wish they could have the benefit of our higher code. As I am less for ornament than for use here, I offered my coat to the Colonel, and was glad to find that Theodore [a tailor in Worcester] had applied his "celestial" principle "under the

[1] Col. Liberty Billings.

arms," so that a Beaufort tailor could easily make an exact fit for the upper sphere. To sick soldiers it is unimportant whether I have one or two rows of buttons, and my handsome straps fit just as well on my fatigue coat as on the other. . . .

At this moment the camp resounds with the John Brown hymn, sung as no white regiment can sing it, so full of pathos and harmony. I know you will think me over enthusiastic about these people, but every one of you would be equally so, if here. Every day deepens my conviction that if we are true to them they will be true to us. The Colonel arrives at the same conclusion. When I think of their long-suffering at the hands of the whites, and then of their readiness to forgive, I feel a reverence for the race that I did not know before coming among them. You need not fancy that I find them perfect; it has not been my fortune to find mortals of that type, — even in Worcester, — but I do find them, as a people, religious, kind hearted, forgiving and as truth loving as the average of whites, more so than the Irish of the lowest rank.

January 17, Evening.

This has been a triumphant day for our regiment. We have marched to Beaufort and back in such style as to turn jeers into admiration, and tonight our men are full of music and delight. The Colonel, not content with marching the whole length of the front street, actually stopped on the parade ground and drilled the regiment an hour or more, and then they marched home to the music of their own voices. The different encampments at Beaufort had large delegations by the way-side, as we entered the town, and we were greeted with such language as pertains to vulgar negro haters. Our men were apparently indifferent to it and the officers could afford to wait in silence. I fell aback to the rear with the major and was constantly delighted at the manly bearing of our soldiers. Not a head was turned to the right or left — not a word spoken. At length a white soldier struck a negro man, *not* of our regiment, and the poor fellow appealing to us, we wheeled our horses upon the rabble, and Major Strong, with drawn sword pursued the offender, with the point of that instrument a little nearer the fellow's back than seemed wholesome. I have rarely seen one more thoroughly frightened. The effect was magical, no more audible sneers. But was n't it good to march our regiment proudly in the front of those mansions where two years ago the [Southern] chivalry were plotting something as strange, but quite unlike.

January 18, Sunday evening.

Such a transparent day and cool north winds make even South Carolina endurable, while it lasts, I mean. When General Hunter gets here we expect to nullify the State. . . . In our camp most curi-

ous problems present themselves, as how to keep people from scurvy without vegetables and fresh meat; how to have a good fire in tents without a fireplace, stove or ventilation; how to make bread without yeast and without oven. How to treat the sick without medicines, — how to amputate limbs without knives, — all these and many other similarly knotty questions the surgeon of the First Regiment of S. C. Vol's. has to consider, — sometimes when he ought to be sleeping. This is not said complainingly. Our men rarely complain and those jeering white soldiers who saw their firm tread in the streets of Beaufort, yesterday, must have discovered a reason for their patience, this silent waiting. There was a Destiny in the silent, dignified bearing of our men, yesterday. I never in my life, felt so proud, so strong, so large. . . . Hurrah! Hurrah! — the Quartermaster just in with despatch from signal officer announcing arrival of the *Arago*, and a gun boat at Hilton head, and General Hunter has come.

January 20, 1863.

Gen. Hunter is in earnest about arming the blacks, so we may confidently expect the well-done to increase. The little opposition to our movement will fall to the ground so soon as we can prove our worthiness by marked success. Remember, it requires not only *time* but *deeds*, to undo the hateful lesson this Republic (!) has been so long teaching. The public heart has virus in it, and nothing but the flow of arterial blood can purify it. The innocent must suffer for the guilty.

I am beginning to find a little leisure for noting verbatim some of the individual histories of these soldiers and shall endeavor to forward them to you. The Colonel and young captain have transcribed many of their songs and hymns, but, without the music of their peculiar voices, I confess the words do not much interest me. Now and then a fine, poetical expression, but as a rule, somewhat dry, like the human skull Serg't Rivers brought me one day. Their autobiographies, on the contrary, if one has the time and patience to draw them out, are often so unique that I feel deeply interested in them.

At dress parade, tonight, the Colonel had some of my sanitary measures embodied in a general order and read by the Adjutant. One of the most important details was that each tent is hereafter to have a fire in it at evening. We have tried it long enough in James's company, to be satisfied of its utility. The men do not greatly mind the smoke and I have convinced the Colonel that it is one of the best purifiers and antiseptics we could have.

January 21, Evening.

Great days seem natural to us now. General Hunter has reviewed our regiment with Gen. Saxton, and the Colonel's long mourned dress coat has come, and I no longer weep in secret silence the sacrifice of

mine. But we will leave coats for arms and ask you to congratulate the 1st S. C. V. on the distinction conferred by the General in visiting us before any of those in Beaufort. And was it not refreshing to hear the General in command say to our soldiers, when formed in hollow square, "Men, I am glad to see you so well, I wish we had a hundred thousand soldiers like you. Before Spring I hope we shall have fifty thousand. You are fighting for your liberty and the liberty of your families and friends. The man who is not willing to fight for his liberty is not fit to have it." Probably I have not the exact phraseology, but it cannot differ materially. It was very impressive to us all, while the cheers that followed were stunning to us all. Then the dear, noble General Saxton, so long thwarted by pro-slavery opposition, stepped forward and informed the regiment that Gen. Hunter had this afternoon told him that fifty thousand Springfield rifles are coming to this department for the black soldiers. Then the Colonel introduced the surgeons to Gen'l Hunter and while taking him to our little hospital, I called his attention to the refusal of the Purveyor to honor any requisitions; consequently, I take another requisition to Hilton Head, countersigned by General Hunter, and we shall see with what result. . . .

Steamer *Ben Deford*, January 23, 1863.

I have refrained till now from informing you of a little expedition which for the last few days has been planning for us. I suppose there never was an expedition, however small, that got off at the time specified, nor one that was kept secret. So we are five days later than intended, and the floating rumors of our plans are enough in number to make it appear that we are to take Charleston and all other prominent Secesh places on the coast of Dixie.

The *Planter*, the same that Robert Small ran out of Charleston, and the *John Adams*, each with a company of soldiers and some large guns on board, started from camp at noon today, Major Strong[1] on the *John Adams*. About four this afternoon we started with four companies including that of Cap't R[andolph] the Colonel, Surgeon, and second assist't surgeon, and at this moment we are outside the bar, off Hilton Head, sailing as quietly in the soft moonlight and warm atmosphere as if our intentions were of the most peaceful nature.

The *Ben Deford* is really a magnificent steamer for transporting troops. A turn among the soldiers just now, convinced me that we can have ventilation enough and warmth enough to prevent illness. It is a real pleasure to go and see them so quietly wrapped in their blankets, — no quarreling, no profanity. Very much depends upon our success in this expedition, and the whole responsibility rests upon

[1] John D. Strong.

our Colonel. He has absolute authority over these three steamers. Our men were all anxious to go, and many, belonging to companies not designated for the trip, went to Col. H. and begged to go. Some have been permitted to do so. It remains to see how they will fight.

ST. SIMON'S BAY, January 24.

At nine this morning we entered this bay expecting to find the *John Adams* waiting for us, but she was not to be seen. We dropped anchor and the Colonel and I went on board the gunboat *Potomska*. There we found a remarkable negro who resides on St. Simon's Island and who informed us that he knew of a quantity of Railroad iron, that was used in the construction of a fort, below, on the shore. So while waiting for the *John Adams*, the surf boats were manned and men enough taken ashore to secure about two thousand dollars worth of this new iron which is much needed at Hilton Head.

With Lieut. West, I went up to the Hon. Thomas Butler King's estate, and confiscated a nice bath tub and three new windows for my hospital, which has only shutters. At four this afternoon the *John Adams* steamed down the bay.

January 25.

Still lying at anchor in St. Simon's Bay, waiting for the *Planter*. Judge Stickney of Florida is with us; an able defender of the oppressed and a gentleman. I was much pleased to learn that he was a native of Vermont. Surgeon Richardson, formerly of the 9th Maine, is also with us. We are to leave him at Fernandina. His health has become so frail, he was compelled to resign. Last evening he presented me with a pair of shoulder straps for my fatigue coat, with the remark that it might become essential that I have them on. But I fancy that whoever of our regiment falls into the hands of the Rebels would scarcely be saved by straps and sash. I feel that there is a tacit understanding that we are not to surrender under any circumstances. . . . The captain of the steamer is an odd genius.[1] He is a Cape Cod man, whose profanity is so much a part of his nature that total abstinence from oaths might kill him. He swears vigorously for freedom and especially for the Massachusetts expression of it. Curses the sluggishness of government officials and swears the democrats ought to be sent to —. . . Says he has worked fifteen months with this steamer at an expense of four hundred thousand dollars to the government, and he does not believe he has earned for it ten dollars that could not have been as well earned, if this, and some other steamers, had never been employed. Seven hundred and fifty dollars a day, exclusive of coal, counts up.

[1] Captain Hallett.

Government ought to draft property as well as men, and then compensate when it gets through using it. Such a course would put an end to private speculation. . . .

January 26, 1863.

The *Planter* got along last night and, with the *John Adams*, has gone through the "inside passage," while we are running outside to meet them at Fort Clinch, which is at the entrance of Fernandina Harbor.

Since coming aboard the steamer I have more opportunity than before to talk with the line officers about their men. I find an almost universal attachment and confidence. We have a few mulattoes in the regiment and so far as I have conversed with the officers, their testimony is very decidedly in favor of the blacks, both for physical and intellectual points. I was prepared for the former, but was surprised to find that the ruling spirits among the soldiers are found mainly among the blacks.

Steamer *John Adams*, St. Mary's River,
January 26, 1863.

. . . We are now in the heart of secesh and before morning shall have succeeded or failed in our purpose. At this moment the men are loading their muskets with a will that means fight. Our Colonel is cool and careful and I trust his judgment in our perilous undertaking. But if we should lose him!

This town was partly burned a few weeks ago by the gunboat *Neptune*. Some of her men went ashore when the white flag was shown, but the pickets fired upon them, — hence the destruction of the town. A woman has been waving her white handkerchief from one of the houses, but we do not care to do anything here. We are moving slowly and silently up the river, all lights above extinguished, save mine and I have put my rubber blanket up for a curtain at the window. The Colonel is too considerate of me, but takes Dr. Minor[1] to land with the troops. I am sadly aware that I could not endure a rapid march of ten miles on foot, so I have reluctantly fitted out Dr. Minor with my orderly, pistol and sash, tourniquets, etc., and shall try to possess my soul in patience, if not in peace. Our men show anything but fear as we pass between the double line of pickets.

Midnight.

Oh! the terrible waiting! Before eleven P. M. one hundred and seventy-five men had been landed at Township plantation, ten miles above St. Mary's, with the Colonel at their head. And now volley after volley of musketry off in the woods sets me to making final preparations for the wounded.

[1] Thomas T. Minor.

January 27, 1863.

I appropriated the mess-room for operations and the officer's berths to receive the wounded. Fortunately we had thought to bring candles along, — no others on board. . . . It was not more than one hour before we were busy dressing gun-shot wounds. One man was killed instantly by a ball through the heart and seven were wounded, one of whom will die. Braver men never lived. One man with two bullet holes through the large muscles of the shoulder and neck, brought off from the scene of action, two miles distant, two muskets and not a murmur escaped his lips. Another, Robert Sutton, with three wounds, one on the skull, which may cost him his life, would not report himself till compelled to do so by his officers. While dressing his wounds he quietly talked of what they had done and what they yet can do. Today I have had the Colonel order him to obey me. He is perfectly quiet and cool but takes this whole affair with the religious bravery of a man who realizes that freedom is sweeter than life. Yet another did not report at all, but kept all night on guard and perhaps I should not have known of his having a buck-shot in his shoulder, if some duty requiring a sound shoulder had not been required of him today. The object of our raid was to surprise and capture a company of rebel cavalry pickets, but, as is usual in this war, the enemy seemed to know the secret plan, and we only succeeded in making them skedaddle after a few rounds, and in bringing off five contrabands, a fine piano [for the Beaufort schoolhouse] and divers other things. We also had the satisfaction of burning the plantation house and out-buildings, in accordance with general orders, so they will not screen any more pickets. We steadily send shot and shell over the bluffs to prevent their picking off men from our boat, which is their habit. All this is very exciting and I enjoy it much. I just now volunteered to go up on a bluff and burn a picket house of rendezvous, but I believe the Colonel thinks it is unsafe for his friends to do what he himself is ever ready to do.

We reached St. Mary's before noon. I believe I have before stated that the town was partially burned by the *Neptune*, yet there were fifty or more houses remaining, including two large churches, a bank, etc. As we approached, the waving of white handkerchiefs began again, by the two maiden ladies (! !) residing in sight of the wharf. All the other houses were uninhabited. The women informed us that they were living entirely alone with their aged mother, that they were "St. Domingo ladies," but had not owned slaves since England abolished slavery there. Their antecedents have been so doubtful that the Colonel thought it best to search their house very carefully in spite of their protestations, and entreaties and talk of honor, etc. etc. I was permitted to join him and one of the captains in the search and found it

very interesting though we discovered no rebels. Of course we had a guard around the house, a guard of such color as greatly to annoy the inmates. They told me that they had not seen pickets at all, and many other things which I knew to be false. But we politely left them, they avowing that they were *ladies* and thanking us for being gentlemen. As we were about to leave the wharf, bang, bang, bang, went secesh rifles from behind the houses and whistling went the balls over our heads. We were not long in sending shot and shell enough to protect our skirmishers and then the Colonel did what I begged him to do this morning — put nearly all the town in flames, save the house of these women and two or three at the windward of it. I wanted to take the women down to Fernandina and burn every house, but the Colonel thought it best to leave them, so there will still be a screen and sympathy left there for the rebels. But we left an immense fire and I trust the pickets will have to rescue the women from it.

Steamer *Ben Deford*, Fernandina, Fla.,
January 28, 1863.

While superintending the transfer of the wounded from the *John Adams* last night, I sent ashore for mattrasses, but without success. This morning I have been ashore and procured a bale of fine hay from Quartermaster Seward, a gentleman who was my partner at euchre on the *Delaware* and who is now very prompt in doing what he can for us, so that now our men are about as comfortably placed as if they were in a hospital. Yesterday I saw how difficult it is to keep down vandalism when a town is to be burned. In this respect the blacks are much more easily controlled than the whites. Of course we have a right to appropriate what we need in the service of Uncle Sam, but I would be as severe as the Colonel is on individual appropriations. My only regret about burning the town is that we did not give those "unprotected ladies" the protection of our flag and then burn every house. I find the same feeling among officers here in Fernandina. If we are ever to put down this ungodly rebellion, we must act on the broadest principles of justice. If I offer my life in the defence of my country I shall not be slow nor economical in my demands upon my enemies. This is true justice and wise humanity. Just now two companies were sent to St. Mary's on the *Planter* to load brick; I let Dr. Minor go with them. That I did not go myself instead was the bravest thing I have done since I came to Dixie.

January 29, noon.

I have just received a note from the Colonel, who is ashore, that sets our line officers to making ready in haste for another expedition. We are not yet done with St. Mary's River and some of the upper settle-

ments. The *Planter* has not yet returned, but has been using her artillery this morning shelling the pickets in the woods, I presume. — I shall get some surgeon to care for my men in my absence.

Steamboat *John Adams*, January 29, 1863.

Again we are on our way into the heart of secesh. If we do not get blown to pieces before morning we shall get some distance above where any of our gunboats have been within a year. Tonight I have heard that a negro has come from the scene of the fight the other night, and he reports seven rebels killed, including their daring Capt. Clark. Capt. Clifton of this boat is a most singular mixture of candor and roughness and refinement. Though he swears like a trooper, there is a drollery and generosity and honesty about him that quite captivate me. The other night I was standing beside him in silence after our troops had marched away from the shore, and the mate came up and asked permission to go ashore and get some hens. The Captain exclaimed, "Oh, my God! Doctor, just think of this man robbing hen-roosts right in the midst of death and damnation." The deep, sepulchral voice with which this was uttered made the whole thing so tragico-comical that I did not know whether to laugh or cry.

Alberti's Mills, 40 miles from Fernandina.
January 30, 1863.

This river is rebellious to the last degree. It is very crooked and sluggish and black and got us aground so many times in the long, sleepless night that rebel pickets might have picked off many of our men and officers. Again and again we had to turn points at right angles and we were never more than two rods from one or the other shore. Often the sides of our boat were swept by the boughs of the mournful looking trees. The shores are generally low and marshy, and the moss droops so low as to give the appearance of weeping willows. It is now eleven, A.M. and we are starting homeward. Oh, it is a *queer night*, so queer that more than once I laughed outright, when I thought of the curious fact that T. W. H. and I were so industriously trying to get a peep at real rebels, while they would undoubtedly do something to get a peep at us. In my time I have seen considerable mismanagement of one kind and another, but do not remember that I ever dreamed that so much of that article could be employed in one night on board a steamboat. Among the boat's officers there was no mutual understanding, and it is fortunate for us that the rebels did not know it. But at daylight we did reach Alberti's Mills, and then came for me an hour of fitful, dreamy sleep. I had made three vigorous efforts to sleep during the night, but enjoyed the

calm moonlight and strange scenery and spice of danger too much for drowsiness. We passed picket fires and felt the possibility that our return might be obstructed, or greatly harassed. Very few officers have voluntarily dared such a responsibility as that resting on our Colonel, but he patiently and vigilantly met all the obstacles and had his pickets and skirmishers so arranged . . .

Evening and *Ben Deford* again, thank God!

. . . I had written thus far when the rebels began firing from the shore and I found myself among our soldiers, who replied with spirit and precision that sent more than one poor fellow to the dust.

Captain Clifton of the *John Adams* was shot through the head and died instantly. The Major's [J. D. Strong] head escaped by about two inches. Strange to say no other accidents occurred in this nor in the subsequent firing from the bluffs on the Florida shore. The first attack was from the Georgia bluffs. They were both desperate, but of short duration. One fellow actually jumped on the flat-boat in tow, and was immediately shot by one of our soldiers. I afterwards asked Robert Sutton what he himself was about during the conflict, and found that he was deliberately shooting from the pilot house, with two guns, having a man to load one while he fired the other. But now I will go back to the sunrise. As I was saying, the pickets and skirmishers were so placed that there was no escape for the white families at Alberti's Mills. The Colonel had gone ashore and a little after sunrise sent for me to go off and take with me some copies of the President's proclamation. I found a little village, all included in the A. estate, and the mansion was occupied by Madame A. and her family. She was a New Yorker by birth and her deceased husband was a native of Philadelphia. Mr. B., former business partner of his — A.'s — was at the house on a visit, ill with chronic bronchitis. He, being an important person, must be made prisoner, unless too feeble to be removed from the house. I found, on examination, that he could be taken with us without danger to himself. Madame A. spent much time trying to convince me that she and her husband had been wonderfully devoted to the interests of their slaves, especially to the fruitless work of trying to educate them. The truth of these assertions was disproved by certain facts, — such as a strong slave jail, containing implements of torture which we now have in our possession, (the lock I have), the fact that the slaves have "mostly gone over to the Yankees," and the yet other fact that Robert Sutton, a former slave there, said the statement was false. The statement of a black man was lawful in Dixie yesterday. I called Madame A.'s attention to a former slave of hers, whom she remembered as "Bob," but never before knew as Robert Sutton, — corporal in the army of the United States. Robert begged me to forgive him for breaking through my order

that he should not exert himself at all till the danger of inflammation of the brain should be averted. The white bandage about his head was conspicuous at the points of danger through all the twenty-four eventful hours of our expedition. It finally devolved upon him and Sergeant Rivers [1] to examine the persons of our six rebel prisoners, for concealed weapons of defense. This last [process] was so very anti-slavery, that I fancied the rebels enjoyed it somewhat less than I.

I am told that thirteen riderless horses went back to camp after that fight in the woods the other night; that the lieutenant [Jones] in command and five others were killed and many others wounded. Could our party have known the exact state of affairs, the camp might have been destroyed and many prisoners taken. But it was safer and wiser for infantry not to follow cavalry in the night. Our comrades on the *Ben Deford* greeted us heartily and the Provost Marshal was in readiness to take charge of our prisoners. We shall probably take Mr. B. to Beaufort with us. He is a wealthy and influential rebel and may become a very important hostage when Jeff Davis begins to hang us. We brought off two or three negroes, and rice, corn, sheep and other valuable things, strictly contraband of war. I wanted the Colonel to take a piano already boxed, and in a store-house at the wharf, but we had no room for it. I thought it would especially please Miss Forten to have it in her school.

January 31, evening.

While I keenly enjoy these moonlight excursions I find that like rising at three o'clock in the morning to go for pond lilies, one is satisfied with about three trips a week. You can imagine a little what an immense tax such a life makes upon the nervous system. But I find we sleep well as soon as opportunity offers. This rough life of exposure in the open air puts an end to morbid excitability of the nerves, and one jumps at any reasonable chance for a snooze.

Sunday, February 1, 1863.

This morning the *Planter*, with Capt. [Charles T.] Trowbridge's and Capt. Rogers' companies, met us in St. Simon's Bay. They have not been idle. They left Cumberland Bay the day before yesterday and taking the inside route, destroyed some salt works, which operation has damaged the rebels to the extent of about twenty five thousand dollars. They met with no opposition, but had a hard time dragging their boats through a marsh. The marshes, or savannahs, in this part of the country, which border the rivers, are almost impassable for human beings, yet many a slave has waded through them toward the north star of freedom.

[1] Prince Rivers.

Today I find a formidable sick list, the result of huddling so many men together in the hold of the *John Adams*, but I think nothing serious will come of it. The officer in command at Fernandina has no authority to send out a flag of truce with prisoners, so we take all ours to Beaufort. I am exceedingly glad of it, since I have found, through Robert Sutton, that one of them shot a man while he was trying to escape to the "yankees." After I had dressed Robert's wound, this morning, he took me to the rebel and ingeniously made him say: "No, you are mistaken, the gun went off accidentally." "And besides he was not killed, but died of fever." "Then," said I, "you did threaten to shoot him?" "Yes, but I intended it only as a threat." Robert said "I *know* you killed him;" and I to Robert, "The testimony of black men is legal now in Florida."

We are taking several white soldiers and officers from Fernandina to Hilton Head. Their prejudice against our soldiers is amusing. We happen to have command of this steamer and, of course, have the best places. I find white soldiers sleep on deck rather than go below with our men. Last evening I saw a Lieutenant getting two of our soldiers to take his trunk down to the cabin and he was rather suddenly informed by Lieut. West that United States soldiers were not to be called upon to do menial service. Another Lieut. expressed the opinion to our rough and ready Capt. [George] Dolly, that "these niggers" never would fight much. Dolly, in his fearful way, said; "You d—d fool; these soldiers have already fought more bravely than you ever will, you who have lived a couple of years on Uncle Sam without earning a cent for him." The Lieut. did not think it safe to reply. I fancy Dolly. He is a vandal, but generous and brave. His men love him and fear him. His orders are somewhat terse, when in battle. I happened to be standing by him when he gave the command, "Cease firing, but if they fire again, *give'em hell.*"

The Colonel's daring bravery has deepened the love and admiration of his men and officers. I have been a constant source of annoyance to him by words of caution, but am happy to know that they were heeded. The death of Capt. Clifton was a terrible confirmation of all I have said, and I doubt if the Major [Strong] again puts himself unnecessarily in the way of so much danger. I could not get the ball that passed through the mess room where I was writing, but I picked one up in the prisoner's room, adjoining. Had we been the prisoners, our place would have been on the upper deck, where they begged we would not put them, and where no one dreamed of putting them. All of them, except Mr. B., are now forward with the soldiers. . . .

Our expedition has been a capital success. We have had our soldiers three times under fire and *know* that they only care to face the enemy. We *know* also, that they can be trusted with the conquered foe. Not

a single unbecoming act have I seen or heard of on the part of the guards, skirmishers or pickets. It was not for want of temptation, and I am led to wonder at their self-control. The material benefit to the Government, of the expedition, is not inconsiderable. We are more than ever satisfied that the blacks must help us in this war. The next question to solve, is, how to penetrate far enough into the interior to free them. Possibly it remains for our regiment to solve this problem. Give us a good gunboat and plenty of ammunition to help us into the midst of them and I think we may trust God and our determination for the result.[1]

CAMP SAXTON, BEAUFORT, S. C.,
February 3, 1863.

At break of day we were at Beaufort and my sick and wounded were being carefully conveyed to the "Contraband Hospital" for better care than our camp hospital affords. I left eight there and it seemed like leaving my children among strangers. But this was only a feeling, not a fact. It was very pleasant to have the black soldiers served first when wounded. Colonel [Rishworth] Rich and the other officers and soldiers, must wait the convenience of our freedmen. I should quite enjoy living in some one of our Northern cities a few months with the 1st S. C. Vols. I fancy there would be a conquering of prejudices somewhat satisfactory to your humble servant. Justice is an admirable machine when in good running order and with honest engineers to keep it going.

The Colonel took his official report in one hand and a captured instrument of slave torture in the other, to Gen. Saxton and left them for an early inspection. I was too busy to breakfast there with the Colonel. At ten o'clock we were disembarking opposite our camp and the home troops were receiving us with wild cheers of joy. All sorts of false rumors had been reported concerning us. We had been cut up and cut down, hung and cut to pieces, and various other rebel morsels of information had been circulated. I trust that you have not been tormented by such rumors. Perhaps it is best for me to take this occasion to say that the rebel reports are not always so reliable as their personal sympathizers could wish. Believe nothing short of official reports and — my letters.

February 5.

Lieut. [James B.] O'Neil informed me today that during the eight years of his military life in Texas, Utah and in the present war, he had never been engaged in anything half so daring as our trip up the St. Mary's

[1] Colonel Higginson's report of this expedition up St. Mary's River is in 1 Records of the Rebellion, XIV. 195.

River. He is one of our best officers and has seen much service. . . . I would very much like to go to Alberti's Mills again, with flat-boats enough to bring away lumber etc. and then set fire to what we could not take. There is not enough rebel force in that neighborhood to capture us. If they should block the passage by felling trees across the river, our boys would have the opportunity to do what they so much crave, — meet their old masters in "de cl'ar field." They besought me over and over, to ask "de Cunnel to let we spill out on de sho' [shore] an' meet dem fellers in de brush." There would have been bushwhacking of a startling nature and I have no doubt we could have brought off some of those cavalry horses hitched in the rear. But the Colonel is pretty economical of human life when no great object is at stake.

I have noticed that twenty eight boxes of goods await my order at Hilton Head and that the *Flora* will bring them up and land them at our camp, if I wish. This looks as if the day of honoring requisitions in this department had arrived. Meanwhile, during my absence, my requisition on the Purveyor in New York was honored, and I found eighteen boxes of the very best material awaiting my return. The Soldiers Relief Association of Norwich, Ct. has shipped a goodly supply of bedding, towels, flannel shirts etc. to us. These things were offered by Miss G. — the very efficient agent. Gen. Saxton has given me the upper part of the Smith mansion for another hospital, so we shall have twenty-four beds as comfortably arranged and as well cared for as any in the department. . . .

Robert Sutton has quite recovered from his wounds. He told me that the flesh was healthy, and I have found it so and the bone did not get involved. I never look at Robert Sutton without feeling certain that his father must have been a great Nubian king. I have rarely reverenced a man more than I do him. His manners are exceedingly simple, unaffected and dignified, without the slightest touch of haughtiness. Voice, low, soft and flooding, as if his thoughts were choking him. He is tall straight and brawny muscled. His face is all of Africa in feeling and in control of expression. By this I do not mean cunning, but manly control. He seems to me kingly, and oh! I wish he could read and write. He ought to be a leader, a general, instead of a corporal. I fancy he is like Toussaint l'Ouverture and it would not surprise me if some great occasion should make him a deliverer of his people from bondage. Prince Rivers, — just as black as Robert Sutton, — has a peculiar fineness of texture of skin that gives the most cleanly look. He is agile and fleet, like a deer, in his speed and like a panther in his tread. His features are not very African and his eye is so bright that it must "shine at night, when de moon am gone away." His *manners* are not surpassed on this globe. I feel my awkwardness when I meet him. This because an officer ought to be as polite as a soldier.

February 6, 1863.

We are just now through with the hardest and coldest north east storm that we have had since I came to the Department of the South. Living through this is evidence of considerable constitution. The storm politely waited for us to finish an expedition but the two together have succeeded in running our sick list up to 129 in today's report. This morning a poor fellow died of congestion of the lungs, before the surgeon saw him. In this case, as in nearly all the autopsies I have made I find extensive adhesions which have resulted from former pleurisy. There are, at this moment, not less than a dozen severe cases of pleuro-pneumonia among our sick. I find it true that these people are more subject than the whites to pulmonary diseases. And here I must put a fact of dispraise to the colored people as I find them. They, as a rule, show remarkable indifference to the sufferings of those not immediately related by the ties of consanguinity. I do not believe this to be a want of affection in the race, but due to long influence of inhuman teaching and treatment. I believe the development of individual responsibility and the inducement to rise, will abolish this want of feeling and respect for each other.

February 7, 1863.

. . . Emerson and Thoreau are oftener in my mind, in connection with this camp life and these people, than any other writers I know. While I am constantly studying how to keep these men well, or to alleviate their sufferings, they as constantly fill me with something higher than a feeling of philanthropy, a sort of oriental sympathy, outreaching the wants of the body. Gen. Saxton has said that these people are "intensely human," and I will add that I find them intensely divine. It is, however, more difficult to call out the divine than the human. The blessings resulting from freedom will wash away the accursed stains of slavery and all the world will see that these are also children of God. They have a boundless conception of the divine spirit and an intense trust in the fatherhood of God. . . . It is true, they will commit almost as many sins as their white neighbors, but I am speaking now of the religious element and leaving the moral to be controlled by culture. . . .

Keeping our men below so long on the *John Adams* destroyed more lives than the rifle shots would have done. It seemed a choice of evils and the least apparent was chosen. But the return of sunshine will help restore the sick.

St. Helena Island, February 9, 1863.

Yesterday afternoon I put my new saddle and bridle on the long-legged horse, claimed by the Colonel and Adjutant, and came over here to spend the night at the house of the Hunn's and Miss Forten. This is the first night I have slept in a house since the 18th day of Decem-

ber. It seems strange to find myself in the midst of civilization and buckwheat cakes. . . . Just before leaving camp, I read Mr. Emerson's "Boston Hymn," to our regiment, while assembled for divine worship. I prefaced it with the remark that many white folks could not understand the poems of Mr. Emerson, but I had no apprehensions of that kind from those before me. It was enough that Robert Sutton's eyes were glistening before me as I read. I was standing on the veranda of the plantation house and the men were under a beautiful magnolia tree toward the river. Mr. Emerson would have trembled with joy to see how much these dark colored men drank in the religion of his poem. The chaplain was filled with emotion by it and straightway took the poem for his text and when I left, was enthusiastically speaking from it.

Camp Saxton, Beaufort, February 8, 1863.

. . . I feel that it was a little cowardly in me to run away from camp yesterday, but I knew that three of our good soldiers must die within a few hours and I could do no more for them. It is just impossible for me to get used to losing patients. Such death is equivalent to losing some vital part of one's self. This comes from distrust of myself, rather than of God. Our sick list is rapidly lessening and all will soon be as usual. I have this afternoon conversed with a pro-slavery surgeon, who has had much to do with negroes. I thought he seemed rather pleased in making the statement that their power of endurance was not equal to that of the whites. I nevertheless gathered valuable information and hints relative to their treatment. If I am permitted to remain in this regiment a year I shall prove that, while the blacks are subject to quite different diseases from those of the whites, the mortality among them will average less and the available strength or efficiency will average more. This is the season for white soldiers to be well and blacks to be ill. . . .

February 10.

No day so thoroughly spring-like as this, yet I feel we are to miss the unlocking delight we realize in the New England transition from winter to summer. The bugs and birds and frogs seem to realize the change, but they know their own and are grateful for the smallest favors. I miss the melting snow at noon and the crunching crystals at night and morning. My eyes are not dazzled by the pure splendor as the days lengthen. The cawing crow flies back and forth, but he does not seem so earnest, so put to his trumps as those that fly above Wigwam Hill [at Worcester, Mass.] when Long Pond is all leaden, and weeks of sunshine and rain must come to free the ice-bound waters. The shores of our river here are covered with nourishing things, and the

tides make high and low for the benefit of lazy lives, but I do not see the use of living on such easy terms. Sometimes it seems to me like a funny experiment to try the merits of the body in this land of ease, and of the soul in a less genial clime. How long the experiment is to last the Lord only knows, but I am devotedly thankful that my place of nativity is among the cold mountains of Vermont. I do not believe it is possible for a New England type of man to originate in this level land. I shall as soon expect to find alligators in Charles River, or turkey buzzards among the Adirondacks. This reminds me that on my way through the pine woods yesterday, I ran one of these southern birds down. He had probably eaten so much that he could not fly. I easily captured him and brought him into camp for James to prepare for the rooms of the Natural History Society of Worcester. Can you imagine me galloping across the plains and through the woods with this South Carolinian specimen in my arms? I was thankful the long-legged horse did not have a fit of ugliness as he did the day before.

Before the countersign was given, to-night, the Captain [Rogers] and I went out to see a sick soldier at Battery plantation. It was much more convenient to enter the lines at the guard-house, when we returned, than to go to the ordinary entrance. We were challenged in the dark by, "Who come dar." "A friend of the guard: call a corporal of the guard to let us in." "Halt, halt," at the same time cocking his musket. We, of course halted and asked if his gun was loaded. This raised his suspicion and his gun at the same time and he again demanded, "Who dar?" I said, "The surgeon and Capt. Rogers." "I don' know any Sur John:" and I began to think he might fire upon us before the corporal came, so I told him the *doctor* and the captain. This lessened his apprehensions. I believe it would surely be fatal for any one to attempt to get by the guard here at night. To our soldiers, this war is not play, they intend to obey orders.

February 11.

. . . It is to be remembered that the officers of a regiment in which the privates do not read and write, have much to do that would otherwise be done by an orderly or by a private detailed for the purpose. Today I have planned a new hospital and begun to lay the foundation of the first ward. This looks a little like having a brigade here sometime. We have a charming spot near the river, for hospital buildings. I shall have only sixteen patients in a ward. Each ward is to be a separate building 20 × 50 feet, containing two fire-places. From morning till evening, all through the summer, a breeze comes up the river and my wards shall be blessed by it. What a relief it would be to have Stephen Earle [of Worcester] take charge of this, but it is all to be very simple and our efficient chaplain takes almost all of it on his hands.

February 12, Evening.

Tonight the tree toads sing in the adjoining grove and sounds of life are everywhere. The day has been like one in midsummer, when showers are expected in the afternoon and do not come; but the evening is cooler. The Colonel and I walked out a little way to a cypress grove, where alligators might thrive, and where they tell of finding one. The trees are large, like oaks and have similar tassel-like blossoms, or catkins, but the bole is broad at base and tapers rapidly up six or eight feet in a beautiful compound column and then becomes a simple Doric. All around under these trees are the cypress *knees*, from six to eight inches in height and looking preciously like cloaked and hooded monks, in prayer. The resemblance was so marked that I hesitated to break the silence of the place. . . .

Tonight I chanced to get into conversation with Serg't [H.] McIntyre of Co. G., a soldier whose appearance always interested me. He is a native of Palatka, Fla., was born on the plantation of old Governor [William D.] Moseley, and was always treated kindly by him. When our gun-boats went up the St. John's, this Sergeant went to his old master, who was much suspected of Union sentiments, by the rebels, and begged him to come off under protection of our flag. But, failing to start him, McIntyre informed the old man of his intention to go himself and take with him his parents and sisters; that if he could always be sure of having the old Governor for a master he loved him so much that he would rather stick by him. The Governor much regretted their leaving him, but, knowing that his children would not treat them as he had done, he interposed no obstacles. All but the mother, who had "brought up" the Governor's daughters, came away. I have written the above as a preface to the reasons of this man's gratitude and attachment.

By the Governor he was always treated kindly. By trade he is a builder, and his master allowed him, for eight years, to work at his trade where he pleased, by paying him (the master) $360.00 a year. He hired six other slaves from their masters, at various rates, according to their ability, and went off to Micanopy — which was not much of a place at that time — and within eight years they had built up "a smart town." Twice a year he was obliged to go back to Palatka, fifty miles, to pay the masters for their kindness in allowing their slaves to clothe and board themselves, and furnish their own tools, and bring in from $150.00 to $360.00 per year per man, in return. Even now this honest fellow does not fully realize the outrage. It was so much to them to escape the constant restraints of bondage that they forgot the rest. Many of the houses were built by contract instead of by the day, and if the chivalry had paid him always as agreed, he could have cleared about $550.00 per year. As it was, he was only even with the world

when the war began, and he was suspected of giving information about the "Yankees" to the slaves, and he was compelled to leave his wife and two children at Micanopy. The first man to appear against him on a sort of trial for such suspicion was one for whom he had just built a home and received nothing for it. Should we ever go up the St. John's river into the heart of Florida, this Sergeant will be a valuable guide. He has sisters at Beaufort and at Fernandina who have paid their masters fourteen dollars per month year after year, and supported themselves by washing and ironing.

February 13, 1863.

Tonight I have been talking with Cato Waring, one of my old nurses in the hospital. The attempt to give a report of his history seems futile. He is a quiet old black man, this Cato, with singular combination of intellect and ready shrewdness, a subtlety of character that makes you feel as if a serpent might silently coil around you at any moment, without the rustle of a leaf. He appears dull and heavy, but is full of unspent sharpness and agility. He is old, but not gray, body and spirit alike intact. The night after our return from our expedition, I was telling them in the hospital about it and old Cato sat, with his dull eyes bent upon the fire, seemingly indifferent to all, till I came to the death of the rebel officer in the woods. Then his eyes sparkled and glared at me. "Did you know his name?" "No." "Oh, I hope to God it was my young master who went down that way."

Tonight Cato came to my tent and began very quietly to tell me of his life in slavery and his escape from it, but it was not long before his tone and manner became too dramatic for me to take notes, and I felt as if all the horrors of the accursed system were being poured upon my naked nerves. His voice was always low, but commanding. He was born on the Santee river and "raised by Mas'r Cooper as a pet." But he was sent away to learn the carpenter's trade, and after seven years apprenticeship returned home to find his old master was dead and the estate involved by mismanagement on the part of the widow and children. Finally, he and the other slaves were sold to pay the debts. Dr. Waring, his new master, "was a bad man, but not so bad as his wife." The Dr.'s family increased rapidly and his expenses were so great that Cato was made not only driver, but overseer of the estate, a position he held till his escape, a period of sixteen years. Dr. Waring and his wife ranked among the affectionate specimens of humanity. "Dey ollus kiss wen he go out an wen he come in." Mrs. Waring was a neat housewife and made her servants "clean all de brasses an eberyting befo' daylight in de mo'nin." When she arose in the morning and examined the furniture with her white handkerchief for dust, there were usually one or two victims selected for the lash. It was Cato's business

to wait at the door for orders to apply from one hundred to five hundred lashes every morning before going out to the plantation. If the victim was male, he was stripped and cords were fastened to his fingers and then drawn over a horizontal pole above his head, till his toes only, touched the ground; then the master would stand behind Cato with a paddle and knock him over for any delinquency on his part. The same treatment was applied to women, except that instead of stripping off the clothing, the skirts and chemise were drawn up over the head. When the parlor was filled with visitors, the mistress would wind a towel around the end of a stick and have it thrust into the throat of the victim and it would come out all covered with blood — thus the screams of the tortured would be smothered. These statements would seem exaggerated to me if I had not, over and over, in my medical examinations in this regiment, found enormous horizontal scars around the body, and, on inquiry, been told "Dat 's what my ole Marsa had me whipped." Never once have these revelations come to me except by inquiry.

Finally, the war began. Old Cato heard the guns of Fort Sumter and waited and waited to hear his master speak of it. He and all his fellow slaves felt that the hour of deliverance had come. Finally, he said one night to his old master, — young Doctor who "had been off to some place dey calls Paris," and who was worse than the old man; "What all dat tunder mean way off dar?" "Oh, it 's the d—d Yankees who want to steal all our property." Of course Cato was indignant at the Yankees and promised to stand by his master. Time went on and the rebels began to doubt their success and at the same time began to swear that they would "work de niggers to deat' [death] before the d—d Yankees should have them." Cato was compelled to exact tasks of the slaves that were before unheard of. He could not do it, and told his master so one Sunday night. The Doctor swore vehemently and ordered Cato to report himself in the morning for chastisement. Cato said "I tanked him berry much for de information an' went to my hut an' hung all de keys whar de ole woman could fin' 'em, but did n't tell her what I'se gwine to do, cause she 'd make such a hullaboo about it." But "Sunday mornin' befo' de hen git up," Cato was in a dugout pushing his way through the rice swamp, so that the dogs could not follow his trail. He had gone far before daylight, and, during the day, lay quietly in his boat. Finally he lost his way and had to leave the swamp and his boat, for he had been three days without eating. When he unexpectedly met a white lady, he assumed nonchalance, touched his hat and said, "howdye," and told such a plausible story that he got something to eat. At another time he went four days without eating and in the evening saw a black man nailing up a coon-skin by torchlight on the side of a hut. "Dis big ole man look like a religion feller," and Cato was almost on the point of trusting him enough to go

up and ask for food, but finally thought it safer to wait a little and try to steal something. He had just entered the yard when a great dog caught him by the chest, but, fortunately, got only his clothing in his mouth. His hickory cane silenced that dog, but others came, "an' all de blacks an' whites came down togedder." He ran to the woods and found a pond and waded half the night to escape the dogs. "I did n't git nuffin for eat, but I was n't hungry no mo' that night."

At last he found shelter and food and rest under the roof of a negro whom he could trust. He was then twenty-two miles from the river and in the night a black horseman came and said a Yankee gunboat was "comin' up de ribber, an' de Cap'n was holdin' out his arms an' beck'nin' de niggahs fus' from one sho' an' den from de odder." Cato straightway started toward the river, but there were many roads. The horseman agreed to break off pine boughs and drop one in the right path at the parting of the ways. All during the dark night Cato would get on his hands and knees to find the boughs at such partings and then go on rejoicing. By some mistake he did not reach the river at the point designated, and afterwards learned that his mistake had saved him from a trap of the rebels for whom the black horseman was acting.

Another night he was lying under a garden fence when a rebel was leaning over it, watching, intently, the house beyond, ready to shoot him when he should jump from a window. "My heart did beat so hard I wondered he didn't hear it, but he didn't an' wen dey come to sarch de garden, I crawl on my belly till I jump troo de gate an' it rain so fass I knowed deyre guns wouldn't go wen dey snapped em at me." At last after wandering about "from de secon' week in May till de las' week in June I reach de gunboat." His approach to the boat was full of apprehension. Before he could be certain of the boat, he saw soldiers on the shore and did not quite know whether they were Yankees or rebels. So he wavered between holding up his "white rag" and keeping out of sight. At last they saw him in his little boat, which he had somewhere confiscated, and "I hol' up de rag an' de mo' de boat come, de mo' I draw back, but oh, wen I git on de boat I thought I was in hebben."

I shall not trouble you with more slave stories. It is too much like trying to relate a tragedy acted by Rachel — very tame.

February 16, 1863.

Our Colonel [General] has been down to Hilton Head today and reported Brig. Gen. Stephenson under arrest and to be sent to Washington for asserting that he would rather the Union cause should be lost than be saved by black soldiers. I should like to see the gentle-

man this evening. Everything may go against us in the present, but these little episodes are refreshing.[1]

My heart is lightened by the return of usual health to our camp. It is pleasant to find every one looking up instead of down. Some of the replies to medical questions are quite unique, as, for instance, "I feel jail-bound an' cough powerful." "I've got misery all de way down from de top ob de head to de sole ob de foot."

If I had not promised you freedom from individual histories in the future, I should try to write out the history of my head hospital nurse. Mr. Spaulding is a very superior man. He was kept in the stocks three weeks in the winter and his legs have not since been as strong as before. He is averse to speaking of himself. I trust his integrity, tenderness and natural ability as I would trust those qualities in John Milton Earle. He is a prince in the department and commands the respect of all.

February 17, 1863, Evening.

Today I have been reading Judge Conway's[2] speech in Congress. I have found no leisure to watch carefully the reported change in public opinion in the North. I did not believe till today, that our friends are actually getting hopeless about the restoration of the Union on the basis of universal freedom. Judge Conway's opinion I respect, and in this instance it weighs like lead upon my spirits. Besides, I somehow feel that the sentiments of a majority of the friends of freedom are too nearly represented in this speech. If so, nothing short of a miracle can bring the present generation of slaves into freedom. This thought makes me tremble when I look into the faces of our brave fellows and remember what millions of such are waiting in bondage for an opportunity to be as brave. The contemptible love of dominion so long fostered in this nation will yet be the death of it. Of course a better nation will grow out of the mouldering ruins, but it is cruel that the present good of a nation and a race should be sacrificed on the altar of selfishness. These men have wives and children, brothers and sisters, fathers and mothers yet in slavery and they daily pray God to bless the nation that has begun to let them fight for freedom. If the nation proves false to this half realized hope the curse of God will weigh more heavily on us than ever before. I would rather make my grave with the oppressed and outraged than survive the day of their blighted anticipations. As God lives, liberty will come at last, but I long to see her before I die.

[1] The incident is mentioned in "Letters from Port Royal, written at the Time of the Civil War," edited by Elizabeth Ware Pearson, 163.

[2] Martin F. Conway, elected from Kansas to the thirty-seventh Congress. His speech on "The War" is printed in the "Congressional Globe," 3d Sess., 37th Cong., appendix, 62. It was reprinted in the "Boston Commonwealth" on February 14, 1863.

February 18, Evening.

. . . We now have the medical department of our regiment so systematized that I find more freedom from care than a few weeks ago. The prospect of a change of location leaves my new hospital in statu quo.

February 20, Evening.

Yesterday I visited Miss Murray's school on St. Helena Island. Miss Murray is assisted by Miss Towne and Miss Foster. Since the season for tilling the land has begun, the school has lessened in numbers from 200 to 125: both sexes and from three to fifteen years of age. Many of them have been under tuition several months and compare very favorably with Irish children after the same length of instruction, as I have seen them in N. E. From what I have seen in camp, I think the mode of receiving instruction is very different in the two races. Imitation and musical concert are the avenues to the minds of these children. Of course the habit of such dependence will be changed by education, but such is the beginning. After centuries of slavery, which utterly shut the avenues of thought, we should hardly expect rapid development of activity in the superior regions of thought. Only now and then, some genius, like Robert Sutton, can be left to prove the God-like relation. The simple fact is that use is less distructive than disuse.

I dined at Friend Hunn's and was accompanied by Miss Forten on a visit to Mr. Thorpe, who has charge of the Tripp plantation. "Edisto" [is] a meagre little confiscated creature from Edisto Island, with a saddle that must have been afloat since the flood; a bridle that left him comparatively unbridled and erratic in his ways, and a girth that could never gird his loins up to the scriptural injunction without breaking. He had neither sandals nor shoes to his feet nor speed to his body. You can imagine that our ride of four miles through the pine barrens was not so rapid as John Gilpin's. But the afternoon was like the last of June and full of sunshine and jasmine blossoms and the ground was covered with brown pine needles. I have seen none but the pitch pine here. The needles are often a foot long and now that they are enlivened by steady warmth, they sport graceful plumes against the sky.

But I have made my last visit to St. Helena Island. The fortunes of war uproot too suddenly, for my fancy, all the little fibres of local attachment just as they begin to take kindly to the soil. I have just got everything in good attitude towards my new hospital when all is to be abandoned and we are to pitch our tents (if the rebels permit) in another state. Being exactly what I want, I do not grumble at the fact.

February 24, 1863.

Colonel [James] Montgomery's arrival from Key West, with the nucleus of the Second S. C. Vols. is an event of importance to our life

here and also to the history of the war. I have heard Col. Higginson declare that he regarded Col. Montgomery alone as equal to one regiment. I have rarely heard our Colonel express deeper confidence in any one. I have already discovered the secret of it. Col. M. occupied my tent, last night, and before I turned in with James, I heard him talk enough to feel sure of his indomitable courage united with that rare verity which belongs only to inborn gentlemen. A compact head on slightly rounded shoulders, a tall form of slender build, dark, bronzed face, deep brown and slightly curling hair, a Roman nose, heavy beard and moustache, a smallish, determined mouth and pointed chin, deep, hazel eyes of destiny, all form a combination of feature and expression belonging to a man who has fought many battles but never surrendered. He once drove fourteen thousand with four hundred. He once ordered five rebel prisoners shot to avenge the death of five of his soldiers who were taken prisoners and shot by the rebels. He would not permit the blasphemy of the oath of allegiance to the remaining ten, but sent them back to their rebel brethren with the information that he could take prisoners and that thereafter he should not be content with life for life, but ten for one if they persisted in their hellish career of atrocity which they had begun. This man seems to me one of the John Brown men of destiny. He is not one of the slow, calculating sort, but being in harmony with the elements around him, he counsels with fleeing events and trusts his intuitions more than his calculations.

February 25, 1863.

This afternoon our regiment was reviewed by Gen. Saxton in the presence of Gen. Hunter. The staff and body guards of these two Generals made about a hundred horsemen. I quite enjoyed the bugle notes as they gallopped into camp and thought how much more exciting a cavalry regiment must be than infantry. In the course of the battalion drill our boys were ordered to make a charge toward them and I verily believe that if the Col. had not been in front, the order "Halt," would have passed unheeded till the cavalry had scattered over the field.

All this evening I have been squeezing Kansas history out of Col. Montgomery, a history with which he himself is so completely identified that I have really been listening to a wonderful autobiography. Col. M. is a born pioneer. Ashtabula County, Ohio, is his native place. Forty-nine years ago, Joshua R. Giddings and Ben Wade were young men and Montgomery in his boyhood was accustomed to hear their early pleadings at the bar. So you see how birth and early surroundings fitted him for a fiercer frontier life. New England life seems puny beside the lusty life born on the frontier. Of the Colonel's eight children two of his sons are to hold commissions in his regiment. They are young but as "they don't know the meaning of fear," and hate

slavery he is sure they will get on. In medicine he has a weakness for pellets instead of pills. It is humiliating that our two strong colonels should exhibit such weak points. So long as we remain in good health I don't know but this foible of homœopathy is as harmless as any of the popular vagaries. . . .

Yesterday Mingo Leighton died. Many weeks ago, I saw him step out of the ranks one day when upon the double-quick and discovered that he had slight disease of the heart. He was a noble fellow, black as midnight, who had suffered in the stocks and under the lash of a savage master, and did not accept any offer of discharge papers. Later he realized some of his hopes up the St. Mary's, so that he was very quiet under his fatal congestion of the lungs. He was ill but a few hours and was very calm when he told me on my first visit that his work was finished. He never gave me his history, though he regarded me as his friend, but one of his comrades confirmed my convictions of his worth. This same comrade, John Quincy, a good old man, who for eight years, paid his master twenty dollars per month for his time and eight dollars per month apiece for mules, and boarded himself and animals, — this man told me that Mingo was deeply religious, but said little about it, and that he himself had been "trabblin by dis truth sometin' like twenty-five year." I have rarely met a man whose trust in God has seemed to me more immediate and constant.

February 26.

Our visitors increase and I shall not be sorry when we are beyond the reach of those who "doubt the propriety" of arming the negroes. There is but one convincing argument and I don't care how soon it comes. I am sick of talking to men whose limited capacity renders it necessary for me to explain that humanity lies somewhat deeper than the integument of the human body.

February 28.

I keep a blazing fire in my tent about half the time, these hot, humid days, to keep myself from moulding alive. It requires a high pressure of vitality to push off these damps as they crowd in upon me here. Yet I have found only three cases of tubercular disease among our soldiers. Considering the fact that they were recruited without much regard to physical ability, I think this freedom from scrofulous disease remarkable.

March 2, Evening.

John Quincy (Co. G) came and asked me today if I would "send up North" for a pair of spectacles for him, "for common eyes of 60." The old man said he "could not live long enough to make much account of them," but that he "could read right smart places in the Testa-

ment," and since he has lost his spectacles he missed it. This is the same soldier who told his congregation on the *Ben Deford*, after our St. Mary's trip, that he saw the Colonel with his shoulder at the wheel of the big gun in the midst of the firing, and that "when de shell went out it was de scream ob de great Jehovah to de rebels." What made this statement the more interesting to me was the fact that I was standing in the background with the Colonel at the time, and John Quincy did not know of our presence.

We are now weeding our regiment a little, and today I have examined about a hundred and discharged thirty for disability. I find one poor fellow whose mind is very torpid, though he is not idiotic. A companion of his told me that he had been overworked in the Georgia rice swamps and that "he be chilly minded, not brave and expeditious like me." I believe I have somewhere written that our men were not subjected to examination by a surgeon before enlisting, hence this disagreeable business of discharging now. It is much easier to keep men out of a regiment than to get them out when once in.

March 3.

The plot thickens. Our steamers are coaling up and the stores and ammunition are going aboard. This looks southward and before this letter reaches you we shall probably be up some river, I hope not the one spoken of on the streets. Today Dr. M. M. Marsh of the U. S. Sanitary Commission has made his official visit and dined with me. I suppose I care the more for Dr. Marsh that he is not only a gentleman, and a physician whom I greatly respect, but also that he comes from the capital of my own native state. He is an elderly man with a countenance all covered with benignity. The following note to me from his agent at Beaufort, — Mr. H. G. Spaulding, — indicates the right spirit toward our movement.

"If you are in want of any hospital or sanitary supplies for your regiment, we shall be most happy to fill out a requisition for you. Send for whatever you need and state in every case the amount wanted. This is all the 'red tape' of our Commission, and there are no knots in it. In view of your unexpected movement I take this opportunity of assuring you of our desire to assist you in every way in our power."

Of course Dr. Minor was posted off with a requisition and our good soldiers shall bless the Commission.

Last night our men seemed bewitched. A few ran guard to be at a dance at the old "Battery plantation." Very early in the morning a poor fellow refused to halt, when ordered to do so by the guard, and has lost his life for it. He was shot through the side and will die within a few days.

Steamer *Boston*, March 6.

Yesterday, at four P. M. the last tent was struck and we began to move down the river at eight this evening.[1] Like our other expedition, we have three steamers, — the *Boston, Burnside* and *John Adams*. Col. Montgomery with his men and Co. A (Capt. Trowbridge), of our regiment, started last evening on the *Burnside*. Our Lt. Col. [Liberty] Billings with Co. B (Capt. James) and Co. C (Capt. Randolph) on the *John Adams*. Col. Higginson and Major [J. D.] Strong with the other seven companies of our regiment, on the Flag Ship *Boston*. I have left Dr. Hawks behind to care for the sick in the hospital, and placed Dr. Minor on the *Adams*. With me are the hospital steward and my trusty nurse, Mr. Spaulding. You may easily imagine there is not much lee-way on this steamer, calculated to carry less than four hundred. Besides we are blockaded at every turn by camp equipage, horses, army wagons etc. But the weather is perfect and the line officers cheerfully co-operate in keeping their men where I want them. . . .

Steamer *Boston* Mouth of St. John's River,
March 8, 1863.

Waiting, waiting, waiting, with thermometer at 80° F. this bright Sunday. Great sandbanks like snow, atmosphere shimmering in the hot sunlight, while the young, tender foliage softens the landscape into beauty.

At daylight this morning we left Fernandina and arrived off the bar at the mouth of this river at 9.30 A. M. The gunboat *Uncas* came off to meet us and considerably before noon we were anchored in here with the *Uncas*, the *Norwich* and our transport, the *Burnside*. Why the *John Adams* has not reached here, we cannot imagine. This delay warns the rebs of our approach to Jacksonville and, if they choose to dispute our landing, I do not see why some lives may not be lost. James [Capt. Rogers] and I have been ashore this afternoon and have seen various wild flowers unfamiliar to us. The Colonel is deep in consultation with gunboat captains, and a steady frown indicates his impatience and perplexity about the *John Adams*. Rough and ready Capt. Dolly remarked when we passed her, that he was d—d if he didn't admire the Lt. Col. because he was always to be found just where we left him. His theory however about the non-arrival of the *Adams* is that the chaplain has gone for the last well to be dug. Wells are one of the chaplain's specialties and it would not be surprising if the theory proved correct. To me the worst feature of the delay is the exposure of our men to disease. I dread confinement in close air for them much more than I do rebel bullets.

[1] To reoccupy Jacksonville.

Yesterday I heard of a little coincidence which quite amused me. One of our captains is not so broad and catholic as Theodore Parker, and very constantly manifests a jealous nature by petty complaints and watchings for evil. Yesterday morning he was speaking to me of the Colonel and remarked that the only fault he could find with him was a *lack of discipline*, that the men ought not to be allowed to insult their officers without severe punishment. I replied that I did not know of an officer in the regiment who was obliged to cross the track of the men so much as I, and yet, without any specific control over any but those in the hospital department, I never dreamed of being insulted and that if I were, I should feel that the fault were mine. This captain happened to be the officer of the day and, towards evening, I noticed that he was looking very demure and that he was minus his sash. On inquiry I found he had permitted some slight improprieties among the men and that the Colonel promptly put another officer in his place. I have not heard of a better disciplinarian than Col. H. and I doubt not Capt. —— is getting convinced on the same point.

Just now I found one of our men in a collapsed state, which will prove fatal.

March 7.

This morning, at ten, the *John Adams* hove in sight. The officers report fog so dense as to prevent running her over the bar at Fernandina. If the rebels are not duller than I think them, we shall suffer for this most annoying delay. . . .

The poor fellow whom I mentioned yesterday, died this morning. Were our men obliged to sleep aboard a few nights more, such deaths would be frequent. Yet I have everything done to prevent disease that, under the circumstances, can be done. Yesterday I found several ill on the *Burnside*, including Col. Montgomery and one of our best artillerists. Today all are in good condition and anticipating a fight.

Headquarters, 1st S. C. Vols., Jacksonville, Fla.
March 12, 1863.[1]

For once I have been so busy that I could not find time to note the thousand and one incidents of our expedition.

Tuesday morning, at two, our fleet of five steamers moved slowly up the St. Johns. Passed the yellow bluffs, the night glorious in its blue, misty moonlight, the river wide and beautiful. When daylight came we were delighted by the scenery of the shores and the cosy looking homes scattered here and there.

[1] The report of Brigadier General Joseph Finegan, dated March 14, gives the Confederate account. Saxton's report was brief. — 1 Records of the Rebellion, xiv. 226.

Strange as it may seem, the rebels were taken by surprise and the city was neither defended nor burned, and we landed without a gun being fired. One man came down to the wharf and caught the line when it was thrown off and the Col. was the first to step on shore. Then followed Capt. Metcalf and Capt. Rogers with their men and soon other companies followed, till pickets were posted in the suburbs. Meanwhile, Col. Montgomery and Capt. Trowbridge with their men, started off in the direction of the rebel camp. The *John Adams*, *Boston* and *Burnside* remain at the wharves, while the *Uncas* and the *Norwich* lie out in the stream.

We expect to hold this city, though I don't see how it is to be done without reinforcements. Our men will do almost anything, but I don't believe they can do so much picket service without exhaustion. Skirmishing is intensely exciting and they enjoy it beyond measure. Yesterday they brought in a saddle and some instruments that belonged to a surgeon of the cavalry, who was shot through the head. At every fight our boys have put the rebels to flight, though they have twice made the attack with forces superior to ours.

The rebel camp is eight miles out. It is not easy for us to know their exact force. Under the protection of gunboats, we are safe, but we hope, ere long, to be safe under our own protection. Many of our men were slaves here, not long ago and you can scarcely imagine the horror and dread the secesh have of them. We have a few important prisoners, one of whom was a lieut. in the U. S. army and afterward in the Confederate army.

Capt. Rogers is provost marshal and has his powers taxed considerably. He likes his work exceedingly and does it well. He rides a little secesh pony which he captured the first morning here. I am sick of "loyal slaveholders," and would not resort to the blasphemy of administering the oath to them. I think we are not doing so much of this last as some commanders have done.

I should judge this to be a town of 4000 inhabitants. It has excellent wharves and large brick warehouses more than half a mile in length. The town gradually rises from the river, back a third or half a mile. Streets and houses have gas fixtures, a New England look to everything, streets beautifully shaded by live oaks, now and then a *Cornus Florida*, the ground paved with its white petals, — peach trees in full bloom.

Our headquarters are grand. The new brick house we occupy was owned by Col. Sanderson, one of the ablest lawyers in the state and one of the most traitorous. He is in Dixie while his family is north. I just now asked Serg't Hodges if he knew Sanderson. "Oh yes, I was one of the carpenters who worked many a hard day on that fine house."

There are probably 400 or 500 people remaining here. If everything goes right I shall convert the Washington Hotel into a hospital. At present we keep sick and wounded on the *John Adams*.

This is the only place that I have yet seen in the South that suits me for a residence. It is the most important position in Florida for us to hold. It has already been twice abandoned by our troops and it remains to be proved whether it must be abandoned a third time.

March 13, Evening.

The night was not a very quiet one for our sentinels at the barricades, firing enough to keep all on the *qui vive*, though no one was wounded on our side and I cannot learn that anybody but a secesh dog was found dead on the other side. . . .

March 14, Evening.

A curious incident occurred this morning which gave me a full hundred (from both regiments) sick and wounded to examine and prescribe for and fill out my prescriptions. The *John Adams* started for a secret raid up the river at daylight, without notifying Dr. Minor, the steward and hospital nurse, who were all sleeping on the boat. It was a good enough joke, but for me not so practical as to make me crave a repetition. Tonight our sick and wounded are in the hospital. Colonel Montgomery thought the Lord had grown these handsome shade trees especially for barricades, and I have never a doubt that the Washington Hotel, with its sixteen chambers, and a fire-place in each, was especially intended for a military hospital. Possibly it is because it seems too good to last that I deem it hazardous to bring our sick ashore, but the two Colonels assure me it is perfectly safe to do so. . . .

Our belligerent Chaplain[1] is armed with a revolver on each side and a Ballard rifle on his back. He keeps so persistently on the advanced picket line that I could scarcely persuade him to conduct the funeral service of a poor fellow who was shot the other day. Today he got on the track of some cavalry and infantry, and was certain of surrounding and capturing them, if he could only get permission from the Colonel. His hatred of slavery is so intense that his prayers are of a nature to keep his powder dry.

We have burned a good many houses within a mile of town, to get rid of screens for the enemy between us and the woods, where rather formidable trees are being felled to complete our water barricade. The houses are often occupied by women and children whose husbands and fathers are in the Confederate service. The Chaplain, being a man of fire, has much to do with this matter. Today, I questioned him

[1] Rev. James H. Fowler, of Cambridge, Mass.

as to his usual mode of proceeding. I found he gave them the choice of the two governments, but with the explicit statement that their friends in arms were to be killed soon unless they came in and surrendered. His division of the effects of these families seems rather scriptural. "What seems to belong to the woman, I yield to her, but what seems to belong to the man, I have brought into camp."

Some of these cases are very pitiful and call out my deepest commiseration. Today I visited a poor widow who has a son in the rebel service. Her house was burned and she, with her children, was brought into town. She has not been able to walk a step during the last five months. On examination I found that her prostration was due entirely to privations and hardships resulting from war. For more than a year her food has been "dry hominy" with now and then a little fish. She was born in Alabama of "poor white" parents. As I talked to her it seemed to me it must be difficult for her to understand the justice of our coming here to invade the homes of those who had always earned their bread by the sweat of their brows.

Yesterday I conversed with a lady who lives in a pleasant cottage, with her beautiful little children and her aged mother. Her husband is a captain outside our barricades and when the Colonel granted her permission to go wherever she chose, she said so many had gone from the river and coast towns to the interior that one could scarcely find a barn to stay in or food to subsist on. She remains here for the present. Her husband was a music teacher and was taken into the army by conscription. From what I can learn of him through Union men, I have no doubt he would gladly return to loyalty. What are we to do with such families? "Things are a little mixed" here in the South, but we must all suffer the results of our great national sin, some one way, some another.

I have given out word that the Surgeon of our regiment will cheerfully and gladly attend to the medical needs of all civilians here. To be the means of relieving suffering is sufficient compensation, but in this case there is the additional good of being able to make anti-slavery statements in a satisfactory way. . . .

I never supposed I could be so much gratified by comparatively level scenery. The river is very beautiful, — quite clear and of a deep amber color. I cannot tell you how much I enjoy my evening bath. Dr. Minor usually goes with me. Once, while in the water, the companies were hurriedly ordered to "fall in," but it seemed so unnatural that one's bathing should be interfered with that we were not startled by the alarm.

We find the rebel women here exceedingly desirous to prove that our soldiers are guilty of all the outrages they might expect from a long-injured people now in power. Many of our soldiers are natives of

this place and meet their old mistresses here. On the day of our landing I was over and over implored, by those who knew their deserts, to protect them from the "niggers." It was an awful turning of the tables. I quite enjoyed saying "These are United States troops and they will not dishonor the flag."

Several charges have been preferred against the soldiers, but thus far, when sifted down, have proved quite as much against those who complained as against our men. The Adjutant told me of a lady of easy manners, who had been very much insulted by a soldier. Close investigation proved that he actually sat on her front door-step.

That our soldiers do some outrageous things, I have little doubt. When women taunt them with language most unbecoming, as they sometimes do, I should be very sorry if they did not return a silencer. Thus far they have behaved better than any white regiment has done under such temptations. They "confiscate" pigs and chickens because their captains connive at it and the Provost Marshal cannot do everything alone.

Today the *John Adams* and the *Burnside* are off on some speculation up the river. I was too busy to go with them this morning, or should have asked the privilege. Colonel Montgomery has gone with his men. They declare he is a "perfect devil to fight, he don't care nuttin 'bout de revels." His bravery is apparently rashness but in reality far from it. He evidently thinks the true mode of self-defense is to attack the enemy on his own ground.

Evening.

About six, the *Burnside* came down the river with horses, hogs, chickens and prisoners. They took Col. Bryant, just as he returned to his plantation after running his negroes into the back country. They report great quantities of cotton and cattle up the river, so I hope we really are to have fresh beef again.

It is nothing like as damp and unwholesome here as in South Carolina. The same amount of exposure there that our men have had here, would have given the hospital twenty or thirty cases of pleurisy and pneumonia, while today, we have but a single case of acute inflammation. There is coughing enough to keep back several rebel regiments. I see no reason, however, why the officers should not get intermittent fever from this handsome river, by and by. It looks as if midsummer might load it with miasma and alligators. . . .

I am gradually confiscating furniture for my spacious chamber in the best house of a beautiful town, as if it were my final residence. I enjoy the long cedar closet that opens out of my room. The fragrance is so sweet I cannot understand why moths object to it. Then just think of having a perfect bath room, without any water in it and costly gas fix-

tures without any gas! The war has greatly deranged the machinery of this town. Almost everywhere, except in this house, I have found the lead pipes cut by the rebels and used, I suppose, for bullets. When Colonel Sanderson left here he placed his house in charge of a Union man, saying that it would naturally be the headquarters of any Union commander. Hence the more perfect preservation of the property.

March 16, Evening.

The second floors of the warehouses on Bay street make capital quarters for our troops. The rebels burned many of the stores of Union men and would have burned their private dwellings if it could have been done without endangering their own. . . .

One of our pickets came in today with a conical ball in his foot and complained that "de cunnel stood out forwad ob we lookin at de revels [rebels] wid de glass an would n't let we fire." The Colonel afterwards told me that the range was so long that it would have been a waste of ammunition. . . .

March 17.

We are fairly at work at our legitimate business. The *John Adams* brought down, last evening, thirty contrabands, ten horses, and quantities of corn, hogs, cotton etc. Today the *Burnside* is off on a similar errand. Meanwhile our boys have had a smart skirmish about a mile and a half out and burned several houses occupied by the rebel advance pickets. As we are not here to act aggressively against Camp Finnegan, but simply to hold this town for headquarters, while making such advances from other points on the river as may seem best, it seems as if the enemy must have reached the conclusion, ere this, that we have means of defence. It is a mystery that they do not contrive some way to burn us out. Women and children are permitted to go and come without hindrance and they could do us the greatest damage by going back to their friends by the light of the town. I trust they will not think of it.

March 18.

This morning a message came in by flag of truce from Camp Finnegan, giving us 24 hours to send out the women and children to the brick church, where the skirmish was yesterday, and their teams will meet them there.[1] The message was signed by Lieut. Col. [A. H.] McCormick. This afternoon another came from Col. [Duncan L.] Clinch [of the Southern army] repeating the former and adding that we should be held responsible for what might happen to those left in town. This looks as if they intend to approach the town with artillery and set it

[1] It was the Brick Yard Church. The order is in 1 Records of the Rebellion, xiv. 839.

on fire with shells. This is feasible, in spite of our gunboats. If there is any pluck in them the attempt will be made. Many of our officers think the message a mere flourish for intimidation, but I do not and shall hold myself in readiness to send my sick and wounded to the steamer at short notice. Meanwhile we look for reinforcements by the *Boston*. Her delay is unaccountable.

Owing to hard fare and excessive fatigue, several of our officers are quite out of health. I am satisfied that the blacks have too much credit for good cooking. I have yet to find one who knows how to make bread or cook meat. If we hold this town we shall have a "post oven" and good bread, getting rid of the villainous fried dough which is bringing dysentery into camp.

March 19.

The provost marshal and major have been very busy today, escorting the rebel women and children to their friends. Major Strong told me that while the teams were unloading, the marshal sat on his pony whistling the John Brown hymn. As James was not permitted to talk, I suppose he had to whistle in self defense. I very much wanted to go, but could not get permission. I suppose the Colonel is afraid I shall, sometime, go over to the rebels. About one hundred and fifty have gone out today, leaving about two hundred here. The Colonel is under no obligation to force civilians out of town without positive notification from the enemy that he intends to attack.

March 20.

The enemy left us undisturbed during the night and I believe their chance has vanished with the rising of this morning's sun. The *Boston* has arrived with the sixth Connecticut regiment, and there are others to land. Meanwhile our earthworks are so nearly completed that guns are mounted and a large force could easily be repulsed. But last night more than one officer slept with his boots on.

March 21.

Last night was dark and rainy with just wind enough to make sounds everywhere. At midnight, cannonading began at one of the forts, and then followed shells from the gunboats. Our pickets were fired upon and there was a general impression outside that all secesh was down upon us. But the enemy has not since been heard from. Today Major Strong went with skirmishers far beyond the accustomed line, without opposition. Cannonading in the night is hard for weak nerves and I dreaded the effect upon my sick. One of the convalescents was suddenly attacked with pleurisy in the night, and when I asked him

about the time when the pain began, he replied, "Just after de gun done gone shoot." Another who had a bullet through his leg, said he had "enjoyed a mighty bad rest."

March 22.

Tomorrow the *Boston* will take northward some important prisoners whom we have arrested here. Some of them were complaining of Capt. Randolph's tardiness in having them examined, that when he arrested them he promised they should have an early trial. The Capt. replied that he would like to have them prove that he had promised them anything but "the day of Judgment and long periods of Damnation."

I wish I had time to tell you some of the curious incidents of the last ten days. I dare say the Colonel has them all in his everlasting note book, so you will get them sometime.

Our regiment and the sixth Conn. met harmoniously at church this morning. The prejudice of the white soldiers is very strong, yet I trust there will be no serious collision. Our boys have seen hardships enough to unfit them for receiving taunts very graciously. The question begins to be asked "When shall we make an advance?"

March 23.

The 8th Maine arrived today and I am sorry that Colonel [John D.] Rust[1] ranks our Colonel.

March 24.

Tonight the *Paul Jones* has returned from Palatka, bringing a single contraband, and the intelligence that all the slaves have been run back into the interior. The fact is, if we are ever to get black soldiers, we must make a big hole through the rebel lines so that the blacks can run back to us. Every day of waiting here is a day of strength to our fortifications, but a day of weakness to our purpose. We need nothing so much as black recruits and it seems to me that if the proclamation of emancipation is ever to be anything more than a dead letter, it must be made so before many weeks. Were the North an anti-slavery unit I should not feel at all impatient, but I believe we have more to dread from traitors at home than from their friends who fight against us here. Possibly public opinion may not continue on its anti-slavery decline at home, but if today we had fifty thousand black troops, I should feel more certain of its returning to health. I am perfectly satisfied that there is nothing in this world so dreadful to the rebels as the enlistment of their slaves in the federal service. They will resort to every possible means to prevent our getting recruits.

[1] He, however, although a senior officer, courteously waived command and remained on board his own ship. — T. W. H.

March 25, 2.30, P. M.

Three quarters of an hour ago I was dreaming pleasantly of a prayer meeting, when a rebel bombshell burst somewhere in the immediate vicinity of the town. Presently another and another, then the reply of our guns and then the "long call." It seemed as if we were at last fairly in for it. Dr. Minor came up to ask if we were to trust Providence to care for our hospital. I advised him to go back and assure them all that the Lord was on the side of our big guns. Meanwhile I crawled on to the top of our observatory and watched the firing until the secesh sent a shell, which burst in the air and sent a fragment whistling above my head with a note so shrill that I began to think of Gabriel's trumpet and crawled down again. Presently the cannonading ceased. I do not think it was chivalric for the rebels to wake us so early, but, I remember, we are not now in South Carolina. The cocks are crowing unconcernedly and I'll to bed again.

Evening.

Several shells came into town before our guns gave the quietus. A section of one struck within a few feet of the Colonel and Major, in front of Headquarters. The hospital of the 8th Maine was perforated by a piece of one, and two dwelling houses were terribly bored. One went through two occupied chambers. A husband and wife lost, respectively, a coat and a skirt, which were hanging on a rocking chair, and, collectively, a portion of the mosquito bar over the bed. Shells make very ugly looking holes through houses. It seems remarkable that no one was injured, although to me not much more so than that so few are injured in thunder storms, of which this scene forcibly reminded me.

This morning we made a reconnoissance in force. One of our S. C. V. companies took charge of the rifled ten pounder on the platform car, while the Colonel and Major advanced on the line of the railroad with four other companies of our regiment together with six of the 8th Maine and 6th Conn. Our Colonel in command. Our boys skirmished on the left of the road and the others on the right. The rebel pickets galloped off to camp, which has been moved back ten or twelve miles. When we had advanced about four miles through the open pine barrens and occasional thick woods, the smoke of a rebel engine was seen in the distance. Meantime I had hurried through my morning duties, and at about 12.30 P. M. had overtaken the force. I had not been there more than twenty minutes before the 64 pound shells began to come down upon us from their gun on a platform car. Our force had already begun a slow retreat [having already passed the limit fixed by orders], with repeated halts, when the conical portion of the first shell (which had exploded above our heads) struck four of the 8th

Maine soldiers, killing two and wounding two, one slightly and one so that the amputation of the foot is necessary. The firing was very accurate; first on one side of the road, then on the other a shell would come singing over and many of them exploded over our heads. Gen. Saxton believes a special Providence watches over our regiment, and that not a man was seriously injured today would seem to justify this belief. I saw a whole shell that did not explode, plough into the sand under the feet of a soldier not six rods from me, knock his gun out of his hands and his cap off his head, but before I could get to him he had gathered himself up and was off uninjured.

Dr. Mitchell, of the 8th Maine, and I, were the only mounted officers out, till the Colonel's horse was sent to meet him on the return. My "rebel" pranced well and behaved beautifully. We burned several houses and, as I had not before had the satisfaction, I chose a very new, good one, and kindled my fire in a costly mahogany sideboard. A portion of the R. R. track was destroyed, but whether enough to hinder them long in repairs I am not certain.

After our return, Sergeant McIntyre of Co. G came up to headquarters to intercede for his friend Thomas Long, a private in the same company, who had conceived the idea of going alone a dozen miles to destroy by fire a long trestle work, built through a swamp, over which the cars run. Thomas Long is a thin, spiritual-looking, unassuming black man, who trusts God. He has gone on his errand, an errand requiring more real courage and heroism than has before been manifested in our regiment. Of course he goes disguised, but he carries with him such evidence of his intention that death would surely follow his capture. My expectation of seeing him again is very small.

March 26.

This morning a company of the 8th Maine went over the creek, north of the town, and advanced about three miles through the pine barrens. At noon a messenger came in for reinforcements to go out and take a camp containing a hundred cavalry pickets. It was decided that Colonel H. and Major Strong, with four of our companies, should undertake the job, much to the disappointment of Lieut. Col. [Joseph F.] Twitchell of the 8th Maine, who told me how certain he was of making a fine dash of it if allowed to go. But we had held the town against great odds before they came to our relief, and it was our right to go.

To my surprise, the Colonel ordered me to stay behind until the reserve force should come up. I waited as long as I could conveniently and then rode over to the creek where our pickets were stationed. Instead of meeting a "reserve," I found only the horses of

our officers, who had not attempted to get them over the barricades on the causeway and through the creek, where the bridge had been removed. They had already been gone long enough to get two miles in advance and it looked to me as if there must be ample time for our party to capture or be captured, long before the 8th Maine could reinforce them. So, for once, I disobeyed orders and gave my Rebel the reins. I found he could leap like a panther and run like a deer. Except in the circus, I have never seen a horse leap so high. The marsh each side of the causeway made it impossible to go round. Once out on the plain, among the tall, handsome pines, we went gaily in pursuit of our party. The scene was so solemn and so beautiful that I had no fear of possible guerilla shots. At length our men were in sight, on the right of the road, and hats were waving me out of the way as likely to be seen by the enemy. Knowing but little of strategy, I suppose I should have made a straightforward push for the enemy. Major Strong, with two companies, had gone around another way to cut off retreat, and I soon perceived, by the silence and ominous motions, that we were in the immediate vicinity of the camp. Finally the trap was handsomely and strategically set, the Major was on the left spring and the Colonel on the right, and when the two jaws snapped together they found between their teeth quite a lot of drying sheets and shirts and other articles, resembling, through a thickly wooded ravine, a rebel camp. Chickens were frightened, and an old mare confiscated by the Major to ride back to town. I have not seen the 8th Maine Captain who made the blunder, but everybody else seems to enjoy it. Our boys could not have had a better skirmish drill. I was not censured for disobeying orders.

March 27, 1863.

This afternoon our eyes were gladdened by the sight of the *Boston* and *Convoy* steaming up the river, but when, instead of a cavalry force and light artillery to weigh them down, we perceived they came empty, we were filled with forebodings, till our hearts actually sank within us at the intelligence that an order from General Hunter had come for our forces to evacuate the town, to help those further north. This may be wisdom, but I fail to see anything but that fatal vacillation which has thus far cursed us in this war. We have planted ourselves here for the definite purpose of making this state free, and have already so fortified the city that a small force can hold it, while the boats are making such raids up the river as may seem best. Colonel Montgomery and his men have been off two days up the river and tonight, a steamer is dispatched to call them back. I hope it will take the *John Adams* a week to find the *Gen. Meigs*, for we cannot think of leaving without them. Unfortunately we are constantly expecting her back, though it

would not surprise me if Colonel Montgomery had marched his men twenty miles inland, and confiscated all sorts of contrabands. He carefully avoided taking anything but hard bread, for he religiously believes we ought to live on the rebels.

Judge Stickney is exceedingly anxious to take the *Convoy* and go back to Hilton Head to ask for a reconsideration of the order. Among the officers there is a difference of opinion as to the rightfulness of such a delay. The order was peremptory and, were I General Hunter, I would cashier the officer who disobeyed it. At the same time I believe the only reason why General Hunter calls us back is, because he fears our black troops might be overpowered in the absence of the other regiments. There would be no danger of it. If our army ever should happen to do anything at Charleston we could be reinforced after that.

March 28, Evening.

Not yet off. Have worked enough for one day in getting our sick and wounded on the *John Adams*. Another steamer has arrived with additional instructions. It seems that each regiment is to return to its former camp. I suppose that this means that we are to protect the Islands while the advance is made on Charleston, — if it means anything. The *John Adams* found the *Gen. Meigs* a long way up the river. They returned at noon with twelve rebel prisoners, who were caught while asleep at their station. The Lieutenant in command was permitted to say good-bye to his wife, and made his escape through the sobs and crinoline of his female friends. Colonel Montgomery admits a weak spot in his military nature. He could have shot the Lieut. while escaping, but would not do so in the presence of his wife.

Our men made a landing at Palatka and were fired into by the rebs. Lieut. Col. Billings received a ball through the fleshy margin of each hand while attempting to get off the steamer. Brave old John Quincy received one through the leg, a little above the ankle, fracturing the small bone and carrying away some of it. I shall not amputate. It seemed peculiarly trying for the old man. He had begged the privilege of going up for his wife and received a shot instead. I don't see quite how he will harmonize this double affliction with the theory he so often preaches to the men, that when one trusts in God and is not a coward, he will be protected against the bullets of his enemies.

Tonight the Major and Capt. —— with twenty picked men, go up the river with muffled oars, to try to capture another lot of pickets. I fear they will not be successful. . . . Thomas Long returned safely day before yesterday. He examined camp Finnegan, eight miles out, and went to the trestle four miles beyond, but finding it closely watched by pickets he did not attempt to burn it. I look at that man with a deep feeling of reverence.

My "Rebel" and I went, this afternoon, round the circuit of the pickets, forts, rifle pits and stockades for the last time. The pickets were playing euchre and fishing in the creek and enjoying themselves as only pickets can. I thought how much less the rebels troubled them than me. The truth is, the order to evacuate this town depresses me. I hate weak vacillation and this seems too much like the unsettled policy that all along has crippled the energy of our forces.

Steamer *Convoy*, Mouth of St. John's,
March 29, 1863.

This is one of the sad days of my life. The evacuation of Jacksonville is the burial of so many hopes I had cherished for the oppressed, that I feel like one in attendance at the funeral of a host of his friends. I greatly fear we are to be put back: out of active service at a moment when there is most need for us to work. I believe our retrograde movement today is an error more serious and damaging to the interests of the enslaved than appears on the surface. . . . Major Strong and his party visited, last night, the picket station of the rebels, but for some reason they found no one, and the search was useless.

Early this morning all was hurry and excitement. Insufficient means of transportation caused a good deal of grief among families obliged to leave behind furniture, and caused a good deal of profanity among officers and soldiers obliged to be packed as you would pack pork. This little *Convoy*, of 410 tons, has six companies of soldiers with all their equipments, forty or fifty citizens with all the truck we did not throw back upon the wharf: fifty horses: all the Commissary stores and all my hospital stores, save those needed on the *John Adams*. Were this crowded state to last but a few hours there would be no trouble, but it is thick weather and raining like fury, and the fleet dare not put out to sea before morning. I forgot to say that we have also all our camp tents on board. Here we are for the night.

Quite early this morning the 8th Maine boys began setting fire to the town — a most shameful proceeding. I came near losing my hospital stores before I could find conveyance for them to the steamer. The hospital was burned and many buildings were on fire when we left. It seemed like an interposition of Providence that a heavy rain so soon came on, which probably saved part of the town. It also seems to me that Providence is interfering with General Hunter's order in a way that may be more or less destructive. The wind is changing to the East and our prospect of getting off in the morning is passing away.

March 30.

Late last evening we succeeded in getting a hundred men ashore and decently quartered in old houses. The wind blew a gale most of the night, the rain poured in torrents, while occasional thunder and light-

ning added interest to the scene. I enjoyed it much more than if part of our men had not gone on shore. The Captain of the *Convoy* insisted on my taking his berth, so that my quarters were very good. I would sooner have lain on the hurricane deck in the storm than have slept in the cabin. At this moment I am writing in the captain's room with a crowd of homeless women and children around me. One important testimony from them I am glad to record. They prefer to be here with the poorest accommodations, rather than on the *Boston* or *Delaware* with nice staterooms and a large saloon. And what do you suppose is the reason? Because black soldiers do not offer them insults, and they do not feel so secure with white ones. It is established beyond all controversy that black troops, with worthy commanders, are more controllable than white troops. What they would be with a less conscientious Colonel, I cannot say.

This morning the Major and I went on shore and designated quarters for every company on board and now they are all drying and rejoicing themselves before blazing fires. . . .

March 31.

Our men are coming aboard again and we shall start for Fernandina this afternoon. Sending the men ashore was a great hit. Nearly all are in good condition. I was this morning obliged to amputate John Quincy's leg. His chances for life are only about one in three, owing to old age and impaired constitution. I am hard at work. Capt. B. treats me like a brother. I don't see how I could be better placed in this department.

Camp Saxton, Beaufort, S. C.,
April 2, 1863. Evening.

Such is the management here that my notes no longer date from satisfactory advance posts. Four weeks ago tonight I was saying a last goodbye to our camp ground, and at a late hour went on board the steamer that was forever to take us from South Carolina. The deserted camp by moonlight saddened me, but this inglorious return impresses me more than I can express. It seemed appropriate that we should steam up Beaufort River the night of April 1.[1]

It was not too late for me to visit dear old Mr. Saxton. He told me how terribly disappointed the General was at the sudden and unexpected conclusion of General Hunter to order the evacuation of Jacksonville. One night it was agreed that General Saxton should visit us in person, but early in the morning all was reversed and empty steamers were sent for us. General Hunter could not be persuaded to countermand the order.[2] . . .

[1] See report of Colonel John D. Rust, in 1 Records of the Rebellion, xiv. 232.

[2] He was always the most impulsive of men. — T. W. H.

Today the long slumbering fleet at Hilton Head has begun to move towards Charleston. . . A very small force is being left to protect these Islands and you will be glad to know that we are to do picket duty in the absence of other troops. An attack upon us is not the most improbable thing to anticipate. I think our boys would enjoy a fight with almost any number of the enemy and some of our officers are slightly belligerent.

One of our soldiers who was expatiating on the pluck of the chaplain exclaimed, "My God, what for you made him preacher? He is de fightenmost Yankee I eber did see." . . .

Last night about a hundred of the boys bivouacked on the hurricane deck and early this morning they were full of cheerful congratulations. I heard one say, "Well, Jim, how are you?" "Bully, tank God." I am constantly amused by their pointed, laconic remarks.

. . . I understand that Gen. Hunter gives as a reason for withdrawing our regiment from Jacksonville that he needed the others and dared not leave us alone. So far as safety is concerned, I would rather be on the mainland of Florida than the islands here.[1] My box of supplies from the Soldiers Aid Society of Worcester, opened well today. We brought it up from Fernandina with us. The *Gen. Burnside* was loaded with stores for us at the moment General Hunter was McClellandized, and everything was dumped off at Fernandina. The box has arrived at the moment we most need it, and, with the exception of the lint, every article will be exceedingly useful. We confiscated a few bales of oakum up the St Mary's and I like it better than any other material for general dressing.

April 3.

You would laugh to see me tonight in this naked, floorless tent, without fire, the rain pouring upon my canvass roof and my candle flickering in the wind. During our absence the new regiment took our tent floors and we are on the sand. These drafted men are merged into the second regiment. I shall be delighted if the surgeon of that regiment ever makes his appearance. Dr. Hawks is one of the examiners of the exempts and as all have to be cared for, we three have quite enough to do. Dr. Minor looks fatigued and it would not surprise me if he should have to haul off for rest. Everybody loves him.

April 4.

Tomorrow I hear we are to pull up stakes and go on picket duty. This is not easy work, but work of any kind is preferable to inactivity. Dr. Minor is down with intermittent fever. I scarcely know how to spare him. I was obliged to send John Quincy to the Beaufort Hospital.

[1] The subsequent battle of Olustee proved that Hunter was right. — T. W. H.

. . . Mrs. General Lander[1] drew up her splendid steed before my tent door this afternoon and assured me she would do all in her power for our General Hospital for colored soldiers, now being established in Beaufort.

It is yet undecided who the surgeon will be and I am somewhat solicitous about it. Very few surgeons will do precisely the same for blacks as they would for whites, and I know of no people more susceptible to the benign influence of kind words than these long-suffering blacks.

Mrs. Lander told me that the sixth Connecticut boys were full of praises of the bravery of our regiment.

April 5.

We have had no freezing weather since we returned, but have come back to a comparatively cold climate. I sleep warmly, but smile at the transfer from my luxurious chamber and spring bed at Jacksonville to this unwarmed tent in the sand, with hospital stores boxes for my bed and my field case of instruments for my pillow. Never an aching bone nor soreness of muscle from this. Sleeping half dressed is the normal condition and when I get along *habitually* to coat and cap and boots and spurs I don't see what special advantages bears and buffaloes will have over me.

Advance Picket Station,
Port Royal Island, April 6.

We are seven miles N. W. of Beaufort. Six companies are encamped here, one at Port Royal Ferry, one at the Seabrook plantation three miles from here, one at Rose's two miles off in another direction, one at the brick-yard, three miles off in still another. Picket duty is always honorable, and being assigned to it for a time seems like a sort of compensation for taking us away from Jacksonville, but a pill is a pill, sugared or no, and we have been dosed with a very bad one which will forever stick in my crop. . . . This old plantation house is not large enough to decently hold the colonel and his staff, but if we are very quiet I guess we shall get on amiably. Tonight I sleep on the dirty floor of an attic with two dormer windows and two room mates. The Col. wanted me to share his room below, but in this damp climate I shall always seek an upper room when it is possible.

The scattering of our men will give us pleasant rides and plenty of excitement. The country hereabouts is just as charming as pine barrens, slight elevations, running streams, acres of large white single roses climbing to the tops of respectable trees, and milk-white clusters of locust blossoms with their delicate fragrance, wild crimson honeysuckle and trees of *Cornus Florida* in full bloom can make it. Don't you think I might be happy? Well, *I am*.

[1] Jean Margaret Davenport, widow of Major-Gen. Frederick William Lander.

April 7.

Some of you can imagine how heartily I enjoyed the morning gallop from station to station, to look after our soldiers. They endured the march well, but are not equal to whites. I believe the Colonel is more easily reconciled to this disparity of endurance, from the fact that it corroborates his theory that physical endurance and longevity are enhanced by civilization. Yesterday morning as we came through Beaufort I visited Gen'l Saxton and asked him to detail Dr. Hawks to take charge of the new General Hospital for colored soldiers instead of carrying out his plan to appoint Dr. ——, whose treatment is open to criticism. To-night I am glad to hear that all is going as I could wish, and that our men will not be neglected. Dr. Minor is here with me again.

At Seabrook, this morning, I saw the rebel pickets on the opposite shore. They often hail our men, but are never answered. The men chafe under this a little, but obey the Colonel's order. Charles Follen has charge of that plantation. I like him. There is a prospect of his joining our regiment. I heartily wish we might have all earnest, anti-slavery men for officers. Military training without moral help is not very valuable.

April 9.

Everything was going on quietly until we heard heavy cannonading in the direction of the Ferry before sunrise this morning. The *George Washington*, an old steamboat converted into a semi-gunboat, was cruising in the river and got aground last evening. The rebels had ample time to send for artillery during the night and they blew her up. The explosion threw her men into the water and marsh, from which they were brought out by our pickets and the Chaplain. I judge that not more than a dozen were killed or wounded. They were sent to the Hospital in Beaufort. I would like to have the care of them, but we have no accommodations here. One of them told the Adjutant's wife that he was glad to have me take care of him for he had often seen me in Worcester. Another was a handsome Providence boy, who was terribly broken to pieces, but who will recover.[1]

April 11, Evening.

All astir tonight. Rebel demonstrations at the Ferry. We have a gunboat above and one below, and part of a regular battery in front, ready to dispute any attack or attempt to take the guns from the *George Washington*.

April 12.

Should one inquire for my health tonight, I might adopt the reply of a soldier yesterday: "Not superior, thank God." A good night's sleep will restore all that was lost under the tramp of couriers and

[1] See 1 Records of the Rebellion, XIV. 280–283, 891.

rattle of sabres on the piazza during the whole of last night. Why couriers should carry sabres except to be in harmony with the general spirit of the War Department, I cannot conceive. There would be precisely as much sense in my being tripped up by mine at the bedside of the sick or at the operating table. Ample preparations were made for the repulse of a large invading force and no force invaded. I guess we are all a little sorry, since it seems like flying in the face of Providence to leave unused for skirmishing these wonderful pine barrens. I thought General Saxton looked a little disappointed about it when he came out this morning. General Hunter, who ought to be holding Charleston today, was with him. Were I not so sleepy I would crowd in a few curses here on the mismanagement which has resulted in the withdrawal of our forces from before Charleston. . . .

April 13.

Today I have visited our soldiers in Gen. Hospital No. 10, in Beaufort. I am happy to say that at last we have a hospital with a look of permanence, and about as good as the others. Dr. and Mrs. Hawks and one hospital steward have worked hard to get it in order. The supply of stores and medicines has been furnished by the Medical Department. Tonight the precious wandering box of capsicum and all the good things found its way to me. The iron band had kept it secure. Not a particle of the candy nor the capsicum had been eaten, not a postage stamp lost. . . .

April 15.

Night before last a boat load of rebels came over to Barnwell's plantation to capture a squad of our pickets, but the boys were wide awake and gave them a few rounds of buck and ball which caused a hasty retreat. These dark nights are favorable for raids, and Capt. Rogers, while on picket at the Ferry, took advantage of the rain and intense darkness last evening and went over the river, bringing back a valuable boat. It was a daring operation which proved that our pickets are more vigilant than theirs. Up to today the rebels have not fired anything more injurious than oaths across at our men, but this morning they tried their muskets. The shots were harmless, but I very much regret their return to the barbarous practice. Our boys have thought it a little hard that they were not allowed to "cuss" back, and I doubt if it will be as easy to control them if the rebels repeat the offense. Yesterday I had a talk with "Aunt Sarah," on the Perryclear plantation about five miles from here, about her experiences in the revolution of '76. She is said to be over a hundred years old, and I can assure you I felt that I was looking into the dark ages as I sat before her. She spoke of the present war as one she and her race had long dreamed of, as the war of freedom for them.

April 16.

Up to three days ago, good old John Quincy was getting on nicely, but lockjaw came upon him and today he was buried. He never murmured at his fate, but his religious conversation made everybody about him cheerful. I very much regretted the impossibility of having him under my immediate care.

Our men keep remarkably well out here, this kind of life exactly suits them.

April 17.

Last night our Colonel forgot the importance of his present position and visited the wreck of the *George Washington*. He saw how the remaining gun was situated, and gratified his love of adventure without being fired upon. It is a shame that no gunboat had yet been sent to protect the men who might have taken off those guns. The rumor comes to us from town tonight that the troops are ordered back to Charleston and that reinforcements are to meet them there from the North. We shall be left here on picket a while longer, and for this last I am thankful. General Hunter has been consulted about the picket shooting, and writes to General Saxton to "give them back as good as they send."

April 19.

Yesterday the rebels at the Ferry made arrangements for Col. Higginson to meet General [W. S.] Walker this morning under a flag of truce. The request was that the Colonel in command here should send over a boat to bring the General across. But the Colonel concluded to go over to them at the hour appointed. I would have gone with him but for my lameness, a wrench to the knee from the Quartermaster's poor horse falling upon it. The Colonel was met by the General's staff with an official letter, but when informed what regiment he represented, they replied that their orders were to hold no official communication with officers of such regiments. The Colonel learned that General Walker is the W. S. Walker of the regular army, who was under my care in Worcester in the autumn of 1852, and who subsequently in 1856, at the head of a company of dragoons, was sent by Gov. Geary to meet the Colonel on the plains of Kansas while he was at the head of an armed emigrant train. The meeting then was one of mutual surprise, and instead of arrests being made and the train stopped, they went together to the Governor, and the affair took a less stringent turn than had threatened. Yesterday the Colonel took especial pains to send him word that his old acquaintance, T. W. H. would have been happy to send his compliments, had he been treated with due respect, and that his old medical friend, Dr. R. was also here. . . .

In the absence of the Chaplain today, Thomas Long of Co. G held the divine service. His prayers were so deep and simple and touching that we all found our sight somewhat dimmed by tears. In the course of his sermon he said; "If each one of us was praying men, it appears to me that we could fight as well with prayers as with bullets, for the Lord has said that if we have faith, even as a grain of mustard seed cut into four parts, you could say unto that sycamore tree, arise, and it will come up."

April 21.

I have today conversed with the extraordinary colored man, Peter Burns, who brought off one hundred and thirty-two persons with him from the main land, and who has, for a long time, been employed by General Hunter and by General Saxton for a scout. He is a dark mulatto with face and form resembling John Brown. To hear his quaint expressions and Cromwellian talk is worth a journey from New England here. Too sleepy to repeat any of them to-night.

April 25.

This style of warfare which leads one in charming ways while serving the soldiers is for the moment more attractive even than shot and shell. Yet I feel a longing for the battle-fields that lie between me and my home. Nothing less terrible can decide for freedom, and the sooner we are on the bloody field the sooner will come the day of jubilee. Heaven only knows how much more time and how much more human life is to be squandered by incompetent, egotistic officers in high places. When I think of the gradual melting away of the best army the world has ever seen, simply because slavery has poisoned the religious earnestness of those in power, I find it hard to shake off the conviction that retributive justice will yet grind this proud nation to dust. . . .

April 27.

Two or three months ago I wrote you of a fearful monomania among our line officers, called "Muster and Pay Rolls." The fighting in Florida cured them of the disease, but recently the old enemy has shown himself in another form. One can scarcely stir without seeing anxious faces and hearing the anxious inquiry in stifled notes; "Has he come? When will he come?" "Oh he will come and he will be loaded with greenbacks, we shall again be fed and clothed." I regret to say that this form of the disease extends to the field and staff, and while I fancy myself beyond the reach of the epidemic, I do sometimes see floating ghosts of greenbacks which promise much in the future. . . . This evening it had been thundering a long time, before I discovered it was not cannonading, so completely have the elements become demoralized by the war.

Dr. Minor found an enormous alligator in a cypress swamp, this

morning, and I joined him for a skirmish through the woods to find the old fellow. We penetrated to the centre of a low cypress growth and then found ourselves in the most impressive sanctuary I ever saw. A circular, open space of about 300 feet in diameter, in the centre of which were two stagnant pools of about twenty feet in diameter. There was not a stump nor a knee in this open space, but all around were the tall, solemn cypresses, completely draped in the long, gray moss. The ground was made dry and soft, like wool, by a kind of moss. The great reptile had gone into one of the pools and roiled the water so we could not see him, but with a pole, I succeeded in making him strike with his tail. We had no opportunity to use our Ballards [rifles], and galloped home through the woods with resolves to try again another day. Within a couple of months that swamp will hold enough malarious poison in it to protect the occupants from human intrusion.

After Mr. Bennett and his assistants had finished paying the men today we took a ride over to Barnwell's. The "Barnwell oak" measures 126 feet in the broadest diameter in the spread of its branches, at least such was my pacing. This is not only the largest live oak but the broadest spread of branches I have ever seen. They start from the body very near the ground.

April 30.

Tomorrow I am to be blessed by taking into my employment, York Brown. The old man has been nurse in the hospital during the last two months, but he prefers to avail himself of General Saxton's voluntary offer and take his discharge papers. He has been all his life a "gentleman's waiter" and "knows how to take keer of a hoss." Think of my having this religious old white-headed man, whom I reverence, constantly near me. . . .

Today, Dr. Minor, the Chaplain and I went up to the pools in the cypress swamp, but the great reptile drew his head under as we approached. The Chaplain was so religiously impressed by the sanctuary that he declared it would be sacrilegious for us to shoot the alligator; that God would never again permit us to be thrilled by the beauty of natural scenery. We knew it before and thanked the Chaplain for his sermon, and hereafter shall try to practice forbearance. It will be safer, however, for us to leave our Ballards at home.

Colonel Montgomery's regiment is nearly full, mostly drafted men from these islands. They are stationed at Pigeon Point, nearer Beaufort.

May 5.

As I was riding out to see Capt. James' men at Rose's this morning I was drawn aside by an immense chattering of birds down by the river. Not less than five hundred, possibly a thousand, bobolinks, the first I

have seen this year, had congregated in the low tree-tops, and were eagerly discussing some important question. I could not believe my eyes, so approached nearer and nearer till all were silent, and then, to clear my doubts, one of the congregation did his best in that bird song so full of liquid melody. Again the business of the convention was resumed and I left them to decide the question whether to go Northward today or wait some finer opportunity.

May 10.

Capt. Rogers performed a deed on the 8th ins't for which he will always rejoice. The causeway at the Ferry extends out into the river within about 150 yards of the one on the opposite shore. There is no spot on the river so thoroughly picketed by both parties, yet he went across at noon in a little "dug-out" and brought over two men who beckoned from the rebel causeway. They were fugitive slaves, who had walked a hundred miles from the interior and had not been discovered by the rebels. They are intelligent fellows and take on liberty as if naturally fitted for it. There was no occasion to suppose that these men were not sent down there to decoy one to destruction, and I regard the crossing in the face of an enemy, who, according to all rules of war, should have been hidden behind the bushes, as an exceedingly daring thing to do. Had I been present, as was the Colonel, I should have protested against it. As usual I find myself the most cautious man in the regiment. Now that it is done I am profoundly thankful but there was not more than one chance in two hundred for him to escape death or capture.

The rebels told us at picket that Gen. Hooker was "driving everything before him" but I confess to a "heap" of incredulity which I hope will vanish before official dispatches.

May 15.

We get reports from rebel sources that Hooker has got into Richmond, that Stonewall Jackson was killed and Lee taken prisoner. Were all this true you might expect some of us home within a few months, but it is too good to believe.

May 22.

After all it seems the doubters are justified; Hooker is on the wrong side of the Rappahannock. But you will be glad to know that here we are so peaceful there is no danger of my telling you great stories of forced marches and hard fights. Today we have endured the trials of a picnic, over in the oak grove at Barnwell's. It is rare that we exert ourselves so much, but Mrs. Lander gave the order with so much grace that General Saxton and our Colonel and his staff entered the lists manfully, and I have rarely seen better dancing and eating.

Three fugitives came from the main land this morning. They watched from the other shore our pickets when they discharged their guns and withdrew from a certain post, and then came across in a little "dug-out" which the rebels had buried at some former salt works;—an old man and his two sons. He thinks he can run off a good many more. He will have the opportunity to try.

May 27.

We are being greatly washed in the rainy season. Fortunately our tents are all raised eighteen inches from the ground and pitched on solid floors of faced pine logs. It is not easy to procure boards here and these logs do just as well. The men cover the floor with pine needles and sleep after the same fashion that I do. The camp has a most picturesque look. Each row of tents has its long piazza roof of pine boughs under which the men sit more contentedly than would be possible for Yankees.

I am getting excessively proud of the physical condition of our regiment. Since we came out here we have enlisted nearly a hundred good, able-bodied men, and discharged about thirty from the service. General Hunter has just issued very good sanitary orders for encampments during the summer. We had anticipated the more important of them.

Yesterday Reb and I found shelter from a great rain, where I saw only an old, gray-headed woman whose name was Rose. I found that she and her old husband and sister were benevolently left for the Yankees, while the younger members were saved from us by the master. The old woman did not murmur at her fate, and when I said: "You must have found it easier to live in slavery with your children and grandchildren than living alone in freedom" she replied: "Yes, Marse, but we lub de freedom better dan *dat*, an' we rudder lib here all alone dan be in slavery. *Dey can no mo' sell we.*" I never hear that word *sell* pronounced by these people without a thrill of horror.

I don't remember whether I have written about the wonderful persistency of these people when once fully determined to accomplish a thing. You all know what they have gone through to gain freedom, and can easily imagine some of them capable of equal pertinacity for less worthy objects. I have noticed that when one of them fully makes up his mind to get discharged from the service on the ground of disability, there are but two ways to act in the matter. If there be real ground for his complaint, give him papers at once, but if not, pile his falsehoods upon him so crushingly that he at once feels there is no possible hope of deceiving you. Such cases are rare, but they occur; and some of our best soldiers today are men who were put into the guard-house for trying to deceive me. I only wonder that with the accursed

teaching of their masters they do not oftener attempt this thing. If, under such circumstances, I am more severe with them than another would be, I never doubt the Lord will bear in mind that my heart is intent on full justice for them. I find my hatred of slop philanthropy deepened by living with these intensely human children. While I reverence them more and more, I am more and more convinced that Robert Sutton and Prince Rivers were in the right when they said at Alberti's Mills: "That man don't know what is good for him. *You* know that freedom is better dan slavery for him and you ought to force him to go away wid us." The most intelligent men in our regiment urge the policy of conscription on the same ground, and that it will give them a "chance to get sense." I said to Uncle York, just now, when he came into my den to see that the fire "keep blazin"; "Uncle, if you had not a wife in secesh I might want you to go home with me when the war is over." Then he told me that he had been twice back to Darien for his wife, once on a gun-boat and once at the imminent risk of losing his life, but that she each time had refused to come away, and that he would like to remain forever with me. She is a second wife and much younger than he. The last time he went for her he brought off several fugitives. He closed his narrative as follows: "So I got some sheepskin to muffle de oar, an de moon was berry shine an when at las' we done got by de danger, I *whoop*, an de master ob de gun boat *Paul Jones* say 'Come on,' an den I make de rowers raise a sing."

October 20.

I never knew till today that "John Brown," the only son of Uncle York, was the first negro soldier who fell in this war. He was shot in a skirmish on St. Simon's Island, Aug. 8, 1862. A singular coincidence of names. No wonder our soldiers think him the hero of the John Brown hymn.

October 21.

Yesterday some contrabands from the "main" reported that they overheard a rebel Colonel say that the Chaplain they had taken prisoner was "the sauciest damned Yankee they had ever seen." No one doubts that he referred to our Chaplain.

October 25.

Below I copy verbatim a document that came from one of our best blacks, a man so earnest and brave that he can be depended upon in the hardest places. He is now on picket in a dangerous spot, but you will see that he . . . has dreams of socialistic depth that might interest a Fourier. "Officers notice in the 1st. S. C. regiment. I am hereby

notified to all whom it may concern that I have been teazed by my sentiments about a society, and for such reasons I execute my sentiment. By that reason I so likely find that my option adhere my sentiment to an agricultural society for this reason, our African race must have a society. If the society are carried on by Fidelity because for so reason fidelities is the keeper of societies and society is the keeper of the Profits and Profits execute from Toils. I give my suggest here that all who toils on agriculture will have without any difficulty. And also I am fully testified that I have closed an agriculture society of which will be seen as follows. I have great option of this agricultural society.

No. 1. St. Helena Island. S. C.

1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Gabriel Capers.	Place.	22	257	$220. cts
2	Oliver Tripp		27	221 ½	270.00
3	Lawrence Tripp		22	221 ½	220.00
4	Sarah Perry		20	330	200.00

July 29, 1863 it was formed. No 1 is the number. No. 2. is the man who did own the place. No 3 is the place. No 4 is the number of members. No. 5 is the number of acres. No 6 is the money already collected in the society. I am also hoping that this society will bring forward all those that are the means of ruin. All who in favor of this society will say by a ticket, Serg't. William Brown, Co A, 1st S. C. Vols"

Camp Shaw, Beaufort, S. C., October 29, 1863.

It is a pretty severe official joke that General [Quincy A.] Gilmore is just now playing off on those who have obtained surgeon's certificates stating that change of climate is necessary "to prevent permanent disability" or to "save life." Since the 19th ins't all such have been sent to Convalescent Camp at St. Augustine, Fla. instead of North. The almost impossibility of getting out of the Department in any other way than on a surgeon's certificate has led to abuses that are best remedied by this change of programme. It seems hard that those who really need to go North should have to suffer for the exaggerated complaints of the unworthy. Capt. Rogers has been sick in hospital nearly a month and Surgeon Hayden has sent a certificate to Headquarters before my return. Yesterday I saw him off to St. Augustine. Fortunately he is convalescent and can meet the disappointment better than he could two weeks ago. I have now in our regimental hospital an old man who had been more than a year in the regiment and who has never asked for leave of absence and who has never before been away from his company. His name is Thursday Young, gray headed and fighting like a tiger.

November 1.

I overheard a rough compliment for our guard this morning. A couple of white soldiers were taking a lot of Government horses along the road where our guards are instructed to examine passes. As they approached, one said to the other, "I shouldn't think they'd bother us when we have all these horses." "Humph!" said the other, "they'd stop a feller here if the horses all went to hell."

My practice of taking one at his word was justified at a late hour last night in the case of a delinquent who got into the guard-house. He was suddenly attacked with excruciating tooth-ache and insisted upon being brought to me for relief. Instead of the expected anodyne and exemption from the guard-house he was relieved of his tooth and sent back.

November 3.

The guns at Charleston have kept up a great booming all through the day; more constant and frequent than since those memorable days of July. General Gilmore could destroy the city any day, but I hope he will not do it.

Beaufort, S. C. November 24.

. . . Today our companies E and K have proved themselves worthy, in a skirmish over the river, of all the praises that have been showered upon them. The facts which I am not strong enough to write out, will appear in the Northern journals. Fancy the rebel cavalry sending their pack of blood-hounds in advance and our men receiving them on their bayonets and then repulsing the cavalry with buck and ball. Two of our men drowned, several wounded.

A cheerful letter from our Chaplain, dated Columbia Jail, S. C. October 23rd. He was treated the same as other officers, and we infer that our colored soldiers were not subjected to any peculiar hardships. Of course he was not permitted to criticize. We will give him a big reception if ever he comes back to the regiment.[1]

November 28.

My decision to resign my commission was a little depressing, and may have had some influence in bringing on the attack of vertigo, but once decided upon and another surgeon found to take my place it has given me no more trouble. When a surgeon has not enough physical vigor to meet the ordinary exigencies of a regiment in the field, it is

[1] "In spite of an agreement at Washington to the contrary, our chaplain was held as prisoner of war, the only spiritual adviser in uniform, so far as I know, who had that honor." — Higginson, Army Life in a Black Regiment, 231.

clearly his duty to resign, regardless of personal attachments or his own choice. After five months of struggle for strength to endure work in this climate, I take this step. To have sustained the relation of surgeon to the 1st S. C. Vols. and to have found in these brave freedmen, the noble, soldierly qualities which history will celebrate, and, above all, to have found such an unlooked for wealth of intellect, music and religion, is not this experience running over with compensation? As I think of it I am ashamed of any regrets at leaving and filled only with gratitude that I have been permitted to help this race begin to assert its rights to freedom. . . .

Since our skirmish with the rebels the other day they have condescended to ask for a flag of truce with the Major of our regiment who was in command at the picket. The regiment returned to camp today. This is peculiarly gratifying since it indicates that they are compelled to respect the bravery of negro soldiers. They evidently mourn over the loss of their dogs a good deal more than over the loss of an equal or greater number of officers and soldiers. Uncle York says he "sposes ebery dog's wuth mo'n ten mens to de revels."

Capt. Rogers prepared the skin and bones of one of the dogs and took it North to be set up. His good boy "Si" for whom he risked his life at the Ferry, last summer, was followed by some of this same pack of hounds while escaping from bondage. He has gone to New York with the Captain.

December 2, 1863.

Today is the anniversary of the date of my commission of surgeon, and today I have tendered its resignation on surgeon's certificate of disability. If it gets perfectly red-taped by the first of the year I shall be glad.

The Diary of my much-loved surgeon closed, of course, with his departure from South Carolina, and the later events with which the regiment was associated up to a certain point will be found, by those interested, in my own book (p. 129) entitled "Army Life in a Black Regiment." The outcome of the St. John's trip may be best explained by quoting the closing paragraph of my chapter devoted to it in the same book:

With heavy hearts their officers floated down the lovely river, which we had ascended with hopes so buoyant; and from that day to this, the reasons for our recall have never been made public. It was commonly attributed to proslavery advisers, acting on the rather impulsive nature of Major-General Hunter, with a view to cut short the career of the colored troops, and stop their recruiting. But it may have been

simply the scarcity of troops in the Department, and the renewed conviction at head-quarters that we were too few to hold the post alone. The latter theory was strengthened by the fact that, when General Seymour reoccupied Jacksonville, the following year, he took with him twenty thousand men instead of one thousand, — and the sanguinary battle of Olustee found him with too few.

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

MEMOIR

OF

JAMES MADISON BARKER.

By JOHN D. LONG.

James Madison Barker became a member of this Society, April 9, 1896. He was born in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, on October 23, 1839. He died October 3, 1905, in Boston, where he had been presiding at a term of the Superior Judicial Court.

His ancestry is as follows: James Barker, appearing in Royal Charter of Rhode Island granted July 8, 1663, by Charles II, born 1617, married Barbara Dungan, 1644; his son, James Barker, born 1647, married Sarah Jeffries, 1673; his son, James Barker, born 1675, married Mary Cooke, 1699; his son, James Barker, born 1700, married Margaret Werden about 1730; his son, John Barker, born 1732, married Lucretia Newhall about 1755; his son, Gardner Thurston Barker, born 1779, married Harriet Lyon, 1806; his son, John Vanderburg Barker, born 1807, a prosperous woolen manufacturer in Pittsfield, married Sarah Apthorp, 1832; his son, James M. Barker, the subject of this memoir, born October 23, 1839, married Helena Whiting, of Bath, Steuben County, New York, on September 21, 1864.

He went to school at Hinsdale Academy, the Pittsfield High School, and Williston Academy, entered Williams College in 1856, and graduated there in the class of 1860. In 1862–1863 he was at the Harvard Law School. In 1863 he began the practice of law in Pittsfield in partnership with Charles N. Emerson. In 1865 he became the partner of Thomas B. Pingree, the firm practising in Pittsfield under the name of Pingree and Barker. In 1867 his father secured the insertion of a long and short haul freight clause in the act consolidating the Boston and Worcester and Western Railroads under the name of the Boston and Albany Railroad. This clause was

drafted by James M. Barker, then a lawyer of only three or four years' standing. This provision was extended in 1876 to all railroads in the Commonwealth, and later became part of the federal interstate commerce statute.

He was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1872, and was on the Committee on Railroads. He voted against the resolution censuring Charles Sumner; which was rescinded the following year, when he was again a member of the House.

In 1874 he served on the commission to revise Massachusetts taxation laws.

In 1880 he was appointed by Governor Long one of the commissioners to revise the public statutes of Massachusetts. The report of these commissioners became the Public Statutes of Massachusetts, enacted November 19, 1881.

In 1880 he was a delegate to the Republican National Convention at Chicago, where he took active part in behalf of the Civil Service Reform plank, which was adopted at that time.

In 1882 he was appointed to the Massachusetts Superior Court by Governor Long.

June 18, 1891, he was appointed to the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts by Governor Russell, which position he held until his death.

Aside from his professional career he was also interested in all matters of public concern, and was connected with the business institution of his town. He was a Director and afterwards Vice-President of the Berkshire Life Insurance Company and a Director in the Pittsfield National Bank, and in the Pontoosuc Woolen Company.

He had a good literary taste and faculty of expression. He wrote "Shire Town Stories," and other unpublished collections of narratives of bench and bar, and biographical and historical papers.

It was in keeping with his culture in this respect that he was associated with many institutions of an educational and historical character. He was President of the Berkshire Athenæum, 1903–1905; a Trustee of Williams College, 1882–1905; a member of the Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and of the Bunker Hill Monument Association.

He was of a social turn, full of the spirit of comrade-

ship, belonging to many clubs, — the University Club of Boston, the Union Club of Boston, the Monday Evening Club, the Park Club, and Country Club of Pittsfield, the D. K. E. Fraternity, the Oakley Country Club, and the Windsor Club of Windsor.

Yale University conferred upon him the degree of LL.D. in 1891.

Mr. Justice Barker made his home all his life in his native town, to which he was much attached and in which he was held in universally affectionate regard.

He left four daughters and a son, John Barker, now in the practice of the law in Pittsfield.

For an extended appreciation of Judge Barker's life and character reference is made to the tribute paid him by John D. Long at a meeting of the Society, held October 12, 1905.[1]

[1] 2 Proc. xix. 309-311.

MEMOIR

OF

EGBERT COFFIN SMYTH.

By EDWARD STANWOOD.

Egbert Coffin Smyth was born in Brunswick, Maine, on August 24, 1829, and died in Andover, Massachusetts, on April 12, 1904. He was the son of William and Harriet Porter (Coffin) Smyth, — married in 1827, — and was the first born of a family of seven sons and two daughters.

William Smyth, his father, was born in 1797, at Pittston, on the Kennebec, the son of a ship carpenter, who removed, soon after the birth of William, to Wiscasset, at the head of the Sheepscot River. His mother was the daughter of Nathaniel Coffin, a lawyer of Wiscasset.

William Smyth was forced to a heroic struggle against the great obstacle of poverty to obtain the college education which he earnestly desired. At the age of sixteen he enlisted as quartermaster sergeant in a regiment raised for service in the War of 1812, for the purpose of earning money toward his education. After a year in that capacity (not having been called into active service), he opened a private school in Wiscasset, and devoted the hours when not engaged in school duties to self-preparation for college, and, after fitting himself to enter as a freshman, pursued the studies of the first two years of the college course. With such preparation he entered Bowdoin College as a junior in 1820, and graduated with first honors in 1822. After a year of study at the Andover Theological Seminary he was called back to Bowdoin to become a tutor, and from that time, 1823, to the end of his life, forty-five years later, he was a member of the college faculty. In 1825 he was made adjunct professor of mathematics, Professor Parker Cleaveland being at the head of the department. In 1828 Cleaveland was made professor of chemistry and

him in after life to the environment of his early years. In the little town where he was born and grew up to manhood, the college and the church were everything, and church and college were so connected that it was hardly possible to think of one without considering the other also. The president and all the professors with the exception of Cleaveland were "Orthodox Congregational" ministers. So were a majority of the trustees and overseers of the college. Compulsory attendance at prayers twice a day and at church twice on Sundays, and a pervading religious atmosphere, were irksome and repellent to many of the students, but they controlled the whole life of those who were religiously inclined. To a mind and disposition like that of young Smyth the influence of his own home, of the families of all with whom he associated in Brunswick, of the college and the church, one career only was open and attractive — an education and the ministry.

He was fitted for college at a private school and at Dummer Academy, entered Bowdoin in 1844, and was graduated in 1848 among the first scholars in the class.[1] For a short time he taught a school in Farmington, New Hampshire, but in 1849 was appointed tutor in Greek at Bowdoin, a position which he held for two years, and then entered the Bangor Theological Seminary, from which institution he was graduated in 1853. After a year passed as resident licentiate at Andover Theological Seminary he was elected professor of rhetoric and oratory in Bowdoin College. In 1856 he was ordained to the Congregational ministry, and was transferred and made Collins professor of natural and revealed religion — a chair previously occupied by those two eminent theologians Calvin E. Stowe and Roswell D. Hitchcock. He held that professorship until 1863, when he was chosen professor of ecclesiastical history in Andover Theological Seminary. During a part of his last year at Bowdoin — 1862–1863 — he studied in Germany, at Berlin and Halle. In 1857 he married Elizabeth B. Dwight, daughter of the Rev. Dr. William Theodore Dwight, who was for thirty-three years pastor of the Third Congregational Church of Portland. Dr. Dwight (Yale, 1813) was a son of President Theodore Dwight of Yale College. Mrs. Smyth was thus a descendant of Jonathan Edwards.

[1] Four of his brothers were also graduated at Bowdoin: William Henry, 1856; Newman, 1863; Frederick King, 1867; and George Adams, 1868.

Professor Smyth's task as professor of natural and revealed religion was peculiarly difficult. It would not have been so if it had been limited to officiating at morning prayers, preaching a weekly — week-day — sermon to such of the students as cared to attend the service, and teaching Paley's "Natural Theology" and Wayland's "Moral Science" to the underclassmen. But it was one of the conditions of the foundation that the professor should visit the students regularly in their rooms and converse with them on the subject of their souls' salvation. That must have been a burdensome duty at any time to a man possessed of a sense of humor and a knowledge of young men. It was already getting to be an impossible task when Smyth took the professorship, and although I can testify from personal experience that he did not wholly neglect the duty, I can also give the assurance that he did not push its performance to the point of making his direct ministrations intolerable.

But at that time and in that college the students had every reason to expect constraint and coercion in religious matters. In 1855 the late Charles Carroll Everett, a native of Brunswick, and a graduate in the class of 1850, having been two years a tutor, was chosen professor of modern languages for two years. It was, and still is, the custom to elect a professor for a probationary term, at the end of which, if he was elected simply as a professor, no term being specified, he was elected for life. Unfortunately — or rather fortunately for Dr. Everett and for the Harvard Theological School — he was a Unitarian. So strong was denominational feeling at that time that when Everett came up for election in 1857 the trustees and overseers refused to make the appointment. A few years later President Leonard Woods — who had by that time resigned the presidency — told the story of Everett's rejection to me, then an alumnus of but a very few years. He concluded the narration with the epigrammatic remark, "They thought to make the professorship of modern languages a bulwark of orthodoxy."

The professorship in his own college was not Smyth's proper place. His duties and his associations must have had a narrowing rather than a broadening tendency. His students cannot have been wholly mistaken in regarding him as inclined to intolerance theologically and as extremely rigid in his view of what to them were venial offences. But that was a con-

sequence of his environment, — it was not a natural trait, — and when his work and his surroundings became more congenial his true character had a chance to assert itself. Although his connection with the teaching force of the college ceased with his transfer to Andover, he cherished to the end of his life his love for his alma mater and his interest in its welfare. In 1874 he became an overseer of Bowdoin, and in 1877 was chosen one of the trustees of the institution, a position which he held until his death. He was most constant in his attention to the duties of the trusteeship, and was zealous in his advocacy of all measures which he deemed advantageous, and equally unrelenting in opposition to changes which he regarded as harmful. One of the last of his services to the college was the preparation of a powerful argument against dropping Greek as a requirement for admission to the college. The times were against him, and many of those who agreed with him in principle were compelled, by the fact that most of the fitting schools had already dropped Greek, to vote against him.

At Andover Professor Smyth had full scope for all his powers. He went there at the age of thirty-four years, a young man in the vigor of life and full of enthusiasm. Professor Edward Y. Hincks, his colleague in the seminary, prepared for the New England Historic Genealogical Society [1] a memoir of Professor Smyth, from which I take the following illuminating passage:

> The student of church history has, as a very important part of his task, to trace the development of Christian doctrine. . . . Tracing the genesis of that belief, and comparing it with other forms of Christian thought, excludes the opinion that it is the perfect and ultimate formulation of truth, and suggests points of view from which its defects may be seen. Different types of theology differ, for reasons which it is not necessary to mention here, in respect to the relative degrees to which the corrective influence of the history of doctrine is congenial to them. The New England theology was less appreciative of the value of this influence than many others. This was due in part to its noblest qualities, to its containing a protest of the Christian reason against certain defects of the ancient doctrine; in part to the circumstances of its origin, to its having originated in a new country, and in the minds of men who necessarily lived in a certain re-

[1] Register, lix. 13, January, 1905.

moteness from the great intellectual tradition of the Church. It was then perhaps inevitable that a young man coming to Andover Seminary in 1863, determined that the history of Christian doctrine should have its due influence in forming the theology believed by the pupils of that institution, should have found that his work had other difficulties than those involved in its intrinsic nature. The personal aim of the instruction given in the institution, the necessity laid upon each instructor, and especially the two [1] with whose work we are here concerned, of doing his utmost to help each pupil form his belief, and the close relations which under a normal state of things would unite the pupils with the teachers and the teachers with each other, made it possible for able and conscientious men to find each in his colleague's work an element of antagonism to his own, and to himself. No censure is suggested when it is said that Professor Smyth found painful elements in his work and held his position under the consciousness of imperfect harmony with the strongest intellectual and personal influence in the Seminary.

In the foregoing cautious but suggestive statement may be found the key to almost every trait of Professor Smyth's character, as exemplified by his career at Andover, and an explanation of almost every act that brought him into public notice. He was, to start with, a deeply religious man from early youth, and most strongly attached to the simple forms of worship in the New England churches. He had inherited from his father a wonderful degree of enthusiasm and a disposition doggedly to adhere to that which he believed to be right. But combined with these traits was a remarkable sweetness of temper and an all-embracing love for his fellow men. Here, then, we have the precise qualities that constitute a doughty antagonist, an unconquerable defender of principles which he has espoused, who can nevertheless pass through a great contest with unruffled temper and without incurring the personal ill-will of those with whom he contends. This man was placed in a position where it was his duty to emphasize the importance to students of theology — of the theology he had embraced — of learning the history of Christian doctrine. Neglect of this branch of education left the young theologians ignorant of movements which had profoundly modified Christian thought, and imparted what may be termed provincialism to the churches of the denomination.

[1] The reference is, of course, to Prof. Edwards A. Park.

Professor Smyth's own study of the subject gradually modified his own views on certain points of less than vital importance; and the change caused him to be all the more earnest in his desire to lead his students along the road he had travelled. Conservatism resisted him. The provincial refused to consider what thinkers outside of his narrow circle had said and written, and opposed filling the minds of young students with such useless matters. Of such a condition of things within the seminary there could be but one result.

For a time the inevitable contest was within the seminary itself; ultimately it was waged in the churches outside, but Professor Smyth was always the central figure. In the natural course of events the teaching force of the seminary was changed and the new professors were more in harmony with Smyth's views than those who had resigned. "In 1884," says Professor Hincks, in the memoir already cited, "Professor Smyth found himself the president and senior member of a faculty every member of which except himself had recently become connected with the seminary." Four of his colleagues joined with him in founding the "Andover Review," the publication of which was continued for ten years, under their joint editorship. The Review became the vehicle of a broader type of thought and discussion than that which had usually been put forth by Andover Seminary. In particular it supported the views about which controversy had already begun, and which had the able support of the Rev. Dr. Newman Smyth, of New Haven, a younger brother of the editor, — views which to the mind of many laymen untrained in theology were inconsistent with the doctrine contained in the oaths and declarations to which certain of the professors, including Professor Smyth, were required, by the conditions of the foundation, periodically to subscribe. Many English clergymen of the established church are shocked by the requirement to recite the Athanasian Creed on certain Sundays and Saints' days. Some of them disregard the rubric; others read it as a duty, but place upon it an interpretation different from the plain meaning of the words. The Andover creed was and is one which it is safe to say no clergyman of the Congregational denomination now accepts in its literal sense. Professor Smyth, whose conscientiousness, whose love of truth, whose sincerity, and whose honesty with himself, no man who knew him ever could or did

doubt, maintained that his views and his teaching were consistent with the creed.

But in 1886. some members of the denomination laid a formal complaint before the Visitors of Andover Seminary that some of the professors were teaching in the Review doctrines contrary to those which they were under the most solemn obligation to uphold. The Board of Visitors, three in number, has a large power of control over the affairs of the seminary, independent of, and in certain respects superior to, that of the trustees. A formal trial upon the charge of heresy was held, in which Professor Smyth defended himself by a powerful argument. In the end, however, the Visitors held him to be guilty and decreed his removal from the professorship. He thereupon appealed to the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, which it was his privilege to do. The trustees, who had uniformly supported Professor Smyth, and who had applied in vain for leave to be represented at the trial before the Board of Visitors, now intervened in the case, and maintained that the action of the Visitors was vitiated and was invalid by reason of that refusal, inasmuch as the trustees, the guardian of the funds of the seminary, were really attacked when one of the professors was put on trial, and had therefore a right to be heard in their own defence. The court ultimately, in 1891, held that the trustees were justified in their contention, and on that ground it decided that the action of the Visitors was invalid. The decision obviated the necessity of a consideration of the case on its merits. Although Professor Smyth's original accusers asked permission to renew the charges, the Board of Visitors, the membership of which had been almost wholly changed during the seven years the case had been pending, declined to proceed further, and the whole affair came to an end.

No better or truer account could be given of Professor Smyth's bearing during these years from 1884 to 1891 than in the following words of Dr. Hincks in the memoir already cited:

> Those who had good opportunities of observing him at that time believed that he displayed admirable qualities — tenacity of purpose, patience, serenity. He was conscious of passionate loyalty to truths which he was accused of attacking; he fully believed that the verdict which condemned him was as unjust as the ultimate action of the

Board which rendered it virtually pronounced it to be; but he uttered no bitter words. He did use most faithfully the means at his disposal of vindicating himself, believing that he owed this to his colleagues, to the institution he served, and to the Christian public as well as to himself. When vindication came he was satisfied with it. It was his due; he obtained it, and was content to forget the painful experience out of which it came. He was generous in the day of triumph as he was patient in the years of trial. No exultant or taunting word escaped him. He calmly went on during the years of life that remained to him, teaching with ever growing zeal and devotion the truths which he had been accused of attacking.

Yet it cannot be denied that the theology which he taught was different, at least in spirit, at least in the relative emphasis laid upon the various doctrines, from the theology which was prevalent at Andover before his time, and from that which was preached a generation ago from most of the pulpits of his denomination. Nor will it be disputed that the mollifying change was due to his brave stand for liberty more than to any other single influence. During the last thirteen years of his life controversy did not trouble him. It had not ceased, but he had borne his part in it and could afford to disregard it. The controversy appeared, during the years it lasted, in the councils called to ordain or install ministers of the Congregational denomination, and in the discussions of the American Board regarding the imposition of rigid doctrinal tests upon its candidates for foreign missionary service. The Board now concedes to its candidates the liberty he asked for his pupils. In some cases the opponents of Professor Smyth were successful, in others they failed. But long ago most of the rejected candidates, rejected because the councils deemed them tainted with heretical doctrine, were accepted by other councils and installed over churches or sent to preach the Gospel in other lands. The battle for liberty of thought upon points that have now come to be regarded as not essential and fundamental has been fully won.

Professor Smyth was, so all who have had the opportunity of judging are agreed, an inspiring teacher, full to the brim of enthusiasm for the subject he taught, industrious in preparation, clear and skilful in the presentation of facts. He was always the sympathetic friend and helper of his pupils, and a dissolver of their doubts. His home was made a welcome

resort for them, and in making it so his wife, a true helpmeet in all respects, bore a large part.

From the beginning religion pervaded his life. If the doctrinal views which he carried from Brunswick to Andover were somewhat modified as his knowledge of the history of Christian thought broadened, there was an intensification rather than a weakening of his spiritual nature. He believed with all his soul that which he professed to believe and that which he taught in the class-room, and he carried his belief into all his acts and all his thoughts.

Bowdoin gave him the degree of D.D. in 1866, and that of LL.D. in 1902. Harvard also conferred the degree of D.D. in 1886. Professor Smyth was a member of the American Antiquarian Society, of the American Historical Association, of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, and of the Massachusetts Historical Society. He was elected to this Society at the December meeting in 1882. Although he was a frequent attendant at the meetings of the Society, he contributed but sparingly to its Proceedings.

Indeed, although a prolific writer, he left a singularly small amount of published matter, except in the form of sermons, lectures and addresses, and articles in the Andover Review, which he edited, and in other periodicals. This is another way of saying that his work was chiefly that in the class-room, and that he did not take from the time required for that the hours necessary for the production of books. The one thing that seems most to have interested him outside of the domain of church history in general was the theology and the personality of Jonathan Edwards, whom he regarded as a commanding character in that history. He was attracted early to that subject by the fact that Mrs. Smyth was a descendant of the famous New England theologian. Later, through the same connection, he had access to a mass of the unpublished manuscripts of Edwards, and was engaged in the preparation of a part of it for publication just before his death.

Mrs. Smyth died in February, 1904, and her husband did not long survive her. After a brief illness he died on the 12th of April of the same year.

MARCH MEETING

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 10th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the senior Vice-President, SAMUEL A. GREEN, in the chair.

The record of the February meeting was read and approved; and the list of the donors to the Library during the last month was read by the Librarian.

The Recording Secretary, in the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, reported that Dr. J. Collins Warren had accepted his election as a Resident Member, and Edward Doubleday Harris his election as a Corresponding Member.

The Editor announced the deposit with the Society, subject to recall, of the manuscripts of Major-General Jacob Brown, of the War of 1812, by William Allen Hayes, of Boston. The papers are for the use of the Society while in its keeping. He also spoke of the deposit of the first four books of the records of the Second Church of Boston, covering the services of Increase and Cotton Mather in that church. They are to be used in connection with the forthcoming issue of the Mather diaries.

Harold Murdock, of Brookline, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, and Professor Eduard Meyer, of Berlin, an Honorary Member.

The senior Vice-President reported the appointment by the Council of the following Committees, in preparation for the Annual Meeting in April:

To nominate Officers for the ensuing year,
Messrs. Roger B. Merriman, Andrew McFarland Davis and Frederic Winthrop.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts,
Messrs. Thomas Minns and James F. Hunnewell.

To examine the Library and Cabinet,
Messrs. John O. Sumner, M. A. DeW. Howe and Ephraim Emerton.

Professor CHANNING presented a copy of a pamphlet entitled "Notes on the Plants of Wineland the Good," by Professor M. L. Fernald, giving the results of his researches into the meaning of certain words used in the Norse Sagas.

The senior Vice-President said:

Since the last meeting William Everett, by seniority of election one of the oldest members of the Society, has died. A man of critical scholarship and great learning, and a person of marked peculiarities withal, there is now no one in the community to fill completely the niche left vacant by his death. Dr. Everett was both a preacher and a teacher, a scholar and an orator, and in all the activities of life he displayed a remarkable mentality and versatility. He was a great wit and ever ready with an apt quotation from either the classics or from English literature. He had strong views on most subjects and was always able to defend them. A graduate of Harvard College and of the Dane Law School, he was thoroughly versed in legal lore, and his fund of knowledge in every department of learning was vast and well-nigh inexhaustible. Admitted to the bar in Suffolk County, on April 8, 1867, he never practised law, and licensed by the Boston Association of Ministers to preach he never was settled over a parish.

Among Dr. Everett's latest literary efforts was his address before this Society on the Tercentenary of the birth of the great English Puritan, which was a masterly production and well worthy of the subject. It was a keen analysis of the character of a matchless poet; and the peroration was a noble and eloquent tribute paid by a scholar in close sympathy with the views of a defender of liberty against royal prerogative. He saw a vision representing Milton, about the age of thirty, visiting the Continent and passing considerable time in the chief cities of Italy.

Dr. Everett was chosen a member of the Society on March 8, 1876; and his death took place at Quincy on February 16.

Agreeably to a long usage on such occasions, the Reverend Dr. McKenzie, a classmate and for four years his college chum, will pay a tribute to the memory of our late associate; and Dr. James Schouler, another classmate, will also give his reminiscences of Dr. Everett.

Dr. MCKENZIE spoke substantially as follows:

I am glad that I can speak of my friend and companion, as I am asked to do. But it is not altogether easy to say all which I would, while I fear that in any case I should be obliged to talk of myself and more than I like. My knowledge of William Everett began at our entering Harvard. His father desired that he should be associated with one older than himself, and Dr. Taylor of Andover gave him my name, and referred him to Mr. Samuel Lawrence, in whose counting-house I was for four years. The result was that I was invited to Mr. Everett's house on Summer Street, where I met the father and the son. Mr. Everett gave me some account of William, who had, he said, at an earlier time possessed a phenomenal memory. As his years increased this distinction was lessened. This is the only fact which I now recall. More could have been said. Mr. Everett advised me to call on President Walker, whose account of William was not altogether assuring. He spoke of the hazing which was then in practice, and remarked, "You will have no trouble; your chum may, for he is conceited and green." This was quite in the President's manner. But as a matter of fact we had no trouble worth mentioning. To have your window broken at night was not a serious disaster, especially as it was remedied the next morning as a matter of course. Mr. Everett had secured for us one of the best two freshman rooms, Holworthy 1, under Tutor Sophocles, and there our common life began. My chum proved a congenial companion. His character was complex to one outside of it, but it was simple in itself. There were times of quietness and times of very decided speech and action, as we have seen later. He was much like the deep sea, which keeps its identity while it changes its appearance. But there was no rudeness or thoughtlessness in his relations with me. I do not recall a rude word or an unkind act in the years we spent in the same rooms. For we remained together to the end. Mr. Everett said it was one of the rare instances in which two men lived in this manner and came out friends. But friends we have been through these fifty years. He wrote to me freely and often, and always signed himself with a word of affection. His ability was unquestioned. I think he could easily have led

the class in rank. But he was not, in the phrase of those times, what was known as a "dig." He learned readily and trusted to his rapid survey of his lessons. Sometimes he relied too much on his superficial work, and was tripped at some point which he had regarded too hastily. He was cheerful, and inclined to be playful, but he had no particular college sports. His favorite game was checkers, which outranked chess in his regard. His close companion in this pursuit was Frank Hopkinson, and they had much in common. He carried himself in a friendly way toward his classmates, though he had a habit of expressing himself with unnecessary force concerning some lapse in learning, like a false quantity in Latin. But he was not unkind, nor did he make any parade of his inherited name and reputation. He felt the dignity of his house, but was not eager to assert it. He had high rank, but made no display. He was of the eight who had orations at Commencement, and his theme is a suggestion of his habitual thought. It was "Athens, the Universal Teacher." The reporter described it as "an able and thrilling performance, full of emotion and enthusiasm."

I presume it is Everett's abrupt and at times severe manner of speech which will be best remembered by those who had only an acquaintance with him, and possibly not even that. This was characteristic, as we all know — whence he received it I cannot say. I doubt if the psychologists could explain it. It is a common opinion that a young man is greatly affected by those with whom he is in close association. William Everett was the son of his father, who was the perfection of courtesy and quietness. He was intimate with his father. They talked and walked together, and the son learned many things. It would seem inevitable that he should unconsciously come under the control of one whom he so greatly reverenced. Yet two men were never more unlike. Whether he inherited a different manner from some other source I cannot say. Dr. Andrew P. Peabody might bring the instance under his theory of a succession of inheritances, so that when one was spent the other could assert itself. Mrs. Everett I saw but once, when she walked with me in the garden at Medford, and was full of kindliness. The problem is interesting, but is quite beyond me.

That William did derive much knowledge of men and

events from his father is beyond question. He could talk English history as if he had been a part of it. Many of its men he had seen, and all of them he knew. Yet there seemed nothing of conceit in his conversation and addresses. He never seemed to regard it as remarkable that he knew so much.

His comments and opinions on general subjects were distinctive. The sentence which he would almost readily throw out had a good basis of truth and reason. I have had an increasing confidence in his judgment. If I have not followed it as of authority, I have felt its sustaining force. I have found myself falling back upon it, and when he was talking with a friend the manner of his counsel was convincing.

His career after leaving college is well known: his study at the English Cambridge, his return to Harvard as a teacher, his term in Congress, and then the later years. His life has been called a tragedy. It had that aspect, but I regard it rather as a disappointment. He would have liked to tread in his father's steps. He turned naturally to the Christian ministry. When we were together we had daily prayers in which we alternated as leaders. This was an extension of his home life. Theology we never discussed. Whether his father had cautioned him against this, or whether it was his own good sense, I do not know. Afterwards he consulted me upon his thought of obtaining ecclesiastical authority for preaching. I advised him to get it, and he did, and he filled my own pulpit more than once. I think he would gladly have become a parish minister had he been asked to do so.

It was with this feeling that he entered on his latest work as the principal of a boys' school. He believed in his boys and loved them, and took all pains to serve them. He was a religious teacher. He prepared sermons for the school, writing many of them with great care. They are good sermons, rich in thought and even more rich in a controlling purpose to help the boys to be men. For this he cared most. You could not more readily provoke him than by a careless question, "How many boys do you send to college, this year?" Then he would storm. "That's what they all ask: how many boys do you send to college?" That was not the great thing with him. Numbers he could not control. It was the kind of boy he sent, and his equipment, which most concerned him.

This is a very informal presentment of a man whom I knew and loved. In his learning, his ability, his integrity, and in his opinions and methods I have large confidence. I have spoken of him as I knew him. I am glad to conclude these simple words with one remark. If I were entering Harvard College now, there is no man in the Class of 1859 whom I would sooner have for a chum than William Everett.

Mr. QUINCY followed, saying:

It is probable that I have known Dr. Everett longer than any one who is present. For I made his acquaintance in the year 1846, and saw more or less of him during the sequent years of my college course. He was then presented to me as well as to my fellow students, not as Dr. Everett, nor even as the Willie Everett known to his family, but as the "Infant Phenomenon."[1] The name of course was borrowed from Dickens and was not misapplied to the little fellow who could talk fluently of the deep things in history, diplomacy and even theology. As his brother was a classmate of mine with whom I was on intimate terms, I had frequent opportunities of hearing this younger member of the family discourse upon the current events of the day in a manner that was interesting, as well as amazing from its maturity and confidence.

I knew him afterward when he came to live in Quincy and took charge of the Adams Academy, of which I was one of the trustees. He was a most entertaining visitor at my house — always retaining the same positiveness in his judgments which characterized them in the earlier days. Tennyson tells us that his friend Arthur Hallam objected to the rough world of business and enterprise by which we are environed, "for, ground in yonder social mill, we rub each other's angles down." Now this same social mill never ground hard enough to rub away the decorative angles of our friend. And so — to offset Hallam's complaint — here was a case in which the friction did *not* "merge in form and gloss the picturesque of man and man." And I am disposed to think that this picturesqueness was a notable by-product of the scholar, orator and poet. It broke the monotony of our daily ex-

[1] The use of this title as applied to young Everett was confirmed by Dr. Green, immediately after the reading of this tribute.

perience. If one said, "How do you do, Dr. Everett?" the response was likely to be something more than the conventional "Pretty well, I thank you." His was an intense mind that pushed away the trite commonplaces which so easily present themselves. And like other intelligences of this fine quality he paid the penalty in a certain narrowness of interest and outlook. He was, I think, always conservative. He was in no haste to cast aside the old garments of custom and belief which had done good service to those who preceded us. And this had its value in a time when so many conflicting ideals were presented for adoption, and varying speculations floated in the atmosphere.

While we accept the homely saying that it takes all sorts of men to make up a world, we necessarily consider the differing values of these components. And when we can recognize among them the presence of a salient personality, — like that of William Everett, — we feel that here is an important counter-force to the hasty tendencies of the day which are always seeking to have their way with us.

Mr. SCHOULER, a Corresponding Member, paid the following tribute:

Dr. William Everett was by instinct, training and tradition a public character; and of the thousands in our Boston neighborhood who in the course of the last fifty years or more have met and spoken with him, and noted his unique and striking — even eccentric — personality, few, very few of his own generation have known him intimately — none, indeed, unless they held from himself the rare talisman of his inner confidence.

Long years ago, during my brief connection as a school-boy with the Boston Latin School, of which that strongly individual character, Francis Gardner, had just been made head master, and on a public Saturday when we all gathered in the upper hall, the highest class capped verses from Virgil. In this contest a young stripling of about my own age, with red hair, bore off the honors over fellow-students most of whom must have been at least four years older. This, I was told, was a son of the famous Edward Everett. When, therefore, after some changes of school life and parental domicile I entered Harvard in the Class of 1859, this same youth as a fellow-freshman appeared to me no stranger; though evidently his precocity

in the classics had not brought him into college life earlier than his age would warrant. In those undergraduate years the classes, so small in number as compared with what they are now, met familiarly in recitations and socially, so that during the four years' course we came to know one another through and through, and could judge quite fairly of the traits and probable careers in life of our fellows. Everett, of our number, was marked for high distinction, with his marvellous fondness for books and literature, his scholarship, and his eager emulation of the great orators of Greece and Rome; and, withal, as one whose coming zeal was to lead and direct the people, "and read his history in a nation's eyes."

The flower of his life's achievement has closely corresponded with the germ. Great faults, great virtues, were mingled in his inner nature. Had he thus early or in later life found the tender and softening influence of some devoted woman's companionship, to smooth his pathway and polish off his angularities, he might have reached and grasped more firmly, more readily, the ideals of public influence he so bravely sought and so constantly strove for, not always heedful of the enmities his manners and methods might provoke. He might thus have been kept to a closer continuity of effort. But under any circumstances this gnarled, knotted, complex personality was bound to be remarkable. He was genuine, outspoken, forcible, in every utterance.

William Everett was ardently, earnestly, ambitious of distinction, whatever sphere might be open to him. In the first newspaper which I read, announcing his recent death, I found it stated, and stated truly, that he had struggled above the fame of being the son of his father, by his own attainments. I recall that when at college he wrote an article on "Great Names Forgotten" for the "Harvard Magazine" — a students' periodical, long since extinct, of which I was an editor during my senior year; and in this essay he carefully collated historical examples, both ancient and modern, where the public renown gained by some great family leader had eclipsed or obscured the fame of later scions bearing the same name. "He is anxious about himself," was my comment upon that article; and later observation of his manhood confirms that impression. Edward Everett, indeed, the father, was one of our most influential Americans in his own generation and en-

joyed while he lived the highest rewards of fame, as orator, academic scholar and statesman, that his native State or the nation itself could confer, short of that supreme presidential station which comes to so few of us Americans and only as the gift of the whole people. Nor should it be forgotten that while conservative for a space, in honest efforts to keep North and South bound fraternally by the old compact of freedom and slavery, he ceased those efforts the moment Fort Sumter fell and for the rest of his noble life upheld earnestly the cause which finally triumphed. No real biography of Edward Everett has yet issued from the press, so far as I am aware — not even in the "Statesmen" or other popular series of handy volumes; and for this, perhaps, the son was partially at fault, who gathered materials long ago, for a filial memoir, but never fulfilled the task himself nor delegated it to others.

Any such seeming neglect, however, on the son's part, I would not impute to a rival ambition, but rather to the diversity of his own ambitious efforts, which weakened their final effect. Had he concentrated his talents and energy upon some master task requiring long and patient work, or sought in his lofty flights some particular direction, he would have achieved splendid results. When he returned to Massachusetts after a graduate course at the Cambridge University across the ocean, — and non-professional graduate work in those days our young men seldom pursued, — it seemed as though each avenue to fame in this vicinity stood wide open to his choice. In the old Archway building on Washington Street, opposite the head of Franklin, where Lowell Institute lectures were then delivered, he began a course on the English university life which I attended, before a large and expectant audience, with several of Boston's solid men on the platform, and our Society's distinguished President, Robert C. Winthrop, to introduce him. Thus well was he started as a public lecturer.

It was not very long after this that he joined the faculty of his alma mater as a tutor and assistant professor, and it seemed as though his vocation in life were fairly opened at our own leading University. But he gained, beside, a license to preach; and when the society of Brattle Square Church moved to Commonwealth Avenue, and its minister, Dr. Lothrop, resigned with advancing years, Everett sought earnestly to be chosen the successor. He took steps also for membership in

the Boston Bar. And, more than this, he showed an incessant eagerness to enter political life, which developed throughout his prime, and became in a partial measure gratified.

Two notable changes in Massachusetts routine were made, if I mistake not, in furtherance of William Everett's political aspirations: (1) that article of our venerable constitution which forbade a "president, professor, or instructor of Harvard College" to sit in the legislature was repealed in 1877; (2) under a provision which permits members of Congress to be chosen in districts where the candidate does not reside, he captured once a seat as Representative, after the English Parliamentary fashion, when Independents and Democrats fused under Cleveland's lead against the Republican party.

That non-resident victory at the polls, in 1892, was doubtless the most auspicious of Dr. Everett's whole career, and to him the most inspiring. On the floor of the famous representative arena at our nation's capital he found himself well equipped for debate and at once made friends and fame by his gift of oratory. The jesting phrase of his speech there as to "depositing in a cavity" has become a national expression. I have often since wished for his sake that he might have gained a constituency both loyal and appreciative, so as to become by successive re-elections a national figure at Washington, like John Randolph or John Quincy Adams of our earlier annals; for his unique and vivacious personality would surely have become historic in renown among those impressive surroundings, while an honest and independent speech and an intelligent vote might have been expected from him on all critical occasions. But this was not to be; and a single congressional term rounded his service to the national public. In politics he was a "mugwump" and an opportunist in affairs; desirous always of good government as he understood it; but not strongly identified with special reforms; and unfitted at all times for submission to party discipline for the sake of a party success, beside being quite disqualified from organizing a personal following.

Hence our associate's fame must rest mainly upon his conspicuous scholarship and gifts of eloquence and written composition, as shown on occasion; and, moreover, upon his good record as a teacher of the young. His long and honorable career as head master of the Adams Academy stands pre-eminent in point of

practical service, and, as he lately testified, the friendships he made there among his own pupils afforded him the chief solace and happiness of his life. Yet even in that excellent vocation of training the young it may be thought that if he had let political diversions alone and confined himself to building up another Rugby like a Dr. Arnold, the final outcome of his efforts at Quincy would have been more lasting and more successful.

So marked a figure and type of character cannot but be long missed in this Society and wherever else he has made his presence familiar. And here, in the region of Massachusetts Bay, where successive generations have seen him, heard him, told anecdotes about him, commented upon his looks, his figure, his manners, the substance of his edifying exposition, whether on lecture platform, at political gatherings, or in the conclave of learned societies; or have read his many letters to the local press, correcting errors of the times, literary, social or historical, after his brusque and incisive fashion, with copious and convincing citations and a wealth of accurate information — all will miss his pungent and brilliant censoriousness. Among the most finished and thoughtful productions of his fertile pen we may place his scholarly address on John Milton, delivered at the celebration of this Society in December, 1908, and his Phi Beta Kappa oration read at Cambridge a few years earlier, on Peace and War; to which may be added the volume of his collected Lowell lectures upon "Italian Poets since Dante." To witty versifying he had turned for variety in old age with something of his youthful effervescence; for in a number of the "Harvard Graduates' Magazine" issued within a twelvemonth may be seen a light poem on "The College Bell," which he contributed in humorous parody of Edgar A. Poe.

We should almost have thought that time touched William Everett lightly, like another Anacreon, had we not marked how aged and saddened he looked at Harvard's last Commencement; or had we not attended his last Lowell Institute course, scarcely five months ago, when, lecturing upon a most congenial topic, "The Orators of Great Britain," — his last public appearance in this familiar city, — he found himself so feeble that he had to be helped up stairs and to sit at the desk while he read quietly from his manuscript.

To recall fitly the two Everetts and describe graphically the

successive careers of illustrious father and son may some day engage one of our younger biographers; but his pen should be a sympathetic one, capable of delicate delineation and contrast.

Mr. SANBORN read extracts from a paper on "Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson," to disprove the charges made against them of being unbelievers and atheists. He also dealt with Gouverneur Morris's conduct towards Paine in France.

Mr. WINSLOW WARREN read the following paper:

At the April meeting of this Society in 1898 I made some informal remarks as to the closing of the Boston Custom House under the Boston Port Bill in June, 1774, and also as to the loss of the Customs Records at the time of the evacuation of Boston in March, 1776.[1]

I then stated my doubt of the truth of the tradition that the Customs Records were carried to Halifax. This doubt has been much strengthened by later investigation notwithstanding the statements by Edward Winslow, Sen., who was Registrar of Probate for Suffolk County in 1776,[2] and the last acting Royal Collector in Boston, in the letter following, that the Records of the Probate Office, Registry of Deeds, and Custom House were packed up and sent on a transport to Halifax.

It seems that George W. Murray, of New York, wrote to Edward Winslow in New Brunswick March 4, 1811, stating that Judge Cushing made application soon after the organization of the State of Massachusetts for the records that had been taken away, and that the request was not complied with until after the Revolution, when, however, not all the missing books came back; and that he — Murray — was informed that a gentleman named Fitch had found in a trunk two books marked on the back "Suffolk" that he would like to regain possession of.[3]

The reply[4] to this letter is in the possession of Rev. W. DeLoss Love of Hartford, Connecticut, and is as follows:

[1] 2 Proc., XII. 192.

[2] Winslow's commission to this office, dated July 24, 1775, is printed in 2 Proc., II. 233.

[3] "Winslow Papers," 1901, published by the New Brunswick Hist. Soc., 666; [4] 655.

Kingsclear, N. Bruns'k, 7th. April, 1811.

Dear Sir, — Your letter of the 4th March from N. York has been handed to me by Gen'l Coffin, and I regret that it is not in my power to give you full satisfaction upon a subject which cannot fail to excite considerable Interest and Concern. The following facts however, adverted to in your letter are within my recollection:

When Boston was evacuated, F. Hutchinson Esq: was Judge, and I was Registrar of Probate, for the County of Suffolk, and I was at the same time Acting Collector for the Port of Boston.

On the morning of the evacuation the Public Buildings were in possession of a Licentious Rabble, the doors of the Offices were forced, and the Records and papers were exposed to instant destruction. Having a party at my Command, and impressed with a due sense of the importance of preserving them, I found means to pack up and place on board a Transport not only the records of the Probate Office, but also those of the Registry of Deeds and Custom House. The latter office had been peculiarly exposed having been occupied as a Military Guard Room the preceding night. At that time Sam'l Fitch Esq., who was Judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty, had been several days embarked on board ship with his family; one of them (a very interesting daughter) was dangerously ill.

On our arrival at Halifax I made application to the Governor of the Province to take the Books and papers into the protection of his Government. Accordingly a place was assigned them in the Surrogate's office in Nova Scotia, under the care of the Surrogate Gen'l Mr. Morris reserving a right of access to them upon any emergent occasion by Judge Hutchinson, who was to remain there.

The Packages were at that time in perfect good order, but whether every Book (particularly of the Register of Deeds Office) was included in the packages (formed amidst scenes of such confusion), it is impossible for me to say. The Anecdote respecting Mr. Fitch I never heard mentioned, altho' I was upon the terms of great intimacy with him and his family, nor do I conceive it probable that he should have encumbered himself with two large folio Volumes of Public Records, in which he had neither interest nor connection, and that at a time when he was sinking under the pressure of Domestic anxieties and afflictions; if such volumes were by any accident found in his possession, I should conjecture that they belonged to the Court of Vice Admiralty, which were ex-officio in his charge.

I left Halifax with the King's Army, and remained with it till the end of the war. Several applications were made for the restoration of the Records, which were rejected, and after the publication of the Treaty they were delivered by Judge Hutchinson, under proper authority, to a committee appointed by Governor Hancock to receive

them, safe and entire as I afterwards understood from the Judge. I believe a Mr. Kent[1] who was at one time State Attorney was one of the Committee. . . .

Ed. Winslow.

Ordinarily this letter would seem to be conclusive as to the Customs Records, but it was written thirty-five years after the event, and there are many circumstances to show that Mr. Winslow's memory was defective, or that the books he thought were shipped, were not all sent, and in fact that only the Probate Records actually went. The letter states that the Records sent were to be subject to the order of Foster Hutchinson, Judge of Probate, and were all returned after the Peace Treaty to Governor Hancock.[2]

I have recently come into possession of a letter from Foster Hutchinson to Thomas Cushing, of the Governor's Council in Massachusetts, which has never been published, and which not unlikely was the "application" referred to by Mr. Murray. It will be noticed that it refers only to the Probate Records. The following is a copy:

Halifax, 16th Janry, 1778.

Sir, — By a Cartel which arrived here a few days since I recd. a letter from you inclosing an order from what you call the Council of your State, setting forth that I had carried away the papers belonging to the Probate Office of the County of Suffolk, and that I should be desired to return them to be lodged in the said office for the benefit and relief of the poor widows and orphans to whom they more immediately relate. Agreeable to which order you desire me to deliver them to the Capt. of the Cartel and address them to your care.

In answer I think proper to let you know that the order is founded upon what is false in fact, and the pretended motive for making such order [is] not the true one as I believe. I am very certain it is not the most prevailing one, but as many of the orders I have seen from your pretended Council are of the like sort, I am the less surprised at this.

The papers were not carried away by me, but sent on board a transport by express order of His Excellency General Howe, and by him delivered into the custody of the Government here, where they will remain until I, or whoever may succeed me in the office, shall apply for them.

[1] Benjamin Kent.

[2] The papers now printed supplement those given by Mr. John T. Hassam in 2 Proc., xvi. 113–120.

As to the motive assigned for desiring them to be sent back, viz. the relief of widows and orphans, it is not likely any great regard can be had for those unhappy persons by those who, exciting the people to an open revolt, have contributed all in their power so amazingly to increase the number of these miserable objects.

You say the presumption is the papers were carried away to prevent them from ruin and destruction. I believe you are right in supposing that to be one of the principal reasons. Another I take it was to prevent their being made use of by persons who were in open rebellion against their lawful Sovereign. That reason still subsists, and perhaps the other also. I think you may rest assured the papers will not be returned, whilst you pretend to act in the office, or any other person, without authority derived from the King.

I am at a loss which most to wonder at, the assurance or weakness of the order. To suppose that a person, who is one of the legal Council of the Province of the Massachusetts, would give any attention to an order from persons who have no legal title to a seat in that Council, and deliver papers belonging to an office of which he was in the legal possession to one, who had usurped that very office, and whose every act must be null and void, is such effrontery as is unparalleled anywhere but among yourselves.

I apprehend the time is not at a great distance when the poor deluded misled people, who have already suffered greater inconveniences and miserys from the tyranny of their new fangled Government, than the most inveterate enemy of Great Britain could ever pretend their posterity would suffer from any acts of the British Legislature, will have their eyes opened and again feel that happiness which is only to be enjoyed under the British Constitution, and of which they have so long been deprived by their wicked oppressors; and when those persons who have usurped legislative authority, conscious of their incapacity to govern a State, will shrink back to their respective occupations, if the extreme clemency of the best of earthly Sovereigns shall permit them to escape with impunity. Your most humble servt.

FOSTER HUTCHINSON.

Honble Thomas Cushing Esq.

George W. Murray's letter says that he was informed that a gentleman named Fitch had found in a trunk two books marked on the back "Suffolk." Supposing the information to have been correct, those books could hardly have been Customs Records, for it is not likely that Royal Customs Records would have been so marked. The mark would indicate County Records or possibly Court Records.

The fact that, as Winslow says, the Records sent were put

in charge of the ex-Judge of Probate, Foster Hutchinson, points to their being Probate Records only. Further there is a letter of Governor Parr in Halifax to Governor Hancock now in a private collection in Boston which I am permitted to copy, as follows:

HALIFAX, 12 Nov. 1784.

SIR, — I should have done myself the honor of answering your Excellency's letter long ere this, but delayed from day to day until I could get the Records of Probate out of Mr. Hutchinson's hands. He has at last delivered them to Mr. Kent who forwards them to Boston by this conveyance. If any should be wanting you will be pleased to inform me.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

J. PARR.

His Excellency Governor Hancock.

The files at the State House, Boston, show the correspondence relating to these Records, and their proper return and receipt given. There is no reference to anything but Probate Records, yet Winslow's letter says the *entire* records taken away were returned.

As to the Records of Deeds there is nothing whatever to indicate that any of them were ever sent to Halifax. At the session of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts November 21, 1776, the following resolve was passed:

Whereas by a late Act of the General Court the Town of Dedham was made the Shire Town for the County of Suffolk in consequence of which the Register's Office for that County with the Books and Papers thereto belonging were Removed to the said Shire Town, by which Removal two Volumns of Records were lost and several others much defaced. And whereas the Removal of the said Books of Records to the Town of Boston, where (by the Repeal of the said Act) the said Office and Records ought now to be kept, would be attended with much Risque and Danger in this unsettled State of public Affairs: Therefore,

Resolved, That the Register of Deeds for the County of Suffolk for the time being, be and he hereby is directed and impowered to keep said Office, together with the Records and Papers belonging in the Town of Dedham, within the said County of Suffolk, until the further Order of the General Court; any law to the Contrary notwithstanding.

Dedham had been made the Shire Town of the County of Suffolk by an Act in 1775. The Records were subsequently

returned to Boston and, except those two volumes lost in the original removal, covering parts of years 1767, 1768, and 1769, are now intact at the Registry of Deeds.[1] The Probate Records and Records of the Registry of Deeds are therefore fully accounted for.

Investigations at Halifax at the official request of the Government of the United States produced no results as to Customs Records, and, October 9, 1899, Mr. Piers of Halifax, Keeper of the Provincial Records of Nova Scotia, stated in an official letter that no evidence existed that the Custom House Records were ever brought to Halifax, and that the authoritative opinion there was settled in the conviction that the tradition that they were ever deposited there was erroneous.

It is not probable now that any further light will be thrown upon the subject, but it is suggestive that within a few years a volume of inward and foreign entries of that period was discovered in a junk shop near Salem. It is possible that the Customs Records, though stated to have been sent to Plymouth when the Port of Boston was closed, may in fact have gone with the Commissioners to Salem, and perhaps not have been returned before the evacuation, and so have been lost or destroyed; they may have gone to Plymouth and not have been returned, or in the confusion and practical anarchy upon the eve of the evacuation, they may have been destroyed in Boston, instead of being shipped to Halifax as Winslow thought.

If they really existed at Halifax at the close of the Revolution, it is hardly conceivable that they should have been overlooked, or no reference made to them during the period of the correspondence and arrangement for the return of the Probate Records. My conclusion therefore is that they never were sent to Halifax at all, and that their fate will never be determined unless, by accident, portions should turn up like the volume at Salem.

Mr. DAVIS presented the following paper:

TWO FORGOTTEN PAMPHLETEERS.

In August, 1730, Jonathan Belcher assumed charge of the government of the province of Massachusetts Bay. About

[1] Dedham Hist. Reg., v. 153; 2 Proc. XIV. 60-62.

that time the privy council and the board of trade had become alarmed at the freedom with which the province had been emitting bills of public credit by way of loans to counties or towns as well as for the purpose of meeting the current expenses of the government. Very shortly after taking charge of affairs of state Belcher called the attention of the assembly to the sixteenth and eighteenth of the royal instructions given him when he assumed office. These were in effect that he should not give assent to any act whereby bills of public credit were to be issued unless such act contained a clause requiring the approval of the board of trade before it could become operative. Annual issues to the extent of £30,000 were, however, permitted without approval being first obtained, provided they were made for the current expenses of the government. Not more than £30,000 of such bills were thereafter to be current at one time, and all outstanding bills were to be called in at the times specified in the acts of emission. In the year 1730 £13,000 were emitted, the fund for the redemption of which was the most remote of all the then existing funds. The bills emitted at that time were not to be called in until 1741. The effect, therefore, of these royal instructions was that during the next ensuing eleven years all the outstanding currency, in amount probably something like £300,000, was to be called in, and that thereafter the province was to get along with £30,000 of bills of public credit as a medium of trade unless more were specifically authorized by the board of trade. It was supposed by observers of the period that the total amount of silver in use in the four New England colonies at the time when the paper money was first put in circulation was about £200,000, and the impending conditions which would result from the enforcement of the royal instructions, unless there should be some organized effort to supply coin to fill the vacancy which would thus be created in the circulating medium, were little short of calamitous. Men of speculative temperaments began to suggest remedial plans, and beginning with the year 1738 the pamphleteers took a lively hand in the debate. One result of the discussion was the emission of bills of public credit couched in a different form of phraseology from those that were already in circulation. These latter, which from that date onward were known as "old tenor," were declared on their face to be

"in value equal to money." The new bills, known thereafter as "new tenor," had a specific value stated in troy weight in silver or gold, and were made receivable for taxes, public dues and in payments generally on the basis of one of the new tenor for three of the old tenor. The efficacy of the new tenor bills was thereby greatly magnified, and as this ratio could be approximately maintained through the different rates at which they were received for taxes, they greatly aided the government in coping with the situation for a few years.

In 1738 and again in 1739 two abortive attempts were made to return to specie payments, through schemes to secure from the province five and ten year loans to merchants who would agree to pay back the sums borrowed in silver or gold, on the terms proposed. The schemes fell through in consequence of the failure to procure the requisite subscriptions to the loans, but the proposed borrowing in 1738 brought forth a publication from the pen of one of the pamphleteers with whom we are concerned which precipitated a discussion between him and Dr. Douglass, a man whose reputation is well known, not only to the medical profession of our day, but also to our economists.

The pamphlet in question was anonymously published in Boston in 1738 and was entitled,

Some observations on the scheme projected for emitting 60,000 l. in bills of a new tenour, to be redeemed with silver and gold. Shewing the various operations of these bills, and their tendency to hurt the publick interest. In a letter from a merchant in Boston, to his friend in the country. Boston: Printed and sold by S. Kneeland and T. Green in Queen Street, MDCCXXXVIII.

It was a small octavo, twenty-five pages in length, and was, as its title indicates, written for the purpose of opposing the scheme of the Boston merchants which had been inaugurated in the hope that through and by means of it the province might be brought to a specie basis.

"Some observations" was in the form of a letter, and this letter was dated "Boston, Feb. 1. 1737, 8." Its publication was followed by the appearance of an anonymous pamphlet without date, issued by the same publishers and bearing the following title:

An Essay concerning silver and paper currencies, more especially with regard to the British Colonies in New-England.

This was from the pen of Dr. Douglass and was evidently inspired by the appearance of the former pamphlet. The doctor, although he did not approve of the scheme of the Boston merchants, nevertheless felt called upon to expose and refute some of the heresies contained in "Some observations." The Essay is twenty-three pages in length, and the first fourteen pages of it are devoted to the discussion of silver currencies. Then paper currencies are taken up, and finally the last nine pages contain criticisms of separate paragraphs extracted from "Some observations." The Essay was obviously written in 1738, immediately after the appearance of the pamphlet which brought it forth, and was unquestionably published at once, the probability being that this took place in the fall of that year.

Dr. Douglass, through his work on the Essay, evidently became much interested in the subject of the currency, and in 1740 when the Land Bank and the Silver Bank engaged in their struggle to secure, each for itself, a charter from the province under which they might respectively emit bills of credit, he again entered the field as the defender of hard money and in addition thereto as the denouncer of the Land Bank and the exposer of its iniquities. His contribution this time, through the same publishers, was

A Discourse concerning the currencies of the British plantations in America. Especially with regard to their paper money; more particularly, in relation to the province of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New England.

The pamphlet was forty-seven pages in length, was anonymous, and the place and date of its publication were given as Boston, 1740.

The author of "Some observations" was prompted by the cavalier way in which his pamphlet was torn to pieces by Dr. Douglass in his "Essay concerning silver and paper currencies" to return to the field of battle and defend himself as best he could. He was deliberate in his motions and published in 1740, through S. Kneeland and T. Green, a pamphlet entitled,

An Inquiry into the nature and uses of money; more especially of the bills of publick credit, old tenor. Together with a proposal of some proper relief in the present exigence. To which is added, a reply to the Essay on silver and paper currencies.

Following the plan of Douglass, he devoted the first part of his pamphlet to his general topic, and on the forty-fifth page took up the specific subject of the teachings of the "Essay" which he proceeded to riddle for eighteen pages more. While he was running the pamphlet through the press, Douglass's Discourse came out, and to this he felt called upon to reply. He therefore added a hasty postscript of fifteen pages, and in this form, with the postscript appended, the "Inquiry" was anonymously issued, making a volume of seventy-eight pages.

To the "Inquiry" Douglass proceeded to make answer at once, and notwithstanding the fact that the Discourse had been in the hands of the booksellers for some time, and that the Inquiry actually contained a reply to the Discourse, he published his refutal of the doctrine of the "Inquiry," in the form of a postscript to the Discourse, beginning with page forty-nine and ending with page sixty-two. Naturally we find today on the shelves of our libraries the Discourse without the Postscript, the Postscript without the Discourse, and the Discourse and the Postscript together.

The five pamphlets which have been heretofore described were put upon the market separately and were also collated, stitched together, bound with a paper cover and sold as a whole, the order of their arrangement in this book being "Some observations," "An Essay concerning silver and paper currencies," "A Discourse concerning the currencies," "An Inquiry into the nature and uses of money," and the "Postscript to the Discourse," or the "Postcript to the Discourse" as the title was actually given.

These details concerning the publication and chronological arrangement of this series of pamphlets may seem to be of little consequence, but their comprehension is essential because we have in "Some Observations," and in "An Inquiry," two pamphlets from the pen of Hugh Vans, one of the pamphleteers with whom we deal today, while on the other hand it was through the detachment of the postscript to Douglass's "Discourse," from the body of that pamphlet and its separate publication, that the fact became known to me that in 1720 John Valentine, then attorney general of the province, published a small three-page brochure under designation of "The Postscript."[1] It is true that this Postscript is referred to in

[1] Reprinted in Colonial Currency Reprints, Prince Soc., I. 444–448.

1720 by title by one or two of the participants in this polemical discussion, but the references were so contemptuous and brief that it did not convey to me a clear idea that a separate pamphlet had been actually published under that name. The narrative of the circumstances under which I became aware of this fact will reveal the curious manner in which Douglass's Postscript aided in the contribution of a new number to the list prepared by me of currency tracts of the eighteenth century.

In the course of my work as editor of a set of reprints of the currency tracts of the eighteenth century which are about to be published by the Prince Society, I made out a list of those which were known to me, and forwarded the same in a circular letter to several of our most prominent libraries, asking each library to designate which of the publications named were to be found on its shelves. In the preparation of this list, the question arose, Was the Postscript to Douglass's Discourse a separate publication? After some reflection, I determined, notwithstanding the fact that it began with page forty-nine, that it was separately issued and was entitled to reproduction in my series, in chronological order after the "Inquiry into the nature and uses of money." The response to my circular letter from the Library of Congress stated that their copy of the Postscript was published in 1720, not 1740. This led of course to further investigation, and to the disclosure that in this little three-page brochure having for its sole title the words "The Postscript" we had a tract connected with the currency controversy entirely new to me. It was possible that it might be found in other libraries. My inquiry had been as to the presence of the Postscript to the Discourse published in 1740, and in answering the question, there was no special reason why any librarian should have gone outside the direct answer to the specific question. Special inquiry revealed the fact that the American Antiquarian Society has a mutilated copy of the Postscript. This copy was originally folded so that it might be filed away in a letter file, and in the course of time the paper became weak at the folds, and the strips at the edges dropped off and were lost. Whoever filed it away wrote upon the upper right-hand corner of the first page the words, "By Mr. Valentine ye [ ]." It was a fair presumption that the miss-

ing words required to fill the blank were in substance some term descriptive of Valentine's position which originally was written upon the strip of paper that had become detached and was lost.

If in our examination of the careers of these two pamphleteers, Vans and Valentine, we take up that of the author of "The Postscript" first and seek to ascertain who "Mr. Valentine" was, we find that his mark upon the controversial literature of the period was confined, so far as we can learn, to this three-page production. The pamphlet was published in 1720, at a time when the currency controversy was particularly active. The tentative list prepared by myself of pamphlets connected with this subject which were published from 1714 to 1751 inclusive, comprehended, exclusive of newspaper communications many of which were long enough to have made good-sized pamphlets, fifty-two titles, and of these nineteen were issued in the years 1719, 1720, and 1721. Four of them preceded the Postscript, and of these four "The Distressed state of the town of Boston considered" was one. This latter pamphlet, although published anonymously, was generally recognized as from the hand of John Colman, a Boston merchant of considerable notoriety and an advocate in a general way of paper money, but especially of paper money to be furnished by a private bank of emission. He was one of the signers of the "Vindication of the bank of credit" in 1714.

The Postscript contains nothing which should especially have excited any individuals other than the author of the "Distressed state" and his personal friends, but its appearance evidently caused some commotion, and the cudgels were immediately taken up in Colman's behalf by the author of

A Letter from a Gentleman, containing some Remarks upon the Several Answers, given unto Mr. Colman's, Entituled, The Distressed State of the Town of Boston.[1]

This letter has been identified as from the pen of Dr. Oliver Noyes, a well-known Boston man of the day, and in it (p. 3) Noyes says:

I have also seen a piece of sulled paper Intituled, *The Postscript*, which I hastily ran over, but thought it not worth while to give it a

[1] Reprinted in "Tracts relating to the Currency," 279 *et seq.*; also in Colonial Currency Reprints, Prince Soc., II. 3 *et seq.*

second reading, being sensible that none but some very mean wretch could be so simple to think the Cause (of which he would be thought a Patron) could receive any benefit by the railing of such a *Rabshica*.[1] However, I put it in my Pocket, thinking it might serve (as dirty as it was,) for a necessary occasion; but Sir, I can assure you, you 'l suffer nothing by such Scurrility.

One other person had participated in the discussion which had taken place in 1720 up to this time, and that was Reverend Edward Wigglesworth. He had anonymously communicated to the Boston News-Letter, April 18, 1720,

The country-mans answer, to a letter intituled, The Distressed state of the town of Boston considered,[2]

and under date of April 23, 1720, had published a pamphlet entitled,

A Letter from One in the country to his friend in Boston, containing some remarks upon a late Pamphlet, entituled The Distressed state of the town of Boston, &c.[3]

Neither of these letters was signed, but it is evident that when the author of the Postscript refers to previous publications in the controversy, by Rusticus and Agricola, it was to the News-Letter contribution and the pamphlet of Wigglesworth, both of which purported to come from the country, that he meant to allude. With this knowledge of the place occupied by the Postscript in the currency discussion of the period we may turn to a consideration of the traces left behind him by its author and of his probable relations to his fellow citizens.

In these days men who aspire to the elective offices in our municipalities oftentimes pay large sums of money for the mere chance of being elected, but in the middle of the eighteenth century Boston expected and even demanded public service from all of her prominent citizens. The town records and the records of the selectmen are filled with lists of the names of persons elected as representatives, selectmen, constables, viewers of fences, viewers of shingles and measurers of boards, timber, etc., clerks of the market, hog-reeves, over-

[1] 2 Kings, 18. 27.

[2] Reprinted in Colonial Currency Reprints, Prince Soc., I. 409 *et seq.*

[3] Reprinted in "Tracts relating to the Currency," 247 *et seq.*; also in Colonial Currency Reprints, Prince Soc., I. 415 *et seq.*

seers of the poor, sealers of leather, surveyors of highways, tithing-men, scavengers, school committeemen, and fire wardens. If the name of a male resident of good standing in Boston at this period does not appear in the records of the town and of the selectmen, and that, too, many times, it is a violation of the rule and raises at once a doubt as to the authenticity of the claim that the person named was in fact a resident at that time of Boston.

To these records we naturally turn, therefore, in expectation of finding some recognition of "Mr. Valentine" the author, provided he were a Boston man. The answer of these volumes to our question is that the family name of Valentine is not to be found in the indexes of the records contemporary with these events. Nevertheless it is extremely probable that John Valentine of Boston, for many years a notary public and a justice of the peace, and later the attorney general[1] of the province, was the author of the Postscript, and this too in spite of the further facts that his name is not to be found among the attorney generals given in Whitmore's list of civil officers in the province, and that it is missing in that reservoir of information concerning prominent residents in Boston in early days, the "History of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company." How the name of a man filling so distinguished a position as that of attorney general escaped Whitmore is not easy to say, although it must be remembered that the subsequent publication of Sewall's Diary, where Valentine is spoken of in his official character, and the greater facilities recently placed at the disposal of the searcher of our court records would render such an oversight far more culpable today than it was when Whitmore published his list. It is quite likely that Valentine's appointment as notary public,[2] June 3, 1698 and again October 24, 1712, and December 10, 1715, and his elevation to the position of justice of the peace[3] April 16, 1718, all of which appointments are mentioned by Whitmore, may explain the absence of his name from the Boston records. The simple fact that the appointments were made is equivalent to pages of biography of the man. They stamp him even before he was elevated to the conspicuous position of attorney general, as one

[1] 2 Proc. x. 289.
[2] Whitmore's Mass. Civil List, 162; [3] 126.

of the hated class of office-holders through governmental appointment, with whom in the days of political excitement in the province the townspeople of Boston had little to do and for whom in the management of their daily affairs they had no use whatever. It is not unlikely that the holder of a commission of notary public was the object of more than ordinary suspicion. Mr. Goodell points out in a note in the first volume of the Province Laws,[1] that in 1720 the assembly as a whole asserted its rights under the charter to elect these officers, a function which up to that time had been exercised by the governor and council. He also quotes a resolution of the assembly in December, 1720, forbidding one Joseph Marion from performing the duties of a notary, the right to do which was claimed by him under a commission issued by the Archbishop of Canterbury.[2] It will be seen that through this quarrel over the right of appointment, the office had become a political sport and holders of a gubernatorial commission were probably especially unpopular.

Valentine's services as notary have left traces of his career on our records.[3] The most prominent of these was his *ex-officio* service as register of the court in the trial of Captain Quelch and his company for piracy in 1704.[4] So also the principal events of his domestic career, his marriage with Mary Lynde, the daughter of Samuel Lynde, by the Reverend Benjamin Wadsworth, April 16, 1702,[5] and the births of his five children[6] are recorded and will be found in the book of marriages and the book of births.

Judge Washburn found traces of his work as an attorney in the records of our courts, and left upon the pages of his Judicial History of Massachusetts the following appreciation of his legal capacity: "he manifested great familiarity with legal principles as well as ability as an advocate. He is said also to have been 'an agreeable and expressive speaker.'"[7] Mr. Goodell has collated a number of Valentine's pleas and briefs, doubtless the same as those which gave rise to Judge Washburn's favorable opinion, and they are to be found in the

[1] Mass. Prov. Laws, I. 731; [2] I. 732; X. 64.
[3] New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg., XIX. 142.
[4] Mass. Prov. Laws, VIII. 391.
[5] Boston Rec. Com. Rep., 28. 6; [6] 24. 17, 24, 88, 110, 125, the births of Samuel, Elizabeth, Thomas, Mary and Edmund.
[7] Sketches, 186.

eighth volume of the Province Laws. His name occurs also in the House Journal, and is to be found in the volumes in the Province Laws devoted to resolves. He was a petitioner to the General Court, December 1, 1719,[1] for an allowance for travelling expenses and to the representatives November 11, 1720,[2] for an allowance for his official services as attorney general for the last two years.[3] He is described in this last petition as "late Attorney General." He was one of the Boston citizens who received a vote of thanks from the General Court for their patriotism in taking the loan of £40,000 in aid of the Hill and Walker Expedition in 1711.[4]

He showed good judgment in the selection of real estate investments, for his name is associated with property on what was then known as Marlborough, but which we now call Washington Street.[5] His will was probated in 1724 and is to be found under number 4850 Suffolk files.

A sketch of his life is to be found in "The Valentines in America,"[6] in which it is stated that the family came from Lancashire, England. This fact enables us to identify him, at least conjecturally, with the person who is represented in a contemporary pamphlet entitled "Reflections upon reflections,"[7] as having interfered with the proceedings of a Boston town meeting held June 10, 1720, for the election of representatives. This being the Pretender's birthday, the intruder proposed that the oaths of allegiance and abjuration should be administered to all the inhabitants of the town. The writer says, "This extremely exasperated the Town, to be challenged by such a d—— D——, when perhaps there are not *400* more *true* and *loyal* subjects (with humble submission to Lancashire Jack) in the King's dominions." In an advertisement appended to "A letter to an eminent clergy-man,"[8] the Postscript is alluded to as the "Lancashire Postscript." These facts, that is to say, his family coming from Lancashire and his Postscript being called the Lancashire Postscript, taken in connection with the additional fact that his name was John, seem to furnish sufficient warrant for connecting him with

[1] Mass. House Jour., 56; [2] 18.
[3] Mass. Prov. Laws, IX. 694; [4] 191.
[5] Boston Rec. Com. Rep., 29. 198.
[6] p. 110; New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg., XX. 221.
[7] p. 10; Reprinted in Colonial Currency Reprints, Prince Soc., II. 110 *et seq.*
[8] p. 241 of Reprint in Colonial Currency Reprints, Prince Soc., II. 227 *et seq.*

"Lancashire Jack" and with the intrusion at the town meeting. The published record of the meeting contains no reference to the disturbance.

Sewall in his Diary [1] furnishes us with a few interesting notes. November 27, 1718, the judge speaks of him as our "new Attorney General," and records the fact that Valentine entertained the governor, the lieutenant governor and the judges at supper. If Valentine was a new attorney general in November, 1718, and if in November, 1720, as "late attorney general" he petitioned for "an allowance for services during the last two years," we have a close approximation to his term of service in that office.

Judge Sewall [2] gives us a hint as to his convivial habits in noting his presence, January 29, 1719, at Captain Douse's, where the party drank several bowls of punch. The author of "Reflections upon reflections," [3] the tract from which we have already quoted, speaks of him as sitting down "to blot with his detestable Scurrility, a Paper call'd the *Deadham Postscript;* in which posture were it not just to paint him (something as I've seen King *J*——) with the Father of Lyes at his right hand to *instigate* and *dictate*, and an huge Bowl of exhillerating PUNCH at his left to *intoxicate*." Even this bitter attack is not enough for the writer. Continuing his abuse for about a page of the pamphlet, he makes in the course of it one more hint as to Valentine's habits which if it may not necessarily be accepted as true is nevertheless an infallible sign of the extent to which the man was hated. "But," says the writer after a reference to a verse in the New Testament, "what has this man to do with the Gospel? Has he ever read Psal. 50. 16, and onward? Or doth Paul give a toleration for men to *be drunk*, and in their Merry Cups to *thresh their wives* contrary to Light and Law of Nature as well as the Gospel?" If we turn to the fiftieth Psalm, the nineteenth verse being fairly representative of the sixteenth and onward will sufficiently indicate why one writing in the mood of this author should have referred Valentine to it. "Thou givest thy mouth to evil, and thy tongue frameth deceit."

It would be a relief in recording the death of Valentine, February 1, 1723–24, if we could close this melancholy story

[1] 5 Coll. VII. 204; [2] 211. [3] p. 8, Colonial Currency Reprints, II. 114.

of rancor, hatred, and abuse with some signs of relenting on the part of his enemies, but with characteristic complacence Sewall winds up his reference to the whole matter with a contemptible and malicious thrust at the widow which was almost inhuman in its malevolence. It appears that Valentine, February 1, 1723–24, committed suicide by hanging himself in the attic of his own house. A coroner's jury returned a verdict of *Non Compos.* Arrangements were made for holding the funeral on Tuesday, February 4, and Sewall narrates what then took place as follows:

Persons and Bearers were invited, and the Bells Tôld as customarily at Funerals. Judge Davenport, and Col. Fitch were invited to be Bearers, and came. But when they saw Mr. Myles refused to read the Office of Burial, they ask'd excuse, and went away. Bearers were, Mr. Secretary Willard, (a titular brother) Mr. Jno. Nelson; Mr. Attorney Genl Read, Mr. Robt Auchmuty; Mr. Overing and Mr. Robinson. Four Justices were there; Mr. Secr. Willard, Mr. Daniel Oliver (a Relation of the Widow) Capt. Timo Clark, and Mr. John Ruck. Five Ministers; Mr. Benjamin Wadsworth, Mr. Thomas Foxcroft, Mr. Samuel Myles, Mr. Henry Harris, and Mr. Mosman of Marblehead, and much people. This Funeral seem'd to me as if the Widow would brave it out against the Terrible Providence of God: which caused me to insert in the News-Letter of Feb. 6.

Boston, Feb. 1, 172$\frac{3}{4}$.

Quid valet innumeras scire, atque evolvere causas?
Si facienda fugis, si fugienda facis.[1]

On the tenth of February Sewall[2] records that against the advice of Mr. Auchmuty "a fair character" of Valentine had been inserted by the widow in the "Boston Gazette," and in the "New-England Courant," and that the "Boston News-Letter" had been paid to publish it in the number of that paper forthcoming on the thirteenth.

This made me publish Dr. Increase Mather's Sermon, which was preach'd about ten days after Merchant [William] Taylor[3] hang'd himself with a new Snaffle Bridle. Advertisement of the sermon printed is inserted in the News-Letter March 19.

Sure enough in the News-Letter of that date we find advertised as for sale,

[1] 5 Coll. VII. 330; [2] 331. [3] July 12, 1682, — 5 Coll. v. 49.

A Call to the Tempted. A Sermon on the horrid Crime of Self Murder, Preached on a Remarkable Occasion, by the Memorable Dr. Increase Mather. And now Published from his Notes, for a Charitable Stop to suicides. Sold by Samuel Gerrish, at his Shop near the Brick Meeting-House in Corn-hill, Boston.[1]

Not content with seeking to deprive the poor widow of what comfort she could get from the fact that many friends stood by her in spite of the calumnious attacks in "Reflections upon reflections," and in disregard of the refusal of the Reverend Mr. Myles to read the office of burial and of the declination of the two bearers to serve at the funeral, he had inserted the ill-tempered lines in the News-Letter of the sixth, and now to offset what satisfaction she could get from the publication of the eulogistic notice in the newspapers, he had caused the Mather sermon to be published. Did he send the widow a copy? Doubtless he did.

It is but fair to the memory of Valentine that his friends should have the last inning. The notice published in the News-Letter, February 13th, 1724, read as follows:

On Tuesday the 4th instant, The Corps of *John Vallentine* Esq; His Majesty's Advocate General for the Provinces of the *Massachusetts-Bay, New-Hampshire* and Colony of *Rhode Island,* was here decently Interred: He was a Gentleman for his Knowledge & Integrity most Eminent in his Profession, Clear in his Conceptions, and Distinguishable happy in his Expressions. It pleased GOD, some short time before his Death to deprive him of these Excellent Endowments by afflicting him with a deep Melancholly which brought on the Loss of his Reason, and was the Cause of his much Lamented Death.

Hugh Vans, the author of "Some observations on the scheme projected for emitting 60,000 l." and of "An Inquiry into the nature and uses of money," was a Boston merchant of good standing, who was obviously quite facile with his pen, but who did not, like Dr. Douglass, his adversary in this controversy, gain renown from his contributions thereto. The side that he took would today prejudice the public against him and would militate against the reception by his writings of the praise to which they are entitled, for he placed himself on the side of the paper-money men. It must be said in fairness to him that the quality of his work as a controversialist

[1] On Valentine, see Foote, Annals of King's Chapel.

was superior to that of most of the advocates of paper money. In his first pamphlet he entered into calculations to show how the scheme which he had under discussion might in its operations affect borrowers or lenders, quoted from the province laws and from writers on finance, and even though he promulgated doctrines which are not acceptable today, his treatment of the subject in this as well as in the second of his pamphlets was on a much higher plane and betrayed far more studied preparation than that which characterizes most of the publications of the day.

Attention was first called to the fact that Vans was the author of the "Inquiry," in the sixth number of the twelfth volume of the Bulletin of the New York Public Library, page 394, where the following entry is made. "'By Mr. Hugh Vance, Mercht.' is written on the titlepage in an eighteenth-century hand." This carries with it the authorship of "Some observations," which, notwithstanding the views on finance to be found therein, has been erroneously attributed to Dr. Douglass. It ought never to have been assigned to Douglass, for, as we have already seen, the last part of Douglass's Essay was devoted to an answer to "Some observations," but, however that may be, Vans himself settled the question of authorship on page 45 of the "Inquiry," where he acknowledged that "Some observations" was the product of his pen. The identification of the author of these pamphlets, through the endorsement on the titlepage of the copy of the "Inquiry," in the New York Public Library, is corroborated by a somewhat similar endorsement on the titlepage of the copy in the "Boston Athenæum," the legend on which reads, "The Gift of the Author M^r^ Hugh Vans Me[ ] in Boston, to — J. Lowell." There may be some doubt as to the termination of the name of the author in this inscription, for some indiscreet person has made an entry in ink, resembling a shelf-mark, directly over the name. With the knowledge to aid us that the New York copy was attributed to "Hugh Vance," one can see that the final letters of the name which are obscured by the numbering placed over them were probably "ns" and not "nce." A merciless binder has by indiscreet trimming eliminated what followed the "Me," but we could readily supply the remainder of the word "merchant" without the aid of the writing on the New York copy of the "Inquiry."

The name of the family is supposed to have been at one time De Vans, then to have become Vans, and finally the spelling has been altered in many instances to Vance.[1] The suggestion of French origin for the family carries with it the idea that they were Huguenots. A hundred years later a grandson of Hugh, who had inherited the pamphleteering instincts of his ancestor, gave vent to his feelings as a disappointed litigant by publishing the story of his grievances. He referred to his grandfather Hugh Vans as a respectable merchant in the city of Boston.[2] An allusion to the fact that his ancestry were French Huguenots is couched in language too fantastic for reproduction as historic evidence, but the fact that he did so may be cited as a tradition as to the origin of the family.

Our first trace of the career of "Hugh Vans, Merchant," is furnished by himself in "An Inquiry," page 54, where, speaking of Douglass's statement that about twenty years ago, that is, in 1718, Sweden had imposed upon the people government notes instead of specie, Vans says,

> I was in Stockholm, the capital, in the year 1718, being the last of Charles XII and never then or since heard of any State-Bills passing about that time, . . .

In 1725 he was elected constable, but was excused from service.[3] He joined that year in an agreement made by the greater part of the Boston merchants not to purchase from Marblehead fishermen dried codfish at above a certain stipulated price.[4] In 1726 he was elected constable and was again excused.[5] August 17, 1726, he was married by the Reverend Joseph Sewall to Mary Pemberton, a daughter of Reverend Ebenezer Pemberton of the Old South Church,[6] and between that time and the year 1733 inclusive there were registered, as offspring of this marriage, four children, three sons and a daughter.[7]

[1] Hayden's Virginia Genealogies, 457.

[2] "A New Edition of the demand of William Vans, on Stephen Codman," Boston, 1824, 11.

[3] Boston Rec. Com. Rep., 8. 194.

[4] Winthrop papers, Mass. Hist. Soc., 21. fol. 2, MS.

[5] Boston Rec. Com. Rep., 8. 201.

[6] Boston Rec. Com. Rep., 28. 135; also "An Appeal to the Public by William Vans," Salem 1827, 99.

[7] Boston Rec. Com. Rep., 24. 184, 195, 200, 210.

March 10, 1735–36, Vans was put on a committee to audit the Boston treasurer's accounts,[1] and on the 28th of April, 1736, was one of the committee regularly appointed from year to year to prepare instructions for the representatives from Boston to the General Court. The proposed instructions were submitted on the 21st of May, but the report was not considered until May 24. The committee asserted that our laws, liberties and properties were in danger. They therefore requested the representatives "to guard against, and defend us from, all encroachments that may be attempted against our natural rights or charter privileges." They called attention to the royal instructions relative to calling in bills of public credit and said that the distressing condition of the province rendered compliance with these orders impracticable if not impossible.[2]

July 23, 1736, Vans was chosen assessor, but exercising the same facility for evading a duty that he did not care to perform as had secured him relief from service as constable and as overseer of the poor, he was again excused.[3] September 21, 1737,[4] he was put on a committee to address the General Court in behalf of the town of Boston in regard to the disproportionate charge for the expenses of the representatives, under which it was believed that the town was suffering. This committee reported on the 23d.[5]

May 10, 1738, Vans was again put on the committee to draw up instructions for the Boston representatives in the General Court.[6] They were to deal with the trade of the province; the paper currency; the extraordinary proportion of the public taxes, which it was apprehended that the town was paying; and also they were to discuss the proposed division of the county of Suffolk. The report of this committee, submitted May 17, fills nearly four pages in the published reports of the commissioners of records.[7] It deals with the Rhode Island bills of public credit, which the committee say "our necessities compel us to use." It discusses the proportion of taxation borne by Boston, and it enjoins the representatives

not to consent to any further Supply of the Treasury for any growing Charge of the Province Unless the Funds for discharging the same be put on sutable Years after Seventeen Hundred and Forty One.

[1] Boston Rec. Com. Rep., 12. 135, 138, 143; [2] 145–147; [3] 151; [4] 175.
[5] Boston Rec. Com. Rep., 12. 177, 178; [6] 195; [7] 197–201.

The representatives are also enjoined

to Oppose the foreclosing the Deliberations of future Assemblies between this, and Seventeen Hundred and Forty One, relating to the Bills of Public Credit of the Old Tenor; but that they may be left free to Act when the Years shall come, According as they shall judge most Advisable for the safety of the Province.

The representatives were practically urged to get rid of the new tenor bills and to re-instate the old tenor. The general purport of the instructions was, — Do what you can to impede the enforcement of the royal instructions in the currency matter.

November 21, 1738, Vans was on another committee whose function was to prepare a report, this time being appointed chairman.[1] May 2, 1739,[2] he was again on the committee to prepare instructions to the representatives. A lengthy report of the same general style and character as the one before referred to, was submitted by this committee May 18.[3] March 9, 1740, he was chairman of a committee to inquire into encroachments upon the town's rights on Fort Hill.[4] He was put to further service in this matter by being put on a committee to wait upon the captain general.[5]

In 1746 he was apparently a selectman, and as such was made ex-officio a member of a committee on the 22d of September,

to wait upon his Excellency the Governour, and the Honorable the Council to Inform them that the Town apprehending great Danger arising to em by such a number of persons Subjects to the French King, being allowed to pass and Repass the Streets as they now do, desired the Selectmen to Apply to two of His Majestys Justices of the peace (Quorum Unus) to Grant a Warrant to Apprehend and Secure 'em in prison pursuant to a law of this province, which the Selectmen accordingly did, and the Constables of the Town by Virtue thereof apprehended about one hundred French Persons and Carried 'em to his Majestys Goal in Boston, but the High Sheriff of this County treated the said Warrant in a very Contemptious manner and Would not receive the said persons therein mentioned, nor suffer 'em to Remain there and so they again go at large,[6] . . .

This committee reported, September 25, that Governor Shirley demanded that the charges against the sheriff be put in writ-

[1] Boston Rec. Com. Rep., 12. 203; [2] 222; [3] 224–229; [4] 264; [5] 287.
[6] Boston Rec. Com. Rep., 14. 104, 105.

ing. Such charges were prepared and were submitted September 27th, and again Vans as selectman was ex-officio a member of the committee to wait upon the governor and council, and present the charges.[1]

April 11, 1748, the wardens of King's Chapel petitioned for a grant of land for the enlargement of the chapel. Vans was put on the committee to consider the propriety of the grant.[2] The last mention of his name that we find in the records, if not so pathetic as that with which the notice of Valentine was closed, is nevertheless of a sort to excite our sympathy. February 6, 1758, in his old age, after a career of activity in his own and in town affairs, he was adjudged a bankrupt.[3]

Our review of the traces left behind them of these two forgotten pamphleteers has revealed to us, on the one hand, the career of an office-holder, obviously haughty in manner, and aristocratic in his way of life, a follower of the little provincial court set up by the governor, a cultivated lawyer, an adroit special pleader, and a looker down upon the crude attempts of his fellow citizens to wrest from the governor and council some of the powers of government which had been taken from them through the annulment of the colonial charter and the substitution therefor of a provincial government. Fiercely hated, he was atrociously maligned. Let us hope that there was no foundation for these assaults.

On the other hand, as we follow the career of Vans, we have glimpses of a man who has been something of a traveller and who evidently was a free and easy writer. The presence of his name year after year upon town committees the main functions of which were to prepare reports indicates that his fellow citizens appreciated his capacity as an author. It is plain that he was radically opposed to Valentine upon every political point.

As a currency writer he was on the paper-money side, and it has already been said that his methods betrayed some study of the subjects upon which he wrote and placed him as a writer upon a higher plane than most of his compatriots on that side of the question. We have already had occasion to call attention to his reply to Douglass's statement as to the government notes of Sweden in 1718. To what has been already quoted

[1] Boston Rec. Com Rep., 14. 106; [2] 145.
[3] Mass. Prov. Laws, IV. 108.

Vans added that what Gortz did was to emit copper coins with nominal ratings of value, such that they were mere tokens, and that the trouble was caused by the fact that to these there was attached a legal tender function. In speaking of the Bank of Venice, Vans makes no mention of notes emitted by the bank, but discusses fully the function of the bank credit which was made use of in place of notes. Douglass had spoken of the bills of the Bank of Venice, a statement for which he could have found justification through the use of the same words by many other writers, but when the doctor in his criticisms in the opening portions of the Postscript to the Discourse came to what Vans had said of the Bank of Venice, he did not undertake to refute him, but turned the subject off with a mere assertion that Vans had given "an imperfect account of the Bank of Venice and Amsterdam, of Baron Gorts Mint tokyns in Sweeden," etc. In other words, he was not quite prepared to discuss this question in detail.

On the whole, it may be said, then, that our pamphleteer on the patriotic side makes a fairly good record for himself. He appears before us as an honored citizen of Boston, whom his fellow citizens made use of from year to year upon important committees. He published pamphlets which contain within their pages marks of study and of intellectual capacity for independent analysis. His whimsical theories must not be judged by the standards of today. The paper-money men of that time were the pioneers in the promulgation of the doctrines of credit, which have resulted in the wonderful development of the use of money in our day, through bank-bills, checks and drafts. The doctrines of the hard-money men applied to their full extent would have held the world back in its progress. Neither side in the discussion appreciated fully what they were talking about. It is for us today to recognize merit where we can see it, whether on the one side or the other.

Dr. GREEN communicated the following facts relating to the Harvard Triennial:

Ever since my graduation at Harvard, alas! so many years ago, I have taken a deep interest in the Triennial, as it used to be called. Many a time I have worked over dates and other facts about graduates, as Mr. Sibley, the editor, if he were

alive, could testify; and my experience in such matters has been amusing, even if not important.

For instance, the name of Matthew Bridge Parker appeared in the catalogue among the medical graduates of 1830, where it remained for fifty years. Following different clews, I had tried in many ways to trace his subsequent life, but all to no purpose. Seeing that he was at the Medical School in the same class with Dr. Willard Parker (A.B. 1826 *et* M.D. 1830), — a distinguished physician of New York, — whom I knew very well, I determined to ask him.

One evening while calling at his house I inquired after his namesake, when he replied at once that a singular error had been made in regard to the name in the catalogue, which he himself had intended to correct, but for one reason or another had neglected to do so. He told me that the Doctor had settled in Springfield and that his name was not Parker at all, but Baker; and furthermore that he had been dead many years. Acting on this intelligence, I wrote promptly to the late Dr. David P. Smith of that city, who informed me that Dr. Baker's widow was living at Deerfield, and that I must look in that direction for further facts. On writing to Mr. Sheldon, the antiquary of the town, I was told that Mrs. Baker was then living in Cambridge, and that she was the proper person to furnish the desired information. On giving to Mr. Sibley the result of my inquiries he, knowing her quite well, expressed some surprise, as Mrs. Baker was not only a neighbor of his, but he was in the habit of seeing her often. This instance is a good illustration of hunting in distant places for what may be found near to one's own door-stone.

Another amusing instance is that connected with the name of Dr. James Barr (M.D. 1817), of New Ipswich, New Hampshire, though his name did not appear in the catalogue until the edition of 1830. At that period names were printed in Latin, and his name is there given as "Johannes Barre." While trying to trace him, it occurred to me to examine his signature as he wrote it when he entered the Medical School. Much to my joy, I there found that the final "e" was simply a penman's flourish at the end of his name. For more than fifty years this stupid mistake was kept up in the catalogue, and the change was not made until the issue of 1885, when the name was correctly given as James Barr.

Dr. Barr was a physician well known in his neighborhood; and I went to school with his son at Groton as far back as the year 1841. I knew the father as a boy knows a man much older than himself. The late James Barr Ames, Dean of the Law School, was a grandson of the physician.

Mr. FORD submitted some letters from the James Murray Robbins papers, now in the Society's collections, and a copy of a letter from John Brown, the uncompromising critic of Benedict Arnold, the original of which is in the possession of Mr. Archibald M. Howe, of Cambridge. The first of the Stuart letters is concerned in the famous decision of Lord Mansfield in the case of the slave James Lancaster.

WILLIAM TRYON TO JAMES MURRAY.

No CAROLINA, BRUNSWICK, 19th July, 1766.

SIR, — I have had the pleasure to receive both your letters wherein you request a Renewal of your leave of absense for another year. My Complyance to this request, was it in my power to gratify it, would at present be of no signification; as by His Majesty's Instructions bearing date of the 19th Feby 1766, I am ordered to call together, the Persons, whose Names are inclosed, whom His Majesty has appointed to be the Members of His Council for this Province. In my next Dispatches to the Lords of Trade, I shall acquaint their Lordships Mr. Richd. Spaight was Dead before I came into this Province; and that on my Arrival here, I found you Senior Member of His Majestys Council. If you are of opinion your being excluded from the Council, arises from any Mistake in Office, it is necessary you should write Home on that Subject, and if reinstated to obtain His Majesty's permission for your longer absenting yourself from this Colony. The Assembly of this Province, I had prorogued to the 30th. of October next before I knew anything of the Repeal of the Stamp Act. At which time, I hope the Legislature will meet, with United Hearts, and Generous Sentiments. I am Sir, with my Complts. to Mrs. Murray and family, Your Obedient Humble Servt.[1]

P. S. I have desired Mr. Elwin to answer the other parts of your letter and acknowledge your Civilities to me.

JOHN BROWN TO MRS. ELIZABETH ARNOLD.[2]

Y[ALE] COLLEGE, April 7th, 1771.

DEAR RELATIVE, — I received your Letters dated March 17, 1771, the Favour of Mr. Channing, for which I return you sincere thanks.

[1] Tryon had qualified as lieutenant governor April 3, 1765.

[2] Of Providence, R. I.

You wrote to me concerning the late Mrs. Arnold Books which was reserved for me according to my request. Madam, I must tell you that there has been much disorder in College since I wrote you my former Letter. We complained that we were oppressed in respect to Commons which was most manifestly the Case; but the authority of College not being of our opinion, and refusing to redress us in our way, we left College and went home, and in about 3 weeks I with several others of my Class were cited to meet the Trustees of said College on the 23d. of instant April: and what the Inquisition or Star Chamber Court may determine concerning the matter is uncertain. They intend to expel several, but as we have the civil authority on our side, we do not intend to be expelled. So that it is impracticable for me to come to Providence until after our tryal.

Madam, as to the Books I would have you put them to sale at your Pleasure, and send me a line as to the time when (for I suppose you will make the sale publick) and if it be possible I will attend. I left all Friends well at Sandisfield on the first of Instant April. From your loving Brother.[1]

To William Channing.

Sr. Permit me to give you thanks for your Kindness to Mrs. Arnold, and pray you to take such care of her affairs as she may request or your Prudence may direct.

I shall be at Providence most certainly after examination, and before, if I get out of my case as I hope to. Sr, as I have nothing of News, I shall conclude by subscribing myself your most humble servant.

Charles Stuart to James Murray.

London, 15th June, 1772.

Dear Sir,— We had a long tract of easterly winds after you sailed, which I hope gave you a short and pleasant passage, and that you found Mrs. Murray and all your friends happy and well. There is but little alteration among those you left here. C. Murray is married, and must think of going to Madeira soon, for Mr. Cheap has come home. He was sued by the Master of the London tavern; the damages were laid at £100 and the jury gave 30; he came off pretty well; but had it been worse his friends could not advise him to make the concessions demanded on the other side after the steps that had been taken against him. Nothing is done yet in the proposed arrangement about the Collector at Charlestown; the objection I'm told is that it is thought too good a thing for the Gentlemen who offered to change. My namesake D—— stands still fair for a seat at the board, when

[1] See Archibald M. Howe, "Colonel John Brown, of Pittsfield," 1908.

there is an opening; he had taken his passage in this ship, but has deferred going for some time on account of a formal complaint lodged against him at the treasury by Mr. W——s for malpractise in his office. He has been told by Lord North and both Secretaries that the complaint was not taken up, that it made no impression to his prejudice, and that he need not pay any regard to it; but his Highland pride will not allow him to go abroad and leave any charges of that kind unanswered, and he has got a promise that they shall be both heard on the subject at the board next thursday. Whenever they are heard I have no doubt but the charge will retort with shame and disgrace on the accuser, who has this merit, however, as he says himself, that he makes it entirely from a principle of conscience, for he never was officially in Mr. S[tuart]'s post; but some will be ill-natured enough to ascribe it to a more ungenerous motive, a mean low resentment for standing between him and a favourite object. I am sorry the man should expose himself so much.

I suppose you will be desirous to hear how the negroe cause goes on. There have been two more hearings in it. I did not attend either, but am told that some young Council flourished away on the side of liberty and acquired great honour. Dunning was dull and languid, and would have made a much better figure on that side also. Lord Mansfield said it was a cause of the greatest importance, that great inconveniences and ill consequences must attend the decision of it either way, and therefore he would not give judgement in it except insisted on by the parties. In that case he would take the opinion of all the Judges. If they agreed, judgment should be pronounced; if not, the cause must be argued again before them all; in the meantime he strongly recommended to make it up, hinted at emancipating the slave, and advised the West India merchants, etc. to apply to Parliament for an act for farther securing their property. Upon the whole, every body seems to think it will go in favour of the negroe. The West India Planters and Merchants have taken it off my hands, and I shall be entirely directed by them in the further defence of it. It has brought my name forward, or rather that of Capt Stewart, James Stewart, Esqr. etc., much more than I would wish. The papers however have been tollerably decent with respect to me; but I am very sorry for the load of abuse thrown on L[or]d M[ansfield] for hesitating to pronounce judgement in favour of freedom. Dunning has come in also for a pretty good share for taking the wrong side.[1] This general subject of conver-

[1] "The court of King's Bench gave judgment in the case of Somerset the slave, viz. that Mr. Stuart his master had no power to compel him on board a ship, or to send him back to the plantations. Lord Mansfield stated the matter thus: The only question before us is, Is the cause returned sufficient for remanding the slave? If not, he must be discharged. The cause returned is, the slave absented himself, and departed from his master's service, and refused to return

sation, of which I have been involuntarily the cause, is now suspended for a time by a most unhappy event which has reduced many worthy families from easy, and some of them opulent, circumstances to absolute ruin.

Fordyce the Banker has failed for, some say, £300,000, others half a million, all gone in the Alley, where he had at one time made upwards of £100,000, — a sum too trifling to gratify his ambition, and has pulled down with him a numerous and respectable set of friends, connections and relations. Several houses have already stop'd, but as he was engaged in an immense paper circulation, this ruin spreads like a deluge, and no body can guess where it will end. It falls chiefly on our Country-men, except his three partners in the banking business, who had no concern in his other schemes. My particular friends are no otherways affected by it than in their feelings for some worthy genteel families, some with 6, others 8 young Children, reduced from affluence to real want. One good man of my acquaintance in the decline of life told me lately that he had arranged his little matters and settled a plan for being easy and comfortable the rest of his days. He too is by this stroke strip'd of nearly his all. Poor Lady Margaret, though brought up with genteel œconomy in a large noble family, Lord Belcarras's, on a small fortune, must now feel a sad reverse in falling from the high, gay and expensive way of living to which his pride and vanity had introduced her. In short nothing like this has happened since Touchits bankruptcy, and that came far short of it.

I wish I could now contrast this scene of distress that I have given you some faint idea of; for that I must refer you to yourself, and I most sincerely hope you will ever find the reverse of the picture in your worthy family, friends and connections. Happy in these, with an easy competency, in a genteel retreat under the shade of your own fig tree, and undisturbed by the folly and frauds of ambitious villains, (otherways than by the pain a good mind will ever feel for the distresses of his fellow creatures,) you will not envy even those you left here behind you dancing attendance on the great, dreading their frowns und courting their favour.[1]

and serve him during his stay in England; whereupon, by his master's orders, he was put on board the ship by force, and there detained in secure custody, to be carried out of the kingdom, and sold. So high an act of dominion was never in use here; no master ever was allowed here to take a slave by force to be sold abroad, because he had deserted from his service, or for any other reason whatever. We cannot say the cause set forth by this return is allowed or approved of by the laws of this kingdom, therefore the man must be discharged." — Annual Register, 1772, 110. See also Campbell, "Lives of the Chief Justices of England," III. 316; 20 State Trials, 1.

[1] June 11. "The banking-house of Messrs. Neal, James, Fordyce, and Down, stopped payment. Other failures have since happened In consequence of the former. The consternation at first was general throughout the city; but by

All the world is now at the installation of the Knights of the Bath. I think three guineas may be better bestowed some other way, and myself better employed in conversing with an absent friend. I have not seen your Brother since you left us. Mr. and Mrs. Elmsley etc. are pretty well. Palmer does not seem to gain ground; I'm afraid his disorder is too well fixed; you will receive a letter from him by Mr. Harrison. Sir Sam Duckingfield has come home to settle his affairs here, sell his estate, and return to Carolina. Who wou'd not do the same that could? My best regards to Mrs. Murray, Mrs. Gordon and her young folks, Mr and Mrs Inman, Miss Murray and all your friends. Adieu. I shall hope to hear from you soon, and am, My Dear Sir, your affectionate, humble servant.

London, 22 June, 1772.

Dear Sir, — I wrote to you twice by Mr Harrison jun[r] under cover to Mr. Coffin. In one of them I mentioned Fordyce's bankruptcy and some of the unhappy consequences of it; but that letter can give you but a faint idea of the dreadful scene that is now opened by the Bank refusing to discount an amazing quantity of Scotch bills now in circulation. In consequence of this, several capital houses here and at Edinburgh have already stop'd, many more are expected, and there is an allmost general stagnation of credit. The Bank of Douglas, Heron & Co. is the chief cause of this by issuing their notes too liberally. Their bills have been refused acceptance here and are returned upon them, which must throw all Scotland into the uttmost confusion, and an allmost generall bankruptcy must be the consequence. In short the present confusion and distractions were never equalled since the South Sea year. The Dukes of Queensbery and Bucleugh have offered their credit, and landed property to the amount of millions is bound, but that will not pay bills when due, and could not

the spirit of the merchants, and the timely interposition of the Bank of England, many of the numerous bankruptcies that were expected, it is hoped, are prevented, and that trade will resume its former channel.

"The news of Messrs. Neal, Fordyce, James, and Down, having stopt payment, was received at Edinburgh, just 43 hours after it happened at London. Edinburgh is distant from London above 425 miles.

June 22. "It is beyond the power of words to describe the general consternation of the metropolis at this instant. No event for fifty years past has been remembered to have given so fatal a blow both to trade and public credit. An universal bankruptcy was expected, the stoppage of almost every banker's house in London was looked for. The whole city was in an uproar; many of the first families in tears. This melancholy scene began with a rumour that one of the greatest bankers in London has stopped, which afterwards proved true. A report at the same time was propagated, that an immediate stop of the greatest must take place. Happily this report proved groundless: the principal merchants assembled, and means were immediately concerted to revive trade, and preserve the national credit." — Annual Register, 1772, 109, 110.

avert the present storm. You will grieve to hear that the Adelphi may probably become a heap of ruine, and the noble plan of the projection never be compleated, for they are gone. I was unhappily premature in saying that my particular friends were no otherways affected than by their feelings for others whom they loved and esteemed; they thought so then, but they are now in the number of the fallen, with a large sum of mine in their hands. I don't mention the sum to Mr. Coffin or any person, indeed it is of no consequence to any one but myself, for no body else can suffer by it (except perhaps some poor orphans who will now have a less generous protection than I wished to afford them.) However I will tell you that the sum is £3000. I do not exactly know the state of my private account with the office, but as far as I can judge of it at present, if Mr Coffin agrees to the proposal of paying £450 per annum, (which he seems to like better than any of the others,) and of leaving £1000 in my hands without interest, and will credit my account by all the bonds, bills, etc., due to me in his hands, the balance will not be great, and may be discharged by my salary etc. as it becomes due. Such of these bonds, etc., as he does not chuse to take to his own account, I must now desire that he will endeavour to get payment of them as soon as possible; but the chief purport of my writing now is to desire that he will not draw upon me. Indeed I do not suppose he will, as there does not appear to be any cause for it. I have still left here about six months subsistence, and for the rest, shall depend on remittances from Virginia where I have considerably more than I owe to the office. How happy my lot compared with the accumulated distress all around me! I dare say Mr. Coffin has already accepted one or other of the propositions I made him, and I hope the one mentioned above: but if he should have drawn on me before this reaches you, I must entreat that he immediately make a remittance to answer it, otherways his bills must be returned. I shall make no apology for drawing you from your pleasant retreat, if the business of an absent friend in such a general calamity calls you to Town to talk this matter over with Mr Coffin; your goodness will excuse it. I can say no more, am just going to that scene of woe, the City, to try to serve a friend and brother sufferer, with this great addition to his distress — he has a wife and three children. Adieu, My Dear Good Sir, Your's affectionately.

John Murray to James Murray.

Norwich, July 10, 1772.

Dear Brother, — As I wrote you a long letter 16th April last I have little more at present to say, yet as I have wrote lately to my other friends and your Sister is writing to the Girls I would not let

slip the Opportunity. — I hope this will find you safe at Brush-hill and refreshed after the fatigue of your European excursion which I shall be glad to hear has answered your purpose. — You will be informed by the public Papers of the Bustle which has been among the Bankers and the allarm among the monied people of London. Matters are apparently put to rights but paper Credit is in a manner destroyed and fresh Bankruptries are happening every day. Norwich was thought to be pretty safe as few here speculated much yet one Mr. Scot a very worthy Manufacturer has run the risque of losing L. 7000 by the failure of a Mr. Hague Merchant in London his Son-in-Law. — An eminent Manufacturer has sold off in time it is said to prevent a Statute, two more and those Quakers too have not been so prudent, and it is whispered that a very considerable house is about to decline trade which has of late been very indifferent owing as it is said in part to foreign failures; in part to goods being fabricated elsewhere at a cheaper rate, but with me unbounded Luxury operates more powerfully against us than any other cause, and it is so general that it seems odious for any individual not to live up to his income.

With regard to my concerns I have to inform you that an unexpected Success in two particular cases opposite to the peremptory prognostic of two of the most eminent of my Bretheren has at the same time increased my Reputation and the Jealousy of those Bretheren who are nevertheless openly complaisant. Our New Hospital opens to-morrow for out Patients but it will not come to my Turn to prescribe before 3d next Month, soon after which I shall inform you of my success. . . .

Your most affectionate and obliged Brother.

Charles Stuart to James Murray.

London, 5th August, 1772.

Dear Sir, — I have done myself the pleasure of writing to you several times since you left us, and was extremely glad to hear lately of your safe arrival. Though your passage was long, I hope it was not otherways disagreeable, and that you found Mrs. Murray and all your friends as well as you would wish them.

The unhappy situation of affairs here with respect to credit and mercantile business, of which I attempted to give you some idea in my last letters, is something mended, but a general suspicion still prevails, and failures and stoppages happen daily. The Bank of Douglas, Heron & Co. (or Scotch Bank of Air, as John Bull's Sons affect to call it) have been raising money on most disadvantageous terms, by granting annuities of 7 years for any one life, or 8 years for two, and it is said have compleated their Sum. The Alexanders of Edinburgh have obtained a credit from the Bank of England, and it is expected the

Adams will be enabled to go on, at least to finish their present plans. Messrs. Bogle & Scott have made out a state of their affairs which is to be laid before their Creditors this Evening. They have good Debts and Effects sufficient to pay 17/6 in the pound, and a large list of bad and doubtful debts which they think may make up the other 2/6, but this will be a work of time, and until the fate of the bills now running with their names on them, but which should be paid by others if they are able, is known, no judgment can be formed how their Affairs will turn out.

I have several letters from Mr. Coffin[1] up to the 29 May, which last is one of the most unpleasant I ever received, for it contains nothing but evasive excuses for not sending the Accounts, I have been writing for most earnestly ever since the beginning of December, to be laid before the Auditors, and which he wrote me a month or six weeks before (for there is no date to that and some other of his letters,) were in such forwardness that he expected to send them by the Boston in three weeks, but in his last letter he plainly tells me he cannot say when they will be sent. One excuse is that he waited for the Board's directions for the application of the salaries by establishments, though it appears by an account transmitted at the same time by their Secretary that such application was actually made for a longer time than he mentions. But if he had given the least attention to the directions I sent him the 4th of December he would have seen that no application of money to the different branches of the Revenue for which it is either paid or received, is necessary in the Accounts I wrote for. Another excuse is that Mr Porter had not examined them, but I know that they were examined for more than one year before I left Boston, and I intreated him to send one year's accounts, that is, to the 5th of January, 1769, as soon as possible, that a beginning might be made here, by which I might see their mode of business, and could give more certain directions with regard to the future accounts. His other pretence is as trifling and unsatisfactory as the rest, that there is no time lost as Mr. Porter's accots will not be sent a long time. I am directed by my patent to send my Accots but not the Comptroller's which may come at his leisure, and all my payments or, as it is called here, my discharge, which make by far the greatest part of my Accounts and will take up the most time with the Auditors, do not depend on the Comptrollers Accounts. I have now written a long letter to Mr Coffin on the Subject. As my Friend Mr. Stewart knows my anxiety and uneasiness on this occasion, I have given him a Copy of it and some other papers, which he will deliver to you. Let me entreat you, my Dear Sir, to talk seriously to Mr Coffin about it. I am told, and believe, that he does the business of the Office very well and to the satisfaction

[1] Nathaniel Coffin, King's Cashier of the Customs at Boston.

of the Board, etc, but some other things that I have recommended to him, and have too much reason to think are neglected, though not so immediately, are as essentially necessary as the daily duty of it. He says he has done every thing on his part, but from his contradictory manner of writing, and his idle excuses, I fear that assertion was premature. And he hopes I will not leave England till I settle these matters with the Auditor. That depends entirely on himself. Lord North was pleased to say to the Sp[anish] Ambassador lately (without my asking such indulgence which I consider as connected with my Patent,) that I may stay in England as long as I please; but for any thing I can see at present, M[r] Coffin will oblige me to go to Boston to bring my accounts home to be audited. I need not say how disagreeable that would be to me, and perhaps to himself, and I must rely on your good Offices and Mr Stewart's, to prevent it. I hope he has done with Apologies about my private Account, it is idle to make so many about a thing that may be done in half an hour. I have indeed many to make to you for giving you so much trouble in my Affairs. I am truly concerned for the cause of it, and hope the agreeable Companion and honest fellow (sometimes improperly so called) will suspend his jovial humour for a time, lay aside that ruinous Procrastination which too many of us are apt to give way to, and set in earnest about the Business on which his Interest and my honour and Credit so much depend. One word more, and I have done on this disagreeable subject I have had a hint that he risks too much, and makes too free with the public money. For God's sake caution him on that head.

Mr Stewart will tell you all our news here, and later than any I can give you by this Ship. He has been detained by W——'s malicious Charges, and his delay will I hope prove of service to him on the whole. Lord North has settled with Mr Robinson the Secretary, the heads of the minute to be made upon it, which, from what I have heard of it, is in favour of Mr. Stewart, but it cannot be finished until it is approved by the other Lords, and they are now adjourned for six weeks. Our other Custom house Friends continue as you left them. A great point has been carried against Lord Hillsborough in his own department, the settlement of a Colony on the Ohio, which he has uniformly opposed, first in the report of the Board of Trade with the unanimous concurrence of the other Lords, and afterwards in Council. He cannot therefore with honour affix the Seals of his Office to a measure that he has so warmly opposed from Principle, and it is said, will resign.[1] I have not waited on him since you left us, nor for a long time before, but intend to make my bow to him to'morrow. Lord Weymouth and Lord Dartmouth are talked of to succeed him. I shall endeavour to give you the earliest opportunity of worshiping the rising Sun.

[1] Writings of Benjamin Franklin (Smyth), v. 465.

Something it is said will be done with Rhode Island, but what or when I know not, and possibly the matter may end in some ineffectual threats.

I beg you will give my respectful Compliments to Mrs Murray and all my good Friends, and am with the greatest regard, My Dear Sir, Your affectionate humble Servant.

Mr. FORD also submitted two letters from the Bigelow MSS., now in the keeping of the Society, relating to an early incident in the career of Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford.

HOPESTILL CAPEN TO JOHN APPLETON, OF SALEM.

BOSTON, 11 Octo 1769.

SIR, — I understand that you have had a young Ladd, not long since, that live with you, named Benja Thompson. He now offers himself to live with me, saying that he was sick was the Occasion of his comeing from you, and that now Business is Dull, you dont want him. I should be greatly oblig'd to you if you will Inform me by the first oppertunity If he be clear from you or not; if he is, please to give me his True Character, as to his Honesty, Temper and Qualifications as a Shop Keeper. Such a lad will suit me if he can be well Recommended, and as he is a stranger to me I know of no body else that can be so good a Judge of him as you. Which I hope you will favour me with. Till which I am your most obedt Humble servt.

THOMPSON TO JOHN APPLETON, OF SALEM.

BOSTON, Octo. 19. 1769.

SIR, — I take this oppertunity to inform you that I am Come to Live with Mr Hopestill Capen. I like him and his Family very well as yet. I am Greatly obliged to you for your kind Recommendation of me to Mr. Capen, and shall always retain a Gratefull Sense of the many other Kindness's I always Rec[d] Whilest I remained with you. Never shall I Live at a place again that I delighted so much as at your house nor with a Kinder Master.[1] My Guardian says he will Come to Salem and pay you some money very soon, which he expects dayly. Sir I would beg of you not to Give yourself any Concern or Trouble about it as you may depend upon having the Money Very soon.

Sir if you would Give yourself the Trouble to send Round my things that remain at your house I shall Be obliged to you, and if you will send down the two trunks which I improved whilest at your house and Charge them to me I will send you the money. Please to put up all my small thing you can find, vizt scates, hautboy, some Blue paper, a

[1] A memorandum shows that Thompson came as apprentice to Mr. Appleton, October 14, 1766.

box of Crayons, or dry Colours, some Books, Together with all my Things remaining at your house. Please to stow them in the Trunk that stands in the Kitchen Chamber and please to put that, that stands in the Garret on Board Mr West with it and desire him to Bring them down the first oppertunity. I shall Come to Salem the first oppertunity that I can be Spared. Heartily Wishing you all Proseperity and Happiness, I Remain your Much Obliged Hum Servt.

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL, 1910

THE Annual Meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the PRESIDENT in the chair.

The record of the March meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian submitted the usual monthly report of donors.

In the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, the Cabinet-Keeper reported the acceptance by Harold Murdock, of Brookline, of his election as a Resident Member of the Society.

The Editor announced the gift to the Society by Mr. SHAW of important manuscripts and broadsides of the colonial and revolutionary periods of Massachusetts history. These manuscripts and like material will form the nucleus of the "Samuel Phillips Savage Papers."

The Recording Secretary, by request of Bishop LAWRENCE, who was compelled to be absent, presented to the Society a large photograph of the portrait of Dr. Samuel A. Green, painted in 1894 by Frederic P. Vinton, in the Groton Public Library. In behalf of Mr. BOLTON, he also presented a photograph — taken in 1849 from a daguerreotype — of Dr. Green at the age of nineteen.

In the absence of Mr. MERRIMAN, the Senior Member-at-Large of the Council, the report was read by Mr. Bigelow, as follows:

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

Since the last Annual Meeting the following changes have taken place in the membership of the Society:

Deaths:

Resident Members.

Edward Everett Hale	June 10, 1909.
John Noble	June 10, 1909.
Theodore Ayrault Dodge	Oct. 26, 1909.
Charles Gross	Dec. 3, 1909.
William Everett	Feb. 16, 1910.

Honorary Member.

Henry Charles Lea . . . . . Oct. 24, 1909.

Corresponding Member.

George Park Fisher . . . . . Dec. 20, 1909.

Terminations by removal from State:

Edward Doubleday Harris . . . . Dec. 8, 1909.
Alexander Agassiz . . . . . Dec. 22, 1909.

Elections:

Resident Members.

William Coolidge Lane . . . . . June 10, 1909.
Samuel Walker McCall . . . . . Jan. 13, 1910.
John Collins Warren . . . . . Feb. 10, 1910.
Harold Murdock . . . . . March 10, 1910.

Honorary Member.

Eduard Meyer . . . . . March 10, 1910.

Corresponding Members.

Clarence Bloomfield Moore . . . June 10, 1909.
Edward Doubleday Harris . . . . Feb. 10, 1910.

In the last year a material change has been made in the library room on the third floor. The number of wooden presses, hardly two being of the same size or shape, which contained a part of the library of American books, has been replaced by steel stacks of the most modern construction, and in such number as to contain all the American library of bound books, and such newspaper files as are subject to call. There is space thus afforded for the growth of the library for some years to come, assuming that the rate of increase be as slow as that which has prevailed for some twenty years. Even at a more rapid rate, there is space to house ten or more years' accumulations. Not only has the appearance of the room improved, but the books are more available to the searcher. In order not to overload the floors, space has been left for students' tables, where the best of light and ventilation is afforded, and where it remains only to introduce some heating apparatus to make it available in winter as well as summer.

During the last year the actual publication has been confined to a volume of Proceedings, which covered the nine meetings of the year, from October, 1908, to June, 1909. More attention was given to original sources of history, and some notable contributions of papers on national history were made. A consolidated index of the contents of the second series of Proceedings, and Dr. Green's volume on John Foster complete the publishing activities for the year. In the coming year it is expected to issue a volume of Proceedings, a volume of Collections, and one or two volumes of the special series, of which the Bradford and Winthrop histories will form the beginning. The reputation of the Society is so largely dependent upon its publishing activities that it will only be wise to continue in this line, and to develop it upon the broadest foundation of historical inquiry and scholarly methods. Using the Proceedings for what is occasional material, the Collections should embody the more important related originals of history. In this direction a number of volumes have been projected and are under way.

The Society is exceedingly rich in its manuscript collections, and it may be said that its chief function is to offer a safe storage of historical papers. It has what are undoubtedly the most important manuscript collections outside of the State archives, collections which are daily becoming of greater value as history. Possessing special facilities for the handling of this material, it should become a great central depository of historical records. Recognizing this, the New England Historic Genealogical Society has deposited here the papers of Major-General Henry Knox, thus enriching the records of the Revolution already in our possession, like the Trumbull, Heath and Pickering papers. It is to be hoped that other acquisitions of this nature will come to us and thus centralize the material for the benefit of investigators.

An impression seems to prevail that the Society is a rich Society, to the extent of having sufficient funds to meet all reasonable demands made upon its services. It would be unfortunate to permit such an opinion to become fixed at the present stage of the Society's development. Its name, its long existence, its valuable series of publications, and the general scholarship and good sense with which it has been conducted, serve as an asset of no mean quality. Reputation, however,

cannot accomplish everything, and it is often costly to live up to a reputation and fulfil the functions required to maintain and to enlarge it. There can be no question that, compared to some other societies of like purpose, the Massachusetts Historical Society has lagged behind, and has been content to live upon its past reputation rather than to point out the paths of progress and continue the leadership which was rightfully its own. In this lagging, arrears of duty have accumulated, and it becomes necessary to wipe them out if the projects based upon its best interests are to be accomplished. These projects require expenditures, which will be heavy when compared to the expenditures of the past. The income of the Society can be fully expended upon useful work, but these very expenditures indicate the greater possibilities of usefulness on the part of the Society, and the need of additional contributions. The necessity for gifts and additions to the funds of the Society is best shown by the use which is made of them. The gifts from generous donors in the past have made possible the great accumulations of valuable material now in the possession of the Society, and the gifts of donors in the future might wisely be directed to the more important purpose of making that material available for the general use of the great company of scholars wherever gathered.

It is generally admitted that the relations of the Society, not only to the outside public but to the scholars, are far from what they should be, and demand a radical improvement. To accumulate and bury was never the intention of the founders of this Society. To collect and to hold rigidly for the use of the Society would be a suicidal act. The book or the manuscript which enters the doors of this Society has been lost to investigators, on the double plea that it was a private society, and that its collections should be held for the use of its members or its own publications. The Society has lost by cultivating such an impression, and, by what is probably an unconscious narrowness of policy, permitting that impression to become general. The peculiar condition which attaches to the books of the Dowse Library, that no volume should ever leave the room in which it is stored, is but a reflection, an exaggerated one, undoubtedly, of what has been the public impression of the policy of the Society. As an article of furniture, and as a memorial to the donor, the Dowse Library is above criticism;

but as an asset of the Society, and as an encouragement to students and scholarship, its utility was destroyed by the very act which glued, as it were, each volume to the space it occupies. Your Council believes in perfect freedom in the use of the Society's accumulations and in giving every facility to those who come to consult them. In this way only can the neglected available qualities be developed and the proper functions of the Society be fulfilled.

The report of the TREASURER, with that of the Auditing Committee, was presented in print, and will be found on page 520.

The LIBRARIAN read his report:

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

During the year there have been added to the Library:

Books	671
Pamphlets	1,221
Bound volumes of newspapers	42
Unbound volumes of newspapers	25
Broadsides	42
Maps	10
Manuscripts	1,283
Bound volumes of manuscripts	1
In all	3295

Of the volumes added 326 have been given, 195 bought, and 193 formed by binding. Of the pamphlets added, 994 have been given, and 227 bought.

From the income of the Savage Fund there have been bought 47 volumes and 16 pamphlets.

From the income of the John Langdon Sibley Fund there have been bought 16 volumes, 6 pamphlets, and 3 broadsides, all relating to Harvard College, and 1 volume of newspaper cuttings of sketches of graduates has been bound; and from that of the Charlotte A. L. Sibley Fund there have been bought 113 volumes, 194 pamphlets, 13 broadsides, and 10 manuscripts; and 86 volumes containing 202 pamphlets have been bound at the charge of the fund.

From the income of the E. B. Bigelow Fund there have been bought 19 volumes and 11 pamphlets; and 13 volumes of

newspapers, and 93 volumes containing 252 pamphlets, have been bound at the charge of the fund.

In the collection of manuscripts there are now 1,245 volumes, 192 unbound volumes, 108 pamphlets with manuscript notes, and 16,493 manuscripts.

Of the books added to the Rebellion department, 10 volumes have been given and 84 bought; and of the pamphlets added, 74 have been given and 98 bought. There are now in the collection 3,323 volumes, 6,337 pamphlets, 507 broadsides, and 111 maps.

Impressions of the bookplate made for the Waterston Library by Mr. Sidney Lawton Smith have been placed in all the books.

An important addition to the manuscripts has been the James Murray Robbins collection containing the papers of James Murray and Thomas Aston Coffin, loyalists, and other papers of the Murray family, given by Archibald Murray Howe, of Cambridge. Among the deposits are the autograph collection made by the late Dr. Jacob Bigelow, by his daughter, Miss Mary A. Bigelow; a large collection of the papers of George Bancroft, by his grandson, Professor Wilder Dwight Bancroft; the papers of Major-General Henry Knox, by the New England Historic Genealogical Society; and the papers of Major-General Jacob Brown, of the War of 1812, by William Allen Hayes, of Boston.

The Library now contains 51,661 volumes, 112,747 pamphlets, and 4,818 broadsides.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL A. GREEN,

Librarian.

April 14, 1910.

The CABINET-KEEPER submitted his report:

REPORT OF THE CABINET-KEEPER.

The following additions to the Cabinet have been received during the past year:

A lithograph of "Our Heroes and Our Flags," Richmond, Virginia, 1895, showing likenesses of Jefferson Davis and Confederate Generals. Given by Grenville H. Norcross.

A photogravure of William Brewster, by Douglas H. Thomas, Sr. Given by Miss Emma C. Brewster Jones.

One of the silver medals given by General Benjamin F. Butler to his colored soldiers in Virginia, bearing the words, "Distinguished for Courage Campaign before Richmond, 1864." Given by T. W. Higginson.

A life-mask of the late Francis Parkman. Given by J. Templeman Coolidge, Jr.

A lithograph of "Webster addressing the Senate, March 7, 1850," and key to the same. Given by J. Wyeth Coolidge.

An envelope used during the Civil War, bearing the emblem of a skull and cross-bones and "J. D. His Marque." Given by the Estate of Mrs. Asa Gray.

A photogravure of William Blathwayt, used as a frontispiece in the Randolph Papers, Vol. VI. of the Prince Society, engraved from a portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller. Given by the Prince Society.

A bronze medal struck by Tiffany & Co., New York, to commemorate the One Hundredth Anniversary, in 1905, of the founding of the New England Society of New York. Given by that Society.

A steel engraving of Judah Touro, by J. Douglas, New Orleans. Given by William Beer, of New Orleans.

A photogravure of Rev. John T. Kirkland, from a painting by Gilbert Stuart in the possession of Thornton K. Lothrop. Given by the Boston Athenæum.

A photograph of Capt. John Pitman, aged 93, and his wife Phebe (Folger) Pitman, aged 92, of Nantucket, "Tape Weaving." Given by T. C. Pitman.

A medal of General Lafayette, and ten coins. Given by Charles C. Smith.

Half-tone engraving of Theophilus Eaton, first governor of the New Haven Colony. Given by Dr. Francis H. Brown.

A photograph of a portrait of Dr. Samuel A. Green, painted in 1894 by Frederic P. Vinton, in the Groton Public Library. Given by William Lawrence.

Photograph of Dr. Green taken in 1849 at the age of nineteen. Given by Charles K. Bolton.

Respectfully submitted,

GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS,
Cabinet-Keeper.

April 14, 1910.

Professor SUMNER read the report of the Committee appointed to examine the Library and Cabinet:

Report of the Committee on the Library and Cabinet.

The Library, in all its departments, and the Cabinet have been most courteously shown to your Committee by Dr. Green and his assistants and by Mr. Norcross. We wish, also, to acknowledge our indebtedness to the valuable report made by Mr. Swift and his colleagues of the Library and Cabinet Committee of last year. Their suggestions form the basis of many of our recommendations, and in particular we are in hearty accord with the policy of progressive yet conservative expansion of the usefulness of the Society which is urged in the closing paragraph of their report.

With respect to the arrangement and security of our valuable collection of books and pamphlets your Committee is glad to announce that very important improvements have been accomplished during the past year. The large room over the Dowse Library has been equipped with modern steel shelving, and a considerable collection of the books in most frequent use has been conveniently installed there. Abundant space is also afforded for work-tables for those who may need to make use of the volumes in this room. Another very material improvement has been accomplished in the arrangement of the Society's large collection of pamphlets and old periodicals on the steel shelves of the rooms recently relinquished by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. The Committee finds the pamphlets well and conveniently housed, and the general neatness and order of these storage rooms is most satisfactory. With the exception of a collection of government publications still occupying wooden cases in one of the basement rooms, the Committee is glad to report that all the books and pamphlets of the Society are now conveniently arranged on modern fire-proof shelving. By way of additional security, however, particularly in the basement room aforesaid, where even a small fire might, through smoke, do great damage to the general contents of the building, your Committee is of opinion that two or three hand fire extinguishers should be purchased and kept in places convenient for emergency use.

The preservation of valuable books is unfortunately not completely assured even after danger from fire and from dampness is excluded. In our extremely dry atmosphere, made still

drier by the high temperature artificially maintained, the deterioration of leather bindings is exceptionally rapid. Your Committee has found not a few of the backs of the finely bound MSS. and books in the Waterston and Dowse collections already cracked, and most of the remainder in a condition to crack almost as soon as the volumes are opened. We feel that it is extremely important that no time should be lost in having these bindings treated by an expert in one of the renovating processes now in use. If this is done immediately, it will probably still be practicable in most cases to restore the full strength and durability of the leather.

Besides caring for the security and convenient arrangement of its collections, good library management demands the prompt rejection and disposal of useless duplicates and of such books and pamphlets as are not germane to the interests and purposes for which the collection is maintained. In a library formed like ours, very largely through gifts in bulk, such extraneous matter tends to accumulate with great rapidity. These accumulations, not worthy of a place on the shelves of the library and ordinarily heaped up on its floors or stored away in the basement, form a useless incumbrance, diminishing the orderliness and convenience of the rooms and very materially increasing the dangers from fire. Some progress has recently been made in disposing of matter of this kind, as recommended by the Library Committee of last year, but much still remains to be done. We recommend that lists be prepared by the Librarian's assistants of such duplicates or extraneous matter as may be of special value, and in particular of duplicate copies of early newspapers and pamphlets, together with lists of such missing numbers of newspapers and periodicals as may be needed to complete important files in our collection, and that copies of both lists be circulated, with a view to the negotiation of exchanges, among the leading libraries and historical societies of the country. As for those duplicates and other superfluous accumulations which possess small money value or none at all, we agree with the Committee of last year in recommending that they be sold, given, or thrown away, as may prove practicable, with the least possible delay; and inasmuch as a decision as to what is, or is not, of value for the purposes of the Society is sometimes a rather difficult matter, we suggest that the whole

subject be referred to the special committee to be mentioned below.

What we have said thus far concerns mainly the security and arrangement of the library as a repository of historical material, but, in addition to the duty of preserving our collections, your Committee assumes that it is the purpose of the Society that its library and rooms should afford adequate opportunities of research to the historical investigator, by providing him with the usual facilities for his work, and should also serve as a centre of historical studies and historical scholarship in the community. We believe that these important ends are at present far less adequately attained than is desirable or than the means and opportunities of the Society fully warrant.

One of the first things which impressed the Committee in its survey of the library is the absence of a proper reading-room. The only available working place offered to the investigator who desires to consult manuscripts or other material in the Society's collections appears to be a seat at an overloaded table in the Librarian's room, facing a glaring light and incommoded by the conversation and other interruptions unavoidable in an administrative office. If he wishes to consult current historical periodicals, he will find practically none of them, and if he wishes to make use of atlases or books of reference he will find but few, and most of those entirely out of date. The Society has hitherto depended for the increase of its library almost wholly upon the liberality of members and upon gifts from outsiders who possess curious or historical material worthy of preservation. There have never been to any extent systematic purchases calculated to procure the books of reference necessary to the worker. The gazetteer on our shelves was published in 1862. The latest atlas is a general atlas published in 1876; both were good authorities in their day, but have long since been superseded. Until recently there was no general history of modern times in which the ordinary dates of events and names of rulers could be found. There is even now no good encyclopædia on our shelves.

In addition to the need of an adequate collection of works of reference, of the leading modern historical authorities, and of periodical publications, we feel that there is another im-

portant department in which special efforts are needed to bring our library to a proper standard of usefulness. While the Society has entered into exchange relations with leading historical societies in other parts of this country, but little systematic effort seems to have been made to establish such relations with similar organizations abroad, more especially in England. These societies have, however, in many cases shown great activity and scholarship in publishing material useful to an understanding of American history. Occupying the position it does, it seems probable that our Society could obtain whatever it may desire of current publications of this character by way of exchange and in regular procedure, but those already some years in print would probably have to be obtained, as heretofore, by purchase. Our library contains, for example, a partial set of the publications of the Hakluyt Society and the Camden Society, both of them secured by purchase, at long intervals of time; but since the Camden Society was merged into the Royal Historical Society, the acquisition of its publications has not been continued. Two or three volumes of the Naval Record Society, the Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, and a partial set of "Archæologia" comprise what the Society holds of this great mass of valuable publications. The English, French, German and Dutch governments have been printing their records, some of which relate to the United States, and all of which would naturally be looked for in a well-equipped historical library. Some effort is being made to repair our deficiencies, but your Committee recognizes that it will be long before the Society can be congratulated upon any strength in this department. We believe, however, that it would be of distinct advantage to the Society to enter into close relations with historical bodies abroad.

In conclusion, your Committee considers that the time has come when the Society should appropriate and expend a reasonable sum in remedying the deficiencies mentioned in this report and for the general improvement of the library, and that hereafter a stated amount should be expended annually in continuing this improvement. Moreover, since there is in Boston no place in which a good collection of the more important historical periodicals can be consulted, excepting the overcrowded and ill-ventilated Newspaper and Peri-

odical Room of the Public Library, we urge that for the ordinary convenience of members, as well as for the needs of special investigators, the Society establish and maintain, on one of the two lower floors of its building, a reading room, equipped with suitable desks and tables and provided, in addition to the more important works of reference, with current numbers of the leading historical reviews and periodicals, American and foreign.

Should the foregoing recommendations toward extending the usefulness of the Library be adopted, there would obviously be imposed upon some one a considerable burden of new work — far more than we should think it proper to suggest as an addition to the Librarian's present duties.

We would recommend, therefore, the creation of a Library Committee consisting of three members, to be appointed by the President and to have general charge, subject to the ratification of the Council, of planning the new arrangements, of drawing up lists of books and periodicals for purchase or exchange, of providing suitable furniture and equipment, and of carrying out the other recommendations of this Report. In the selection of this committee we beg to suggest that the interests, respectively, of local history, of American history, and of foreign and general historical literature ought severally to be considered.

With regard to the Cabinet the Committee again notes the overcrowded condition often mentioned in former reports, but having no new recommendations of importance to make, and having given so much time to what seems to us the more important matter of the improvement of our library facilities, we merely call attention once more, as worthy of the consideration of the Council, to the suggestions for enlargement by building out an additional room, or an addition to the present room, to be lighted from above; for a summer exhibition of the more interesting pictures and relics in the large room on the lower floor; for the election to our membership and appointment as Curator of Coins, under the general supervision of the Cabinet-Keeper, of some expert on coins, in particular on American issues, who shall seem in other respects also well qualified for membership in the Society. The suggestion that a certain number of foreign coins in our collection might properly be dis-

posed of, either by exchange for new American varieties or by sale, may well await the appointment of such an expert curator, since an accurate estimate of the market value of these objects is a matter of considerable difficulty.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN OSBORNE SUMNER,
EPHRAIM EMERTON,
M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE } *Committee.*

Mr. DAVIS, for the Committee to nominate Officers, for the ensuing year, reported as follows, and a ballot being taken the persons named were elected:

For President.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

For Vice-Presidents.

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN.
JAMES FORD RHODES.

For Recording Secretary.

EDWARD STANWOOD.

For Corresponding Secretary.

HENRY WILLIAMSON HAYNES.

For Treasurer.

ARTHUR LORD.

For Librarian.

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN.

For Cabinet-Keeper.

GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS.

For Members-at-Large of the Council.

JOHN DAVIS LONG.
EDWIN DOAK MEAD.
WALDO LINCOLN.
WILLIAM ROSCOE LIVERMORE.
FREDERIC WINTHROP.

The expediency of so amending the By-Laws of the Society as to make the Editor a member *ex-officio* of the Council was raised and discussed; and upon motion, was referred to a

committee composed of Messrs. C. C. Smith, W. Warren and Thayer, to report.

The PRESIDENT then read the following paper:

FROM THOREAU TO CONFUCIUS, VIA ABINGDON, VIRGINIA.

Sixteen years ago I had occasion to refer to John Winthrop and his connection with early Massachusetts, in a paper I then read before the Society.[1] In doing so, I made use of this quotation: "The virtues of a superior man are like the wind; the virtues of a common man are like the grass; the grass, when the wind passes over it, bends." I had come across it in reading one of Thoreau's volumes; and, struck by its mystic, Eastern turn, I now applied it to Governor Winthrop. In thus making use of what impressed me as a novel as well as striking figure of speech, I merely put it in quotation marks, omitting any reference to the book in which I had seen it. The so doing afterwards cost me both time and trouble; for my only recollection was that I had found it somewhere in Thoreau. But Thoreau's writings are, in every sense of the term, somewhat scattering; they also fill a considerable number of volumes.

This was in 1894. Thirteen years later I was asked to deliver an address before the Washington and Lee University, at Lexington, Virginia, on the observance by it of the Centennial of the birth of General Robert E. Lee. Incidentally, let me observe that the circumstances connected with my delivery of that address are referred to in yet another paper, also to be found in the printed Proceedings[2] of the Society.

When preparing the Lee centennial address, the quotation I had years before used in connection with Governor Winthrop recurred to me. In view of General Lee's great moral influence with his people, it seemed equally applicable to him; and its harmony with the spirit of the occasion in which I was to take part, was apparent. I therefore again made use of it; and on this occasion I made use of it not only once, but twice. It served as a key-note on the first page of my address; and I repeated it at the close, in way of a benediction.

As I have said, when I used the quotation first, in 1894, I made no note of the source whence I drew. When I next

[1] 2 Proc. VIII. 409.

[2] 2 Proc. XX. 551–556.

used it, I simply took it from my own earlier production, giving it no further thought. I vaguely associated my borrowed figure of rhetoric with Thoreau; but had no idea where Thoreau found it, though I suspected Emerson. It is Emersonian. It moves with his rhythm, and his spirit pervades it.

My surprise was great, therefore, when, among a number of letters which came to me shortly after, in connection with the Lexington occasion, I one day received the following:

ABINGDON, VA., Feb. 1, 1907.

DEAR SIR, — Being a scholar, I feel sure, you will not be offended at my addressing you this note.

Prof. Hogue, of Washington and Lee University, gives an account of your address there in the current number of "The Christian Observer." He says, "He closed with this quotation from 'a disciple of Emerson'": then follows the quotation about the relation of the superior man to the inferior like the wind and the grass, when the wind blows the grass bends.

Now this idea in almost the exact form given is found in "The Analects of Confucius." Of course I do not know whether Prof. Hogue quoted you correctly; but I do know that if through inadvertence you have made a mistake you do not wish to continue it. . . .

Hoping you will pardon me for my seeming impertinence in this letter, I am, Sir, with great respect, Faithfully yours,

R. V. LANCASTER.

More than a good deal taken aback by this disclosure of unconscious erudition, I at once wrote to Mr. Lancaster, frankly expressing my surprise at the information given me, and stating my own surmise that the quotation, if it had not actually originated with Thoreau, went back, at furthest, only to Emerson. I then expressed the curiosity I felt to know more of it. In due course of mail I received a second letter from the same source as the first, from which I extract the following:

Your cordial letter of the 4th inst. has just come to hand. I thank you for it, and for the copy of the Address, which will arrive later.

I am now pastor of the Presbyterian Church at this place; and, fifteen years ago, was a Missionary to China. I have read the "Analects of Confucius" in the original. The copy usually studied by us containing Dr. Legge's translation and notes is a costly book, and I never owned one. The "Analects" do not treat of any subject consecutively, but in the method of arrangement would remind one of the "Book of

Proverbs" or the "Thoughts of Pascal." About the time of my retirement from work in China I used large pains in preparing a lecture on the teachings of Confucius as found in the *Analects*. In that lecture, which was never published but which is now before me, the quotation stands in the following connection: A certain ruler asks: "What do you say to killing the unprincipled for the good of the principled?" Confucius replied: "Sir, in carrying on your government why should you use killing at all? Let your evinced desires be for what is good, and the people will be good. . . . The relation between superiors and inferiors is like that between the wind and the grass, when the wind blows, the grass must bend.

And again the Master said: "He who exercises government by means of his virtue, may be compared to the North Polar star, which keeps its place and all the stars turn toward it."

There are dozens and dozens of striking sentiments throughout, e. g. "Learning without thought is labor lost — thought without learning is perilous." Of a certain one he said: "That man knew well how to maintain friendly intercourse — the acquaintance might be long but he showed the same respect as at the first."

While this is not answering your request for a reference to chapter and verse, I hope it will show that I speak from the point of view of having learned.

I feel that students would be greatly interested in this mine of Oriental wisdom, but a parson in a small town is hardly the one to tell them so.

My curiosity was now thoroughly aroused, and I at once set to work to find out where, in Thoreau's writings, — for in my recollection the quotation was inseparably associated with Thoreau, — the extract from Confucius could be found. The search, it goes without saying, was somewhat in the nature of the proverbial looking for needle in hay-stack. I utterly failed to find any trace of what I looked for. At that time (1907) the firm of Houghton, Mifflin & Co. was bringing out a definitive edition of Thoreau's works, in twenty volumes; and I went so far as to go to its office, there meeting Mr. Garrison and Mr. F. H. Allen, the editor of the new edition. I asked them if they could aid me. Neither Mr. Garrison nor Mr. Allen had any recollection of such a quotation or figure of speech in Thoreau; nor, for that matter, anywhere else. Not a suggestion even was forthcoming from either.

Time passed, and I had despaired of ever locating my elusive quotation. Yet in the nature of a puzzle unsolved, it perpet-

ually recurred to me; and, several times, I took down some volume of Thoreau, turning over its pages, in vain search for that I never found.

I had given the thing up as hopeless — a game not worth the candle — when, on the afternoon of the 21st January of this year, I took a local train on the Fitchburg road for Lincoln where I live. The car chanced to be somewhat crowded, — fortunately, as it turned out, for me; but I presently found our associate Mr. F. B. Sanborn occupying an entire seat, on his way also to his home in Concord, the town adjoining Lincoln; so I imposed my company on him. In the course of a somewhat animated conversation, drifting aimlessly from one topic to another, we got upon Emerson's early diary, now in course of publication, and from that naturally passed on to Thoreau; and, it then occurring to me, I mentioned my long sought for quotation. Mr. Sanborn is, as we all know, a sort of walking cyclopædia of odds-and-ends of miscellaneous information; and he now proceeded to justify his reputation in that respect, at once telling me that I would find what I sought at the close of a chapter in Thoreau's "Walden," and that Thoreau there stated that the quotation was from a Chinese philosopher, mentioning no name. On getting home, I at once turned to my copy of "Walden," and there, sure enough, at the close of chapter VIII., I ran my quarry to earth. Still, Mr. Sanborn was in error![1] Thoreau had not in any way indicated the source whence he drew, merely giving his quotation, duly marked as such, in the following shape:

> You who govern public affairs, what need have you to employ punishments? Love virtue and the people will be virtuous. The virtues of a superior man are like the wind; the virtues of a common man are like the grass; the grass, when the wind passes over it, bends.

Meanwhile, it so chanced, that, shortly before, I had seen an English publication advertised, entitled "The Sayings of Confucius." A copy of this I had procured; and in it on examination I was now fortunate enough to find my quotation in two different places.[2] It there appears in the following form:

[1] Nation, May 12, 1910, 481.

[2] The Wisdom of the East Series, edited by L. Cranmer Byng and Dr. S. A. Kapadia. John Murray: London, 1907, 32, 42.

Chi 'Kans Tzu questioned Confucius on a point of government, saying: Ought not I to cut off the lawless in order to establish law and order? What do you think? — Confucius replied: Sir, what need is there of the death penalty in your system of government? If you showed a sincere desire to be good, your people would likewise be good. The virtue of the prince is like unto wind; that of the people, like unto grass. For it is the nature of grass to bend when the wind blows upon it.

I presume I stand not alone among the members of the Society in having, on more than one occasion in life, lost sleep over the effort to locate some quotation which had stuck, so to speak, in memory's crop; and in the locating of which not Bartlett, nor Harbottle, nor Walsh, nor King, nor any other collector of such, afforded assistance or supplied a clue. These, my fellows, will sympathize in the relief I experienced when what had so long eluded search at last was found. My first gleam of light had none the less come from an unexpected quarter; for I hold it to have been a most curious coincidence that a poetical figure of speech, found in Thoreau's works and assumed to be taken from those of Emerson, should be correctly placed by a modest Presbyterian clergyman, living in an obscure village nestled in the Virginian Alleghanies,[1] as attributable to Confucius, of whose writings in their original tongue that clergyman had long years before been a student in China. The thing, in my opinion, deserves a place among the *Curiosities of Literature;* and I take the present occasion for giving it one in the Proceedings of this Society.

Mr. CHANNING presented the following paper:

THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS OF THE CUSTOMS.

William Knox once declared that what the Americans disliked was paying taxes. It is true that they disliked paying taxes, but the taxes which they most disliked paying were those that threatened their economic life, proceeded from an assemblage which they did not regard as representing them or their interests, and were collected in a harsh and unjustifiable manner. For a century and more acts of Parliament regulating colonial trade had been on the British statute book, ever

[1] Abingdon, a place of some thirteen hundred inhabitants, is the county seat of Washington County, on the Tennessee line, in extreme, southwestern Virginia.

since the memorable ordinance of Puritan days and the Navigation Act of 1660. The colonists had never troubled themselves about the constitutionality of these enactments; they had not disputed the legality of the law of 1672, laying a penny duty on tobacco exported from the plantations and requiring bonds that compelled the landing of enumerated goods within the empire; even the passage of the Sugar Act of 1733 had not aroused doubts as to the legislative supremacy of Parliament, or as to the compatibility of that supremacy with the personal freedom of American colonists. They had never paid taxes, to speak of, under any of those laws because they had never been enforced.

With the closing years of the French and Indian War, a change began slowly to come in the attitude of the British government toward the colonists and over the minds of the colonists toward the government of the mother country. William Pitt, seeing that the colonists were trading with the enemies of the empire, directed the governors to enforce the laws, especially that of 1733 which levied a duty of six pence a gallon upon molasses imported from the French or Spanish West Indies. At the very end of the war the ministry then in power decided to keep a military establishment of ten thousand soldiers in America and to compel the Americans to pay as much as possible of the expense of maintaining this force. At the same time it was discovered that the collection of the customs revenue in America cost four times as much as it brought in. Plainly, there was need of reorganization.

The task of working out the details of the new policy fell to George Grenville. With the help of his technical advisers he invented a system of bonds and certificates which would render more difficult the career of the colonist who presumed to trade contrary to parliamentary sanction. He strengthened the colonial customs organization by improving the personnel and by utilizing the services of naval officers in enforcing the navigation acts and revenue laws and regulations. He carried through Parliament bills for raising a revenue from customs collected in the colonies; among others one of three pence on every gallon of foreign molasses. In the modification of the system in 1766 following the stamp resistance in America, these duties were either removed or modified, but a residuum

remained in the shape of a penny duty on all molasses, British as well as foreign, and an impost of seven pounds on each ton of Madeira wine,[1] — containing 252 gallons, — and all the administrative features of the act of 1764 were retained. The penny duty on all molasses imported into the northern colonies was distinctly a revenue measure, and marks the definite departure from the old system of levying duties only for purposes of regulating commerce.

The next year, 1767, Parliament again recurred to the task of obtaining a revenue in America, this time to be used for the payment of civil salaries and, if there was any balance remaining, for military expenses. Several acts were passed, all under the generative influence of Charles Townshend. One of these levied duties on English manufactured commodities to be paid at the time of importation into the colony, and on one foreign produced commodity, namely, tea. The other Townshend acts were more especially designed to bring about a reorganization of the American customs service and to provide the machinery necessary for the enforcement of the colonial system. The Townshend duties, with the exception of the tax on tea, were repealed by Parliament in 1770 upon motion of Lord North, who declared that they were preposterous and uncommercial. Here, again, as in the legislation of 1766, there was a residuum of all those portions of the laws which related to the administration of the system. The laws were now enforced, the taxes were paid, the colonists objected; they grew riotous, authority and force were exacted to compel them to submission; then they resorted to that favorite weapon of Revolutionary times, the boycott, and by the American Association brought about a practical cessation of trade with Great Britain. The greatest contributary cause in forcing this change in the imperial fabric was the establishment of the American Board of Commissioners of the Customs, — this one of the Townshend acts may, indeed, be regarded as the direct cause of the separation of the British empire into two parts.

The king appointed five commissioners and directed them to establish their headquarters at Boston. The first named in the commission was Henry Hulton. At the time of his

[1] This duty was laid to discourage the use of Madeira wine in favor of Spanish and Portuguese wines imported through England, upon which the duty was only ten shillings a ton.

appointment he was one of the clerks in the office of the Commissioners of the Customs at London. Questions dealing with America had been in his especial charge, and he was appointed partly on account of his knowledge of American affairs, but more particularly, probably, on account of his knowledge of the rules and regulations of the British customs service. He seems to have been an efficient, unobtrusive man. The second member of the commission was John Temple. He was a native of Massachusetts, but belonged to the distinguished family of that name in England which was connected with William Pitt and George Grenville. Temple married the daughter of James Bowdoin, one of the richest and most influential men in the province, and some time later succeeded to the family baronetcy, becoming Sir John Temple. He had been surveyor general of the northern department since 1760, and had greatly improved the customs service. He possessed a seventeenth century temper, and a lack of tact in dealing with men which takes one back to the first surveyor general, Edward Randolph. Temple was on very bad terms with Governor Bernard, whom he had accused of the unlawful conversion of the king's money by means of collusion with the collector of customs at Salem, one Cockle. Bernard himself had powerful friends in England, his wife being cousin of Lord Barrington who "lived on terms of intimacy," to use his own words, with Shelburne and Hillsborough, who occupied the position of colonial secretary in alternation. He himself was Secretary at War during most of the years under review. As might be surmised, Temple and Bernard lost no effort to weaken one another's position through their English connections, Bernard accusing Temple, not only of injustice to himself, but of opposing the appointment of the new customs board for financial reasons. The third member of the commission was William Burch, of whom the books and manuscripts are persistently silent. He was an Englishman, and that is about all that is known of him, but the characterization of him and Hulton by a contemporary writer as "little, tricking, pert, office-clerks" is not justified by the career of the commission. The fourth commissioner was Charles Paxton. He had been surveyor of the customs at Boston and had fallen out with Temple, his superior, for the moment, who had informed him in writing that he desired to have no more intimacy with him. In this case, too, as between Temple and Bernard,

there were counter accusations of financial irregularities. Paxton, by his vigor, had aroused the enmity of many persons at Boston; so much so, indeed, that Bernard feared for his personal safety. He had gone to England in the autumn of 1766 and had advised the government as to the new arrangements. The fifth commissioner was John Robinson. He had been collector at Newport, and had also been charged by Temple with financial irregularity. He too had been zealous in the discharge of his office and had thereby won the dislike of the people.

The ship bearing Hulton, Burch, Paxton, and a group of newly appointed subordinates, anchored in Boston Harbor, November 4 or 5, 1767. They landed on the 5th, and were met on the wharf by a procession of Guy Fawkes celebrants carrying effigies of the Pope, the Devil, and the Pretender. On the Devil's breast was a large placard bearing the name "Charles" in honor of the returning Paxton. As the party proceeded from the waterside into the town, the procession likewise advanced. Whenever Paxton stopped to greet a friend, the procession likewise stopped, the effigies turning around and facing him conspicuously. The Board held its first meeting on November 18 at "Mr. Deblois's great Room in Hanover-Street." It was at once apparent that Temple was in a minority of one. The majority refused to confirm his appointees, even temporarily, and suspended Mr. Fisher, whom he had put in the charge of the custom house at Salem in Cockle's place. They then set about making a new set of regulations for the service and generally reorganizing it. Temple agreed to some of their doings, but vigorously dissented from others. Nevertheless, they affixed his name to the official orders and letters adopted by the Board, much to his discontent. Both parties now wrote to England. Temple's friends were still in power, and the Lords of the Treasury directed the Board to reinstate Mr. Fisher, to confirm the other officers, and to bear in mind that their Board had been established, not merely for the prosecution of illicit traders, but also for the security of honest merchants.

The enforcement of the laws now went vigorously forward to the accompaniment of riots, boycotts, and ill-treatment of those merchants who ventured to oppose the orders of popular committees. Bernard, at Boston, fomented the trouble by

persistently writing to his superiors in England that he could not protect the Commissioners in the discharge of their functions. He informed them that he could not protect them, and declared that troops would be necessary; but he refused to ask for them. Instead he endeavored to induce the Council to join with him in making this request, but led by Bowdoin, they steadily refused. After the Liberty riot, the Commissioners, except Temple, repaired on board the *Romney* man-of-war, which lay at anchor in the stream, and later took up their quarters at Castle William. Temple refused to join them in their flight, declaring that they were not in danger within the town. The soldiers were sent, the first two regiments arriving in November, 1767. In 1769 more pacific counsels prevailed in England. We find Barrington writing to Bernard that the king desired "America should become quiet, that no dispute should arise between the mother Country and its Colonies, or between Governors and their Assemblies."[1] Bernard was authorized to return home, but Temple was also removed from office. It was suggested that the soldiers might be taken from Boston, but Bernard and Hutchinson, his successor, advised against it. As a part of the general scheme of conciliation, Lord North moved the repeal of that part of the Townshend duty act which laid a tax on English manufactured goods; but the three-penny duty on tea was retained.

The vivifying of the American customs service was equivalent to the enactment of the restrictive provisions of all the navigation laws and to laying new duties on wines, molasses, sugars, coffee, and indigo upon importation into the colonies and to making the export duties on tobacco, indigo, and other staples more effective. Since 1660, when the plan of restricting the exploitation of colonial staples to Great Britain was adopted on the môtion of Sir George Downing, one staple after another had been added to the list of enumerated goods until they now included tobacco, cotton wool, indigo, fustick or other dyeing woods, molasses, hemp, copper ore, furs, naval stores, masts and spars, rice, whale-fins, hides and skins, and pot and pearl ashes. When any of these goods were laden on board any vessel, the master must give bond with one surety that they should be landed in some British colony

[1] Bernard Manuscripts, in Harvard University Library.

or in Great Britain, except that rice and sugar might be exported to the southward of Cape Finisterre and to foreign plantations in America. Before sailing, he secured a certificate that the bonds had been given and every package in the vessel's cargo must be entered on the cocket. If he had any rum on board the boat, a bond must be given not to land any of it on the Isle of Man and a certificate must be obtained for that also. On the principal enumerated articles that were exported from one colony to another, duties must be paid of which the tobacco duty of one penny per pound and the molasses duty of one penny per gallon were the most important. No non-enumerated goods or any other produce of the British colonies could be laden on board any vessel until a bond was given that the said goods would not be carried to any continental port northward of Cape Finisterre; but lumber, upon bond being given, might be landed in the Madeiras and Western Islands. These bonds were required even in the case of small coasting vessels bound up or down the Hudson or from Maine to Boston. No wool, woolen manufactures or goods made or mixed with wool, or hats or felts produced or manufactured in any of the British plantations in America could be carried by land or water from any of the said plantations to any other under forfeiture of the goods and vessels or carriages, and on the pain of certain penalties. The articles subject to duty on importation were Spanish and Portuguese and all other wines, except French, coming from Great Britain, ten shillings the ton of 252 gallons, wines from Madeira and the Western Islands seven pounds per ton, tea threepence per pound, molasses one penny per gallon, white sugar one pound seven shillings for each one hundred and twelve pounds: other sugars five shillings for each one hundred and twelve pounds, coffee two pounds nineteen shillings ninepence on the same quantity, and indigo, sixpence the pound. On foreign sugar, coffee, and indigo that were stored for re-exportation no duties need be paid. The importation of foreign rum was absolutely prohibited, but no duty was levied on British West India rum. Side by side with the duties levied by act of parliament, imposts were frequently collected in accordance with colonial statute, especially in South Carolina, where eight pounds per ton was levied on all Madeira wine imported into the colony, and a tax of two

shillings per hogshead was collected on all tobacco exported from Virginia. These are the most formidable examples of colonial imposts, but the practice was so frequent that in several colonies there was a colonial customs service existing side by side with the royal customs service.

At the time of its greatest vigor the royal American customs service included five Commissioners with annual salaries of five hundred pounds each; a secretary and register of seizures, receiver general, comptroller general, solicitor general, inspector general of exports and imports and register general, two inspectors general throughout the colonies, and a clerk of the minutes. Their authority extended from Davis Strait to the Cape of Florida and included Bermuda and the Bahamas. They acted under the authority of the Lords of the Treasury in England and were co-ordinate with the English Commissioners of the Customs and not subordinate to them. All the royal customs officials in the colonies were responsible to them. This establishment was quite extensive, including custom houses at least in one port in each colony. The most important customs houses were those at Philadelphia, New York, and Boston; at each of these ports there was a collector, deputy collector, comptroller, naval officer, surveyor and searcher, and sundry land waiters, tide surveyors and clerks. The expense of this service was between eighteen thousand and twenty thousand pounds per annum.[1] The net amount annually collected was something over thirty thousand pounds on the average, or 257,000 pounds in all. The receiver general remitted 83,000 pounds to England. The balance of 174,000 pounds was probably used up in payment of costs of collection.[2]

In 1769 Edes and Gill published at Boston a pamphlet entitled "Observations on Several Acts of Parliament . . . and also on the Conduct of the Officers of the Customs." This was said to have been published by the merchants of Boston. Among other statements in it is the declaration that the costs of collecting, including the charge of men-of-war and cutters to guard the coast, are vastly superior to the revenue that is or could be collected. This statement probably represents

[1] This was in addition to sums derived from fees for clearing and entering vessels and other services at the custom houses. These were fixed by earlier colonial laws that had been adopted until other tables should be prepared.

[2] Chalmers' "American Papers," I. 45.

the facts. In the early years of the decade, when John Temple was still surveyor general of the northern department, a service of revenue vessels was organized. These boats were commanded by naval officers who received deputations authorizing them to make seizures. When Mr. Grenville was looking about him for means to make the American customs service more efficient, he hit upon the idea of commissioning the commanders of the regular vessels of the royal navy as customs officials, and this practice was legalized by Parliament. It is significant of the lack of correlation between the administrative bureaus in England that neither the Treasury Board nor the Lords of the Admiralty notified Temple of this deputization of naval officers, — which led to some friction in America. An amusing incident of this utilization of naval officers in the customs service was the demand of the admiral on the American station for his share of the prize money earned by his subordinates. To Bernard who looked upon a fair share of the value of condemned cargoes as one of the perquisites of his office, Admiral Colville's demands seemed most distressing.

With the organization of the Commission, the service of revenue vessels was greatly increased. Some of them were very small, so that they could penetrate into the creeks and the smallest harbors. As the pay of a lieutenant serving in a sixth-rate vessel in those days was four shillings per diem, the acquisition of prize money was of the greatest moment. It was inevitable, therefore, that these officers would exert themselves to the utmost, and would not always be absolutely impartial in their dealings with colonial importers and shipmasters. One of the reforms of the new regime was the requirement of a cocket upon which must be entered every article on board the ship, and a statement that all regulations had been complied with and duties paid. The possession of a little sugar or keg of rum or any article, not entered on the cocket by a passenger or one of the crew would subject the vessel and her cargo to seizure and possibly to condemnation. The jurisdiction of the Admiralty Courts had been extended to cover all cases against the royal revenue afloat or ashore. One of the Townshend acts that deserves especial mention provided that suit must be entered in the colony wherein the seizure was made.

Looking backward for a hundred and fifty years, one is surprised at the enormous commerce at Newport, on Rhode Island. Into that port and to other harbors in that colony were brought half a million gallons of molasses from the British and foreign West Indies and from them no less than 150,000 gallons of rum were carried to Africa in each year. Now, this importation of molasses was carried on according to law, since the one penny duty and the commissioners had made it cheaper to observe the law than to evade it; but before 1766, very slight attention had been paid to acts of Parliament or to directions of customs officials. So notorious was Newport for its lawlessness that suits for vessels seized in Rhode Island waters were brought in the Massachusetts admiralty courts by alleging that the goods were taken on the high seas. So unpopular were the commanders of these small cruisers in Rhode Island that they did not dare to go on shore and, indeed, were forbidden to do so by Admiral Montagu, because they were certain to be served with writs before they re-embarked. The Newporters had already before 1770 destroyed two revenue cruisers; the first of these was the *St. John*, which was burned in the harbor; the other was the *Liberty*, the cause of so much trouble at Boston. She was scuttled and stripped of everything of value, her rigging was cut to pieces, while her crew was being mauled by a shore mob, led to the best of the knowledge and belief of the Commissioners by a New London merchant whose vessel had been seized. A few years later, the men of Providence swept down on the *Gaspee*, as she lay aground. Being hailed by the sentry, the answer was made that the sheriff had come. Dudingston, the *Gaspee's* commander, got on deck in time to fire a shot or two and be wounded. He and his crew were taken on shore and he was at last firmly in the clutches of the law. The sheriff seized the opportunity to serve a process on him in the name of many Greens of Coventry and neighboring towns. They alleged that he had unlawfully converted sundry hogsheads of molasses and asked for damages to the amount of 295 pounds. The case was decided against Dudingston in the lower court, was carried on appeal to the superior court, and was there decided against him. He then petitioned the assembly to order a re-hearing on the ground that he had been prevented by tempestuous weather from being present at

the superior court. The assembly granted his request and the judges heard his case over again. Several interesting points came out in this last trial and also in connection with the earlier career of this over-zealous officer.

It appears that none of these commanders of revenue cruisers regarded it as necessary to announce their coming to the authorities. In fact they seemed to have looked upon themselves as being in the enemy's country. Dudingston had been suddenly startled by receiving a letter from the governor of Rhode Island stating that complaints had been made as to a piratical vessel and desiring him to show his commission, if he had one. The Governor and Company of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations had more authority than any of the other provincial governments excepting that of Connecticut. They even had appointed the customs officials and the law officers of the crown had stated as their opinion that it was at least doubtful whether they had this power or not. Safe on the *Gaspee's* deck, Dudingston had returned an offensive answer to this early demand, but now he was obliged to make what answer he could and produced a deputation from the Commissioners of the Customs authenticated with the signature of Richard Reeve, the secretary of the board. This had never been recorded in Rhode Island and was not sealed, nor was it a copy attested under seal. The court held that Dudingston was not authorized to make seizures within the waters of the colony of Rhode Island. Judgment was given against him for the third time, and he was not allowed to appeal to England, because the amount involved was less than three hundred pounds. He recovered from his wounds and, in 1776, was again on the coast in command of a revenue cruiser, this time the *Senegal* of fourteen guns.

To the historical student the most interesting official attached to the head office of the Commissioners was the Inspector of Imports and Exports and Register of Shipping. This office was held in the earlier years by Thomas Irving, who came over from England with the Commissioners. Later he got into trouble with the Bostonians and was so roughly handled that he secured another appointment, becoming Receiver General of the quit-rents in South Carolina and member of the council of that province. His salary was 150 pounds per annum and he had an allowance of 200 pounds for clerks. Some of the

tabulations and records prepared in his office have been preserved and are of great interest. An examination of these tables gives one an idea of the total commerce of the colonies, both imports and exports. From them may be constructed a table showing the relative commercial importance of the several sections, colonies, or seaports. They can be used to illustrate the history of any one feature of our pre-Revolutionary commerce or to test the soundness of economic theories. From them we find that in the year 1771 over four million gallons of molasses were imported into the continental colonies of which less than 146,000 gallons came from the British West Indies. Bearing in mind that after the Act of 1766 molasses could be lawfully imported into the Northern colonies from the British or the foreign islands, these figures show that the colonists had been right in their earlier contention that the importation of British molasses, alone, would not satisfy their needs. The duty collected on this molasses at importation amounted to £17,423. At this time there were sixty-six distilleries in Massachusetts, alone. These used 19,800 hogsheads of molasses in each year at an average profit of one pound per hogshead. The commerce in molasses therefore was of great importance to the colonists and to the exchequer. Beside the amount of rum made in the northern colonies from West India molasses, two million gallons of it were imported from the West India Islands. This was all of British production, or at any rate was laden in the British Islands, because the acts of 1764 and 1766 prohibited the importation of rum from the foreign West Indies. Turning now to the consumption of rum, a great deal of it was used by the colonists themselves as a beverage; it seems, indeed, to have been regarded almost in the light of a necessity. A great deal of it was used in the Indian trade, being exchanged for furs of one kind or another. The export of it was also very large, amounting to 300,000 gallons in the year 1771, of which 234,000 gallons went to Africa, where it was exchanged for negroes and ivory.

Another significant fact that comes out from these tables has to do with the importation of cotton. This amounted, in 1771, to 486,584 pounds, of which 356,000 pounds came from the foreign West Indies. Almost all of this was worked up in the colonies, as the total exports of that year amounted to only 14,000 pounds, all of which went to Great Britain. These

figures are significant for two reasons: in the first place, they show that cotton was exported from the continental colonies before the Revolution, and that a great deal more of it was worked up into cloth in the colonies than has hitherto been supposed. These figures as to cotton are re-enforced by those in another table. From this it appears that the total importation in 1768–69 was 438,000 pounds, and the exportation only 18,422 pounds.

The importation of negroes into the continental colonies was not large when compared with that into the West Indies; still it was by no means inconsiderable as late as 1771. The tables give the total number of negroes imported as 4,737. Of these 2,754 were brought directly from Africa. No less than 2,000 of them came to Charleston, and of the 1,983 brought from the West Indies, nearly 1,000 went to Charleston. Only fifteen of the total number of negroes were brought to colonies north of Maryland. In this connection it may be stated that only three negroes were exported from the continent to the islands.

The importations from Great Britain are bewildering in numbers and classifications, as well as important on account of their extent. They are divided into British products and foreign products imported through Great Britain. As the colonists were forbidden to import anything from Europe except salt, wine from the Wine Islands, and sub-tropical fruits, as oranges and lemons, from the Mediterranean, this importation of foreign manufactures through Great Britain represents the total consumption of European goods in the American markets. Until 1766 a drawback had been allowed upon European products on re-exportation from Great Britain. Grenville had tried to make good the loss to the revenue occasioned by this payment of drawbacks, by taxing textiles and some other things on importation into the colonies by his revenue law of 1764. This had aroused so much opposition in America that those duties had all been done away with in 1766, but, at the same time, the provisions granting drawbacks had been repealed. This amounted to collecting the same duties in England. Among the importation of British goods from Great Britain, textiles occupied the leading place, woolens, friezes, stuffs, serges, shalloons, and baizes, linens, lawns, diaper, chintz, printed cottons, and stripes; sail-cloth and duck, both British and foreign, India bale goods, as silks and muslins,

and long cloths. Oranges and lemons were imported in quantities, two million of them coming to Boston alone in the year 1772, while of figs to the same port there were 162 hundred-weight, and 12 hundred-weight of prunes. Among other commodities one notices a profusion of drugs, tobacco pipes by the thousand gross, and playing cards; of these 6,000 packs were brought to Boston in one year, but three times as many were imported into Virginia. Of all the commodities that occasioned trouble in those days, not even Madeira wine could compare with tea as an inciter to riot and disorder. It was brought in by the hundred thousand pounds throughout the years under review except in 1770 and after December, 1773. The largest importation was in 1768, when 877,000 pounds were imported through the custom house and paid duty; no less than 298,000 pounds being brought into Boston alone. The largest importation in this year, however, was to New York. In 1771 the total importation was 344,771 pounds and in 1772, 237,062 pounds. In the next year the importation fell off tremendously and was less than 150,000 pounds, of which 119,000 pounds came to Boston, and then the importation through the custom house entirely ceased. These figures seem startling when we recall that the agitation against tea began as far back as 1770 and even earlier. An examination of advertisements in the papers, and an inspection of the invoices of cargoes which were despatched from London for American ports confirms the impression gained from the table that there was a large and continuous movement of tea down to 1772.

The establishment of the American Board of Commissioners of the Customs and the reorganization of the service following their coming to Boston, together with the making of the new colonial restrictions a reality, put an end to illicit trade on any extended scale. The new system also powerfully affected coastwise commerce and undoubtedly diverted a great deal of it to land routes, much to the inconvenience of the colonists and to a considerably increased expense of handling the goods. In countless ways, therefore, the establishment of the Board changed modes of life and aroused friction. Enough, however, has been said to make good the thesis with which this paper started, that it was the compulsory payment of taxes and not any abstract theories of politics that incited the people to riot and, ultimately, to rebellion.

Dr. GREEN read the following paper:

Chief-Justice Samuel Sewall, in his Diary (II. 42), under date of October 6, 1701, has an interesting entry in regard to a pike-staff given by him to the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts. At that time Judge Sewall was the commander; and after describing a drill by the company he goes on to say:

I inform'd the Company I was told the Company's Halberds &c. were borrowed; I understood the Leading staff was so, and therefore ask'd their Acceptance of a Half-Pike, which they very kindly did; I deliver'd it to Mr. Gibbs for their Use.

They would needs give me a Volley, in token of their Respect on this occasion. The Pike will, I supose, stand me in fourty shillings, being headed and shod with Silver: Has this Motto fairly engraven:

Agmen Massachusettense
est in tutelam Sponsæ
AGNI Uxoris,
1701.

The Lord help us to answer the Profession. Were treated by the Ensign in a fair chamber.

The interesting part of this entry lies in the fact that the silver ferule of the pike, on which the motto was engraved, is still in existence. It is two and three-eighths inches in height and one inch in diameter and was placed originally on the lower end of the staff. It was found ten or twelve years ago by William L. Willey, Quartermaster of the Company, in a trunk full of old papers going back to Revolutionary times. The lower end of the staff, perhaps three inches long, holding the ferule, had been sawed off, and thus the silver band was saved. Sewall says that the pike was "headed and shod with Silver." From this expression I infer that the pike-staff had a silver band at the head or top, and another at the lower end, which, according to Sewall, served as a *shoe*, and that this latter one is identical with the ferule here described.

Judge Sewall, in the quotations from his Diary, does not give the whole of the Latin inscription on the ferule. Under the four lines, as printed, two more appear on the band, showing the giver's name. The additional lines are so battered and jammed that it is with great difficulty they are made out; but I give them here as deciphered by me. In engraving

the letters the silversmith was somewhat lame in his spelling of the title in the *Ex dono* line. The inscription reads as follows:

Agmen Massachusettense
est in tutelam Sponsæ
AGNI Uxoris.
1701
Ex dono Honorabalis
SAMUELIS SEWALL Armigeri

I turn this inscription into English, not for the benefit of members, who are all so familiar with foreign tongues, but in order to explain the theological allusion there given, which may not be equally well known to them.

The Massachusetts Company
is for the protection of the Bride,
the wife of the Lamb [i. e. the Church].
1701
By gift of the Honorable
Samuel Sewall, Esquire.

In his Diary Judge Sewall, like other rigid Puritans of his day, was in the habit of making liberal quotations from the Bible and otherwise using Scriptural references. In the simple inscription on the ferule he was impelled by force of his religious temperament to allude to a theological subject taken from Holy Writ. In the Vulgate edition is the following: "Veni, et ostendam tibi sponsam, uxorem Agni" (Revelation XXI. 9), which appears in King James's version as "Come hither, I will show thee the bride, the Lamb's wife." Without doubt the Chief-Justice had this line in mind when he wrote the "motto," as he calls it. There are other instances in the Scriptures where the Church is spoken of as the bride of the Lord.

Mr. NORCROSS communicated from his collection the following letter from James Otis to Arthur Jones, a merchant of London. The regiments had arrived in Boston on October 1, and were quartered at the castle, in the town house, in Faneuil Hall, and partly encamped on the common.

SIR, — The times you may well think are bad enough here. However I have received part of Mr. Moreland's Debt to you and am

promised the rest soon. He has allowed for the mistake you mention and so soon as the payment is compleated I shall remit you the same in money or a bill. All business is at a stand here, little going on besides military musters reviews and other parading of the Red Coats sent here, the Lord I believe only knows for what.

I am and have long been more concerned for Great Britain than the Colonies. You may ruin yourselves but you cannot in the end hurt the Colonies.

Our Fathers were a good people and have been a free people, and if you will not let us remain so any longer, we shall be a great people, and the present measures can have no Tendency but to hasten on with great rapidity events which every good and honest man would wish delayed for ages, if possible, prevented for ever. I am etc.

J. Otis.

Boston, Nov^{r} 26th 1768.
Mr. Arthur Jones, Merchant, London.

Mr. Ford submitted a paper found in the Uncalendared Bundle 64, Proceedings of the Court of Requests, in the Public Records Office, London. It relates to a suit growing out of the adventure of the Dorchester Company on Cape Anne.[1] The experienced searcher writes of this document:

I searched the whole bundle very carefully, containing many hundreds of papers; the only one connected with the case of the salt at Cape Ann, which I can find, is headed *second and further* answer of the Rev. John White, etc.; but it would seem, from the fact that the original bill was sent down to the commissioners appointed to take this answer, that it was the first formal answer taken; an answer may have been made informally, in some way not acceptable to the Court. It is dated 12 October 11 Charles I. *i. e.* 1635.

The paper contains a list of names, which has been printed in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, lxi. 278.

The second and farther ioynt and severall answeares of John White, Clerke, and John Watts, defendantes to the Bill of Complaynt of Henry Beale and Peter Lenartes, Complaynantes.

The said defendants in obedience to the order of his Ma^{ties} most Honorable Courte of Whitehall at Westm^{r} for a full and perfect answeare to bee by them made to the said Complaynantes Bill, saving still unto themselves all advantages of excep$\tilde{c}$on to bee taken to the untruthes,

[1] Thornton, "The Landing at Cape Anne."

uncertenty and insufficiency of the said Complaynantes Bill for answeare thereunto they say And first the said John White for himselfe sayeth That Eleaven Yeares sithence and upwards divers Knightes, gentlemen and others did agree to ioyne together in purse as ioynt adventurers for the setling of a Plantac̃on in New England in America for the better and more convenient taking and saving of the fish in the seas of those partes and alsoe for bartering and exchange of comodities transported from this Kingdome of England with the Natives of New England aforesaid for their Country comodityes, and this defend^t did ioyne in purse with the said Knightes, gentlemen and others in the designe aforesaid, the names of w^ch said Adventurers as well of those that first ioyned in adventure for the end and purpose aforesaid as of such others as afterwards became Adventurers with them this defend^t to his best Knowledge and remembrance hath hereunder particularly menc̃oned & expressed viz. [Here follows the list of adventurers.] . . . In w^ch designe the said Joynt adventurers having spent and lost about Three Thousand powndes and thereupon being weary of adventuringe in that kinde by reason of their losses and finding much difficulty in accomplishing their purposes they the said Adventurers in the Thirde Yeare of the reigne of our said soveraigne Lord King Charles (as this defend^t now remembreth) did forbeare any farther to adventure to New England aforesaid for their ioynt accompt, and thereupon the said Plantac̃on was dissolved and deserted, by the said ioynt adventurers. And this defend^t hath heard that during the tyme of the continuance of the said Plantac̃on viz. about the Yeare of our Lorde One Thousand Six hundred twenty and five one John Tilly now resident (as this defend^t beleiveth in New England) or some other or others who were ymployed for the said ioynt Adventurers did without any order of this defend^t or of any other of the said ioynt Adventurers to this defend^ts knowledge take some salt w^ch was left at Cape Anne in New England aforesaid by the Master and company of the Zouch Phenix in the Bill menc̃oned and that some persons alsoe who were of New Plimouth Plantac̃on in New England aforesaid tooke alsoe some of the same salt but how much thereof was taken by the said Tilly or by any other or how the same was ymployed or bestowed w^ch was soe taken this defend^t knoweth not. Nor doth this defend^t know of his owne knowledge but only by heeresay of any salt that the master or company of the said Zouch Phenix left in New England aforesaid nor to whose handes the same came But this defendant hath alsoe heard that afterwardes viz^t in the Yeare of our Lord God One Thowsand Six Hundred Twenty and Seaven the said other defend^t John Wattes being ymployed in a voyage to New England aforesaid for the accompt and ioynt adventure of himselfe and of this defend^t and of Richard Bushrode deceased Gilbert Loder William Derby Bernard Toup Richard Bury and George Way

all of Dorchester in the County of Dorsᵗ John Connant of Lynnington in the County of Somersᵗ and Henry Maniford of Long Burton in the said County of Dorsᵗ and of one Morgan Haine living now as this defendᵗ hath heard farre in the North towardes New Castle upon Tyne hee the said defendᵗ John Wattes did by his owne acknowledgment take some of the same salt alsoe but without the order of this defendᵗ or of any other of his said ioynt Adventurers to this defendᵗᵉˢ knowledge to the quantity of Six and Twenty Hogsheades as this defendᵗ hath heard the said John Wattes relate, And as this defendᵗ taketh it the said defendᵗ Wattes or his company made and endevored [*sic*] to save fish therewith, but the same fish proved either all or the most parte thereof rotten and corrupt as this defendᵗ hath heard and beleiveth, Nor doth this defendᵗ know that hee hath had one penny benefitt thereby. Neverthelesse the same ioynt adventurers wᵗʰ the said defendᵗ John Wattes allowed him the said defendᵗ Wattes for the same salt as appeareth by his the said defendᵗ Wattes his accompt. But this defendant doth not know nor hath hee heard to his Remembrance that either the said other defendᵗ John Wattes or any of the said Adventurers in or for the said Plantacon or any of the said other ioynt Adventurers or any other person or persons other then the Master and Company of the said Ship called the Zowch Phenix had or tooke or made use of any of the boates shalloppes nettes or other provisions wᶜʰ were belonging to the said Complaynante Beale and to the said Peter Lenartes deceased in the Bill named or to either of them or wᶜʰ were left in New England aforesaid by the Mʳ and Company of the said Zowch and Phenix [*sic.*] And this defendᵗ John Wattes for himselfe sayeth that hee ioyning in Adventure wᶜʰ the said other defendᵗ John White and with the said Richard Bushrode deceased Gilbert Loder William Derby Bernard Toup Richard Bury John Conant Henry Maniford and Morgan Haine for a voyage to bee made to New England aforesaid Hee this defendᵗ did goe factoʳ in the same voyage and being arrived in New England aforesaid Hee this defendᵗ John Wattes there found on an Island in Cape Anne Harber a certen quantity of salt uncovered open to the Aire and thereof this defendᵗ tooke and had six and Twenty hoggesheades and neither this defendᵗ nor any of his company to this defendᵗᵉˢ knowledge did take had or made use of any more of the said Salt. Neither did they or any of them to this defendᵗᵉˢ remembrance make use of any of the boates shalloppes or other provisions of the said Complaynant Beale or of the said Peter Lenartes deceased or of either of them or wᶜʰ were left in New England aforesaid by the Mʳ or Company of the said Shipp called the Zowch Phenix wᵗʰ wᶜʰ said salt soe by this defendᵗ taken as aforesaid hee this defendᵗ made and endevored to save some fish for the accompt of himselfe and his ioynt Adventurers, but the same salt not being good for that the strength thereof was gon it having long layne

there open to the aire and Weather, the greateste parte of the fish that was seasoned therewith became rotten and corrupted and was cast away for dounge soe that to this defend^tes best remembrance there was not Twenty shillinges worth of the same fish made therew'th saved or preserved for w^ch salt this defend^t is to bee accomptable to the said Complaynantes yf by the lawes of this Realme he be chargeable therew^th & yf the same were theirs or did or doe belong to them according to the worth thereof And this defend^t hath heeretofore written unto the Complayn^t Beale to that purpose, soe as hee may be secured to bee saved harmelesse against such others as may clayme the same. For this defend^t sayeth that when the said salt was taken by this defend^t in New England aforesaid one M^r Morton[1] then dwelling in New England aforesaid claymed the said salt as belonging unto him or as comitted to his charge. Without that that any other matter or thing in the said Bill of complaynt contayned materiall or effectuall in the Law to be answeared unto by these defend^ts or either of them and heerein not sufficiently answeared unto confessed or avoided traversed or denied is true to the knowledge of these defend^ts or either of them. Captae fuer̃i hae Responsiones et p̃dc̃i defendentes iurati apud Dorchester in Com̃ Dors^t duodecimo die Octobris Anno regni d̃ni ñri Caroli dei gr̃a Anglie Scocie Franc̃ et Hib̃n Regis fidei defensoris etc Undecimo coram nobis Com̃issionariis infra noīatis.[2]

(signed) JOHN WHITE JOHN WATTS

Mr. FORD communicated a letter from William B. Lewis regarded as Jackson's political manager, and at the time second auditor of the Treasury, the original being in the New York Public Library.

LEWIS TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, 30th August, 1839.

Your letter of the 13th Inst.[3] was received in due course of Mail, and would have been answered several days ago, had it not found me indisposed at the time it reached me. Altho it is of an extraordinary character, I am less surprised at the information it conveys than astonished that you should have consented to be the medium of communica-

[1] Undoubtedly Thomas Morton of Mare-Mount.

[2] Attached is a commission dated 14 September 11 Charles I, directed to Gilbert Loder, Robert Loder, William Darbie and Richard Scovell, gentlemen, to receive the answers of the defendants to the bill of complaint (therewith enclosed) exhibited against them by Henry Beale and others.

[3] This letter is in the New York Public Library. In it Jackson urges Lewis to retire from office before pressure upon the President and the principle of rotation in office compelled his dismissal.

tion. I am not ignorant, General, of the state of things here, tho I have not been disposed to trouble you about them. As, however, you have yourself addressed me a letter upon the subject I will, in reply, take the liberty of speaking my mind freely and without reserve, but in terms, I hope, respectful and courteous. I have for some time known that there were certain individuals who thirsted for my blood, and that sooner or later I should be sent to the Guillotin. The greater part of this click were formerly the bitter personal and political enemies of yourself and Mr. Van Buren, and who, because of my friendship and support of the latter gentleman, became also my enemies. Having been taken into favour and clothed with power and influence, they set themselves immediately to work to destroy the confidence of yourself and Mr. Van Buren in those who had been most active and efficient in the political advancement of you both. In this it appears they have too well succeeded, as regards myself, at least; for I could but mark the frigid change which has been steadily blighting the once cordial deportment you were both wonted to observe toward me, previous to the underminings of those new recruits from the ranks of your enemies.

Knowing how cruel and unjust their imputations were, as soon as I discovered the blighting effects they had produced upon the minds of those who above all others, should have turned a deaf ear to such falsehoods, I determined thenceforward to take no part in political matters during the remainder of my stay in this city, after Mr. Van Buren should be installed into office, unless his deportment towards me should be changed, and the principles of his administration such as I could support. In this state of mind I visited him occasionally after he had entered upon the duties of his office, and on several occasions attempted to converse with him upon political subjects in the same frank and unreserved manner we had been in the habit of doing before our intercourse had been embarrassed and clouded with distrust. But his cold, reserved, and uncommunicative manner satisfied me that the work of alienation was complete — that he was unwilling to confide his views and opinions to me as on former occasions. Mortifying as this must have been to one who had every disposition from previous personal and political preference to give Mr. Van Buren and his Administration a cordial support as far as it might seem in my judgement to promote the interest of the country, yet self respect dictated a corresponding reserve on my part. Accordingly I have had no other than a formal intercourse with him, and have declined, for the last twelve or eighteen months, all participation, pro or con, in the political affairs of his Administration. I know, however, it has been said that I occupy my time in opposing its measures, and it is very probable that both you and the president believe it. Be this as it may, I deny that there is any foundation in truth for such a charge. It has always been my habit, ever since I

have held an office under the Government, to take no part when I could not approve of the measures of the Administration; and this is a rule that should, in my opinion, be observed by all office holders. But so far as the sin of *omission* to give my support is urged as a matter of reproach, I freely admit it. I am free to declare that my *whole time now* is occupied in the conscientious discharge of my official duties, and will continue to be, so long as I remain in office.

But if the character of his measures did not entirely justify me to myself in declining to advocate them, yet I would ask can the president, or any of his friends, justly complain of my neutrality after his cold and reserved course towards me? I think not; and would willingly leave it to every man's self respect to answer the question. Mr. Van Buren ought himself to know from his own experience of the past, that I am always willing to serve my *friends*, when I can do it without degradation or self debasement. He very well knows that no man exerted himself more in his behalf than I did, or stood by him with more unshrinking firmness in the darkest hour of his political existence — at a time too when his own personal friends of New York seemed disposed to leave him to his fate, to sink, without an effort to save him, beneath the party denunciations that were heaped upon his private and political character, while rendering eminent services to his country in a foreign land! Knowing this, *as I say he did*, how could he listen to the vile imputations cast upon me by those who, *professing* to be friends of the administration, yet would have *rejoiced* had he fallen beneath the blow aimed at him by the Senate! I may even ask you, General, in the spirit of our former friendship, whether this was either kind or just? Was it fulfilling the precept of our divine Saviour, which teaches us to do unto others, as we would they should do unto us? The coldest heart would scarcely be incompetent to appreciate my feelings when I first discovered the petrifying change in the deportment towards me, on the part of one whom I had laboured night and day, and on account of which I had drawn upon my devoted head the opposition's fiercest lightning! Could I, with a particle of self respect, have done otherwise than I have? It may look like vanity in me, but I shall ever believe that Mr. Van Buren was under deeper and more mighty obligations to me for his political advancement than to any other man living with the exception of yourself alone, as I can clearly show. You cannot but recollect, General, that before your installation into office even, I had several conversations with you upon the subject, and importance of looking to Mr. Van Buren as your successor for the same office. From that time to the day of his election I spared no pains, but exerted every honorable effort in my power to accomplish that object. And how has he requited those services? Why, sir, with suspicions of my fidelity, accompanied with cold and withering neglect, and finally he purposes,

if I understand the character of your letter, to send me home in official and political disgrace! My support of Mr. Van Buren was sincere, ardent, and disinterested; and I had a right to expect of him, if not kind treatment, at least justice; before condemning he should have heard me.

This is not an unfit occasion, General, to advert to a matter connected with the recent political history of him who, until within a few years past, had been one of our most zealous, and constant friends, in which great injustice was done to me by the persons to whom I have alluded in the first part of this letter. About four years ago in the early part of Judge White's canvass for the presidency, I was told that I was suspected of being instrumental in procuring his nomination.[1] I had thought my opposition to that nomination, was so well known as to believe that the alledged suspicion did not even require a contradiction. However, when I was subsequently told by Mr. Blair[2] that Mr. Senator Wright[3] had spoken of it to him, as being believed by some of the friends of the administration, I immediately wrote to a friend of mine in Nashville, and requested him to state what had been my course in relation to Judge White's nomination. He stated in his answer that he knew of his own knowledge I had been opposed to the nomination of Judge White from its incipiency. And that letter I handed to Mr. Blair with a request that he would shew it to Mr. Wright, when he came to Washington. No one knew my sentiments on the subject better than the gentleman I allude to; and, in accordance with my wishes, he had strenuously opposed the Judge's nomination, by the members both of the Legislature and Convention of Tennessee, as it might interfere with the nomination that was expected to be made by the National Convention. The remarks of Mr. Wright to Mr. Blair were made known to me in the spring, or early in the summer, I think, of 1835.

I have never doubted, nor have I now any doubts, with regard to the persons who endeavoured to impress upon Mr. Wright's mind the belief that I had encouraged the nomination of Judge White, nor could I be mistaken in the *motive.* They had been the warm and devoted friends of Mr. Calhoun, and would have gone off with that

[1] Hugh Lawson White, who incurred the lasting hatred of Jackson by differing from him and presuming to accept a nomination for the Presidency in 1836, in the hope of defeating Van Buren. From the closest friendship of many years Jackson and White parted, and Jackson at once placed all the supporters of White in the same category with the Hartford Convention in the North, and the nullifiers in the South, that is, as little short of traitors See Adams, Memoirs, IX. 312, for a correct appreciation of the White candidacy

[2] Francis Preston Blair, editor of the "Globe."

[3] Silas Wright, of New York.

gentleman after you and he quarrelled, if they had not been afraid to do so. I had, in consequence of my opposition to Mr. Calhoun and support of Mr. Van Buren, incurred their unrelenting hostility, and they were determined to embrace the very first opportunity of wreaking their vengeance on me. They have now great power and influence with this Administration, and urged the president last winter to dismiss me from office, as I have been told and believe. Having failed in this (as yet) I am constrained to believe, General, they are now trying to accomplish their object thro' you. What a lamentable state of things is this — that you should be required to sacrifice your friends for having faithfully done their duty to *you,* to gratify those who were then doing every thing in their power to sustain your bitterest and most powerful enemy!

As a still further evidence of the injustice, as well as unfairness with which I was treated by those *real Simon Pures* of the party, I was told they *affected* to believe that because I was not heard denouncing, in unmeasured terms, as was then the fashion, Judge White and his friends, I must of course be in favour of his election! How very conclusive this reasoning! Still it *was* used as an argument against me, notwithstanding I had stated to the Judge himself that I could not support his election, and had over and over again, so declared to his leading friends. No one regretted more than I did that he had been brought out for the presidency, but *I* did not think *that* a sufficient reason for *denouncing* him. I have never been in the habit of denouncing any one for exercising their constitutional privileges. Much less was I disposed to denounce one of the oldest, most distinguished, and respectable citizens of my own State. If, however I had even felt an inclination to do so, considerations of *policy* would have prevented it, because I always believed, and often stated to Mr. Blair that such a course was calculated, better than any other, to defeat the very object he had in view. My experience in life has satisfied me that men may be *led* but *driven,* never.

But you say, General, that the contemplated removals from office, are to be made upon the principle of rotation! If so, and it be carried out *fairly,* I have not a word to say. I shall show that I can front the storm as well as the best, and perhaps better than some of those who are probably urging it forward, under the false security of supposing that every promotion they have been favoured with, obliterates the time they had previously enjoyed office; and, therefore, might continue in office during their lives, and not be amenable to the rule of rotation. But I protest against any such quibble, and equally do I protest against any rule that does not work both ways, even if it be ever so bad a rule. For example, Mr. Kendall and myself came into office at the same time. Now what I desire to know, is, whether Mr. Kendall is expected in

good faith, also to go out under this rule?[1] In taking a comparative survey of our respective claims, I cannot be mistaken, and I can safely appeal to you to sustain me, when I say I have done as much for the party that brought us here as he has; and a great deal more for Mr. Van Buren, and that too without *fee* or *reward*. I think therefore, if I am expected to go out under this rule, even handed justice, regarding our cases alone, would require him not only to do the same thing, but to lead the way. But in relation to this principle of rotation, I embrace this occasion to enter my solemn protest against it, as a *general rule*; not on account of my office, but because I hold it to be fraught with the greatest mischief to the Country. If ever it shall be carried out in extenso, the days of this Republic will, in my opinion, have been numbered. For whenever the impression shall become general that the Government is only valuable on account of its *officers*, the great and paramount interest of the Country will be lost sight of, and the Government itself ultimately destroyed. This at least is the honest conviction of my mind, with regard to these novel doctrines of rotation in office.

Allow me now, General, to say a few words in relation to another part of your letter. It leads me back to the contemplation of past times, and awakens in my bosom sensations that may be imagined, but cannot be expressed. You advise me to resign my office and come home. You are anxious, you say, "as my private friend," that I shall do this, rather than "suffer myself to be removed"! Removal from office, General, unless for official delinquency (and of that I have no fears,) has no terrors for me! If Mr. Van Buren is disposed to cancel his obligations for services rendered, in that way, so be it. I shall take no steps to prevent it. But I do not know, General, that I comprehend your meaning when you call yourself my *private* friend. I am bound to say that there was a time when I believe you were my friend, a sincere friend, in the broadest sense of the term, and without *qualification*. And why were you my friend? Because you well knew that no human being that ever lived could be more sincerely and disinterestedly attached to another than I was to you. For ten years before you were brought forward by the Legislature of Tennessee for the presidency, I was your friend, and supported you, to the extent of my poor abilities, in all your trials and difficulties, both military and personal. After your nomination by the Legislature of Tennessee in 1822 for the presidency, I may say my *whole* time was devoted to your cause, until the efforts of your friends were crowned with success by your triumphant election in 1828. Who, General, was it that was mainly instrumental in hunting up and embodying the volumes of testimony which were published by the "Nashville Jack-

[1] Kendall held the office of Postmaster General till May, 1840. He had been appointed to it by Jackson, and his commission dated from May 1, 1835.

son Committee" in 1826, 7, 8, in vindication of yourself, and that best of women (whose memory I shall never cease to respect) against the vile slanders of your enemies? But why do I ask the question? The scenes of those days and the principal actors in them, I am sure can never be forgotten by you, however changed your feelings towards them may be.

It is with the most unfeigned regret, General, that I feel myself constrained to advert to these things; but the strange and unexpected character of your letter, seem to make it necessary and proper to pass them in review, for the purpose of calling to mind our former relations. I repeat, then, that no son was ever more ardently attached to his father than I was to you; or more earnestly desired to see his fame, his character, and his honor, preserved untarnished. Judge, then, what must have been my feelings when I was told in the summer of 1835, not long after Mr. Blair informed me of the remarks of Mr. Senator Wright, by a mutual friend whom I was bound to believe, that you thought I was "acting with *insincerity* towards you!" No, you can have no conception of the mortification and chagrin I felt on that occasion. The intelligence inflicted a wound in my bosom which time and endurance may assuage, but cannot heal. It paralized the ardent impulses of my heart, and gave me an insuperable aversion to a continuance in the arena of party warfare. This was the *secret* of my indifference, in relation to political operations, which did not proceed from any particular attachment or preference for those who had incurred your displeasure, as I have no doubt was supposed by you.[1] I was at first unwilling to believe what our friend had told me, and thought your remarks must have been misunderstood by him, but many painful circumstances afterwards occurred which left me no room to doubt; or, if they did, does not the suggestion you convey to me, to resign my office and return to Tennessee, go far to confirm it? The proposition is made, too, General, without stopping to enquire, whether it would be convenient for me to do so. You were apprised in a letter I wrote you more than eighteen months ago, that I had no wish to remain here longer than was necessary to complete the education of my two youngest children, and I have said the same thing frequently to my own and the friends of the president in this city. I never intended to remain in office longer than Mr. Van Buren's first term, because by that time my object would be fully accomplished, and I could then take my children and go home. Preparatory to this I gave directions to have my house repaired, some time since, so that it might be ready for my reception.

This is still my determination, and from it I cannot voluntarily depart. Do those for whose benefit and advancement I have spent the

[1] Notwithstanding this, however, I continued faithfully to support Mr. Van Buren's election to the last — that is, until he was elected in 1836. — *Lewis.*

prime of my life object to this? If so, they have the power to send me home by giving my place to another and, for aught they know, or perhaps care, may deprive me of the means of finishing the education of my children.

I have nothing more to say. If my death warrant has already been signed, as was intimated to me some two months ago, let the blow be struck. I am prepared to meet it, I hope, with becoming firmness and dignity. I have the consolation to know, if it be a consolation, it is not the first time that those invested with power have turned round and crushed the very men who placed it in their hands, and probably it will not be the last. The history of despotic governments is full of such examples, but I had hoped that in this free and enlightened country at least, the principles of *justice* and *liberty* would find a sure and permanent *asylum*.

I pray you excuse this long and incoherent letter. Altho' much infeebled from indisposition, yet I could not consent to let the opportunity pass without fully disclosing to you my mind, in relation to the matters referred to. I have spoken freely and without disguise, but, at the same time, I hope with becoming respect, such at least was my wish.

Please remember me kindly to your son and daughter and believe me, Yours, W. B. LEWIS.[1]

Mr. FORD also communicated a letter, dated March 28, 1910, from Mr. Frederick L. Gay, of Brookline:

In Mr. Mead's paper on Cotton's farewell Sermon "God's Promise to his Plantation," I find the following:

"Palfrey — in a note — refers, as his authority for the statement, to Scottow, with whose 'Narrative' Barry also shows himself acquainted. But nowhere do the farewell sermon and the memorable occasion of its delivery, of which Scottow gives explicit information, receive any attention. . . . Scottow's 'Narrative' thus appears to be the sole distinct original authority concerning the delivery of Cotton's farewell sermon at Southampton."[2]

This is probably true so far as the delivery of the sermon at Southampton is concerned. I find, however, an original printed authority earlier than Scottow, with the date August 12, 1672, and the imprint 1674. I quote from William Coddington's "A Demonstration of True Love," (p. 13):

"And the Planters Play [Plea], and John Cotton's Sermon, which was in 1630. printed by John Humphery our Agent, to satisfie the Godly

[1] Jackson replied on September 9, regretting that Lewis had interpreted his suggestion of retiring to Tennessee in any other than a friendly spirit. The Jackson-Lewis correspondence is calendared in the "Bulletin of the New York Public Library," IV. 292. Lewis was removed by Polk in 1845.

[2] 3 Proc., I. 108, 112.

minded of our Removal out of England, all did satisfie me to remove as Lot out of Sodom, being grieved for your unrighteous Dealings."

Without question this is an allusion to "God's Promise to his Plantation;" but the chief interest of the extract lies in the proof it offers that Prince was right in his surmise that John Humphrey was the J. H. who signed the preface "To the Christian Reader."[2]

Let me give one more quotation from the same page to clinch the fact that this our Humphrey (as Cotton Mather would have called him) was the colonists' press agent in 1630.

"I find a printed Paper dated in Yarmouth Road, aboard the Arbella, April the 7th 1630. by us the Heads, that then brought over the Massachusets Patent, in the Name of the whole Company,[1] John Winthrop Governour, Thomas Dudly Deputy, Sr. Richard Saltingstal (so called) Isaak Johnson that married the Earl of Lincoln's Sister; the Lady Arbella; Our Ship, a war like Ship, called the Eagle; the Admiral of the Fleet, in Honour of the Lady, was named the Arbella; they two before-said and William Coddington Assistents, with others, as in that printed Paper yet extant may appear, and the Planters Plea (both printed the same time, to satisfie the Godly-minded) wherein their Prayers were desired, and the Ground of our Removal expressed, viz. To propagate the Gospel, and other Grounds therein mentioned, as well performed, as that which was by John Humphry (a known Man that married the Earl of Lincoln's Sister, that printed them) dispersed into most Parts of England."

I send you these bibliographical scraps thinking they may fit into some cranny of your many-sided work.

P. S. Mr. Adams's Milton episode is closed,[3] but the N. E. Weekly Journal of March 17, 1741, shows there was then a copy in Boston in which the owner's name was written. Nathaniel Shower at his warehouse on Dock Square has for sale sundry goods, and goes on to say:

"Sundry Books have been taken out of the Dwelling House of the said Shower's (among which are Milton's Paradice lost, and Milton's Paradice regain'd) his Name is wrote on the first Leaf of each Book: Whoever can discover the Person that took them, or find where the Books are so they may be had again, shall be paid Forty Shillings for their Trouble. If offered to Sale, it's desir'd they may be stop'd."

Mr. GREENOUGH contributed from his collection fifteen letters addressed to the executive authorities of Massachu-

[1] "The Humble Request of His Majesty's Loyall Subjects, the Governor and the Company late gone for New England" etc. A copy is in the Boston Public Library. It is reprinted in "Life and Letters of John Winthrop," II. 10.

[2] See note in 3 Proc., I. 111. For John Humphrey see 2 Proc., XIII. 38.

[3] 3 Proc., XLII. 154.

setts on the defence of the frontier towns against Indian incursions in 1694–95, the aftermath of the outbreak of 1692.

PYNCHON TO ADDINGTON.

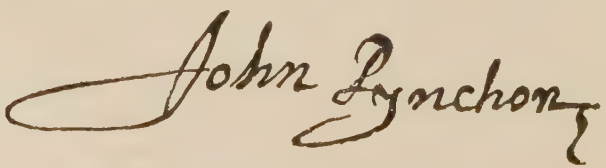
SPRINGFIELD, December 3, 1694.

SIR, — Very desirous I haue bene to haue had advice about continueing or quitting the Garrisons at Dearefield and Brookefield and therefore have several times wrot for directions thereabouts both to his Excel. before he rune of, and (If I mistake not) to your selfe also, But haue not Rec'd one line, nor heard any thing in the least concerning the same, and am loath vpon my owne head to discharge them, least If any thing fal out not wel, I should deservedly be Blamed, though the approaching winter gives hopes of some respit, and allowance of some ease from the charge and expence the Countrey is at, which I am desirous may be Improved for the best. Wherefore I write these lines once againe to your selfe, who can (and I reqvest you to) move in it as is most meete and let me vnderstand what I am to doe Further. If with safety to the Place, I incline that the Garrison at Dearefield be dismissed or abated for a Month or sixe weekes and not much longer:

The entring vpon Winter wil give some security, for in Reson noe attempt can be from Canida now at this season, though when winter is setled al Rivers strong Passage good, days lengthen and warmer weather towards then may be the enymys motion and Indeed al times that they haue come either to Schenecktokee, or to the Magras it hath bene about the beginning of Febr, and they may as wel come to Dearefield, where a Garrison ought wel to be provided and setled in January, in meane time probably some relaxation may be allowed. And for Brookefield who are more within our Towne, I suppose this winter time they are more probably secured, and wil be advantaged by Dearfield being provided. And beside 3. men signifie litle (though the Inhabitants desire their continuance) for I haue drawne al from Brookfield to 3. men now there, who I doubt doe little as to watch etc. however the Inhabitants desire them yet this winter til Spring I apprehend it wil not availe much. But in the Spring either the People there should be caled off, or ordered off or otherwise have more soldiers: twil be to litle purpose If an Enymy come on them, vnless there be 12. or 16. which If it be not feazable and attended to, the People should haue seasonable notice to draw off in the Spring. But Dearefeild, that Post I conclud al are for maintaining it, with sufficient strength so as to hold it against the enymys attempts and thereby secure al these other Townes, and advantage Conecticot (For which end I returne againe to Dearfield) Supposing it to be much the Interest of Conecticot and their Duty for securing them selves and their Majesties subjects, and bearing some proportion in the charge of the war, to advance for the Garrisoning of that Place: wherefore I suggest that Conecticot be timely writ

vnto and moved to their Duty: It may be good to be before hand in seasonable writing to Govr. Treate: that they would Place 40. soldiers with al officers at Deare feild at the begining of Jan. or some time in Jan. next, and be at the charge thereof for al next Summer. otherwise it will be necessary This Province doe more then yet hath bene. For we must acknowledge that vnder God (who did al for vs) those few soldiers there in Sept. last, were a meanes of preserving and holding that Place: I humbly crave a candid acceptance of what is suggested and leave al with you, and to the most Judicious Resolves of the Leiut. Govr. and Council, hoping to heare from you what is needful. I did Hint something to you about Fortifications in these Townes we are not in any good Posture: both Hatfeild Hadly etc as wel as this Towne and the Rest are to open; Fortifications gon to decay and for repairing or making new, People a litle wilful Inclined to doe when and how they please or not at al, an order from authority is necessary to enforce to what is meete, and wil strengthen the hands of those here who would haue something done but find obstructions, to their discouragement, and laying it aside: that matters for safety may be revived by some quickning directions is necessary to get us into a better way of security in the Spring and against next yeares feared Trobles, which the Lord prevent. I hoped to haue Recd commissions for the Lt. Col. and Sergt. Major of this Regiment before the Govr. went, but none came, vnless they are left with your selfe: I should have bene glad, and need others joined with me.

I Recd. the Acts and orders for the Thanksgiving etc. and sent them to the several Townes as directed, but noe letter with them, nor any lines before or since: His excel. I heare arrived the Sabbath after he went from Boston at Piscattaqve to goe with the Mast Ships and Convoy etc. I pray God give him a good and safe Passage and order al things wel that he may returne to vs with a Blessing, and in the meane time to order matters wel for vs, gviding our Rulers aright in the Management of al affaires for his owne Glory and this Peoples good, and so with the Tender of al due respects and Service (as to your selfe, so) to the Leiut. Govr. and Gent. of the Council, I am, Sir. your assured Friend and humble Servant



I shal be very thankful for a line from you, of the account of affaires, and of what forreigne News hath arrived therein. Vale. J. P.[1]

[1] Addressed: These For Honble Isaac Addington Esqr, one of the Council and Secretary of their Majesties Province of the Massachusetts Bay in Boston.

Hooke to Stoughton.

Kittery this 17th of December, 1694.

May it pleas your honour, — These are only to informe you, that I haue understood by a letter from Coll: Giddney that your honour haue receiued my letter in which I informed you that I should be prepared soudenly for the sloope in hopes she might haue been here before this time, for our continuall longe delays haue allways proued predeudeshall to most of our expeditions and I wish it may not proue soe now, espestially consideringe the two french vessells are gon east, which I would certaynly haue stopt had I come hom but on half day sooner; I feare nothinge soe much as them to obstruct our good sucksess in this present designe; all the souldiers haue been in a readines euer since thursday last and haue nothinge to doe but to imbarque imeadiatly soe soon as the sloop coms in; and to the end that nothinge may hinder them I haue supplyed them with cloathing and els fittinge for theire acomadation; I hope your honour will see cause to hasten the sloope away; if shee be not com away before this com to your honours hand. All houses at our poynt are full of souldiers with the rest attendinge at Yorke wayghtinge euery moment when I shall send for them; which is all at present from him that is your honours perpetuall seruant.

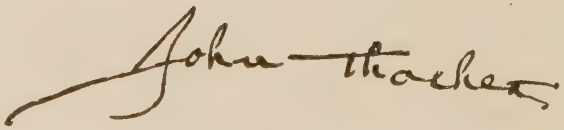
Francis Hooke.

Thacher to Stoughton.

Yarmouth, 22nd. December, 1694.

Right Honourable, Sir, — I Received yours yester day euening, and by these humbly give your self an account of that affaier. I did sum time since wright to Major Wally giving him a breef account there of with request to inform others Concerned. Sir, the press warrant directed to me by the Governour came not to hand vntill two daies after the souldiers are to be at boston. We had also intelligence that sum of the northern towns had sent theire men away so that at first I was at a stand whether I had best to Issue out warrants or not, for it would be sum further considerable time be fore our men could get to Boston. Yet not with standing I forthwith sent forth warrants to those Captains which failed in the last sending forth, to Capt. Sparrow I sent for three men, to Barnestable for two, and to Sandwig for two, to Monamoy for one, and to falmouth for one. Eastham, Monamoy and falmouth sent none the last press. Barnestable, but two, that should haue sent fiue. Sandwich but one or two that should haue sent fower. From Monamoy I had one man sent forth with who waited 7. or 8 days but not a man more apeering I released him; the account I haue from Eastham is that they prest fower men but they were at a distance, for

the press mastar could not com to touch them. they refuse to obey saying they were not prest for they did not hear. The press mastar saith they might haue heard. wherupon the Captain sent a warrant to the Constable to aprehend them but the constable returns that he cannot find them, and the Captain thinks he has done as much as the law requiers. The Lieutenant of Barnestable, the Captain not being at whome, prest two men which paid their money. And, saith he can get none but what will pay at Sandwich they prest one or two but I hear they made such excuses that they did not pay nor were sent. From Falmouth I hear nothing. I would only craue leaue further to say that we in this County are vnder very greate disadvantag at this time especialy, for our men were allaramed with the press neare a fortnight before the warrant came to me, souldiers being prest and sent from the northern towns. So that owrs were vpon their watch. 2ly all our young and strong men are imployed in whaling and mostly haue their rendivous remote from the towns and if they see any man coming towards them presently mistrust, make a shoute and run into the thickets. 3ly those that cant avoyd being taken if they haue money pay and if they haue it not they will make friends and get it. So that those that are most sutable to go vpon such seruice cannot be sent forth, and for press mastars to press persons of abillity it looks hard, for they do but as twer say I will haue 5 ll from you. I think that law is inConvenient for us, we haue not men here that wil be hired with money as in sum other plases they may. Thus Sir I haue giuen you an account of this Mattar as neere as I understand it. I would pray that this faillure may not be lookt vpon as contempt in our officer for they haue taken much pains to do what they haue don and were very desirous to haue sent the men sent for but the hendrances in breef you haue: Sir I haue ben lately very sick and am now lame, so that if it were not half so far I could not in person waite vpon your Honour which I had much rather haue don then to haue written, if it could haue ben. No more but humbly Requesting your favourable construction of my unpollicht sentances I subscribe my self Sir yours to be commanded in any seruice to my power.



HOOKE TO STOUGHTON.

KITTERY this 23 of December 1694.

May it pleas your honour, — These are to informe you, that this morninge came in the long lookt for sloope. I designe God willinge to morrow morninge to take out of her what is to be landed here and to

putt abourde the souldiers that soe the uery firs opertunity may be improued to sayle hence, which I hope may be to morrow, howeuer your honour may be confydent that they shall not stope a moment for me, for both the souldiers as well as my self haue been much wearyed in our long wayghtinge for I did well hope when the thing was first concluded on, that by this time the sloop might haue been in a readines to haue returned I wish the long delaye that hath been doe not proue detrementall to our frontiers in the souldiers absence though I designe to send away as few of them as posible I can, but the long stay of the sloop hath ocationd many others that was willinge to goe for to returne home, pray if the Indians be not yett com away I hope your honour will see cause to hasten them consideringe our circumstances in this remote parts, by the next when the sloope is gone I shall inlardge and in the intrime remayne your honours humble seruant

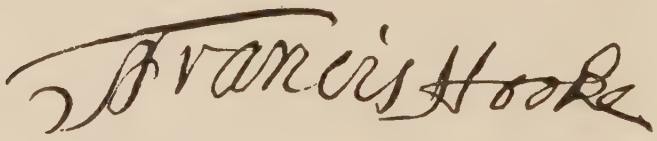
FRANCIS HOOKE

HOOKE TO STOUGHTON.

KITTERY this 31 December, 1694

May it pleas your Honour, — I take it for granted that my letter came to your honours hand the last weeke in which I informed you that Mr. Phillips came not hether untill Lords day last was seauen night, one the next day beinge monday in the morninge I sent abourde the sloope and brought ashore all that was to be landed here and forthwith sent them ballast without any of their help in order unto a speedy dispatch concludeing one monday night or tewsday morning they would haue sett sayle the souldiers hauinge been ready ten days before, but soe it was that he would not take them in one tewsday soe that by sun sett that day came in the sloop with the Indians, order was attended about them that soe they were kept under deck all the time they were here; the weather proued soe terible that they did not see cause to sayle hence before saturday morninge I sent with the sloope 59 souldiers I hope by this time they are at theyr port. I pray God giue them good suckses I orderd them to atend such measurs as was concluded one at councill table, our long stay here hath put me under som fear that the enemy may be upon us before the returne of our soulders howeuer I haue left a company of souldiers at Barwicke York and Wells and am resolued to keep each place close to their duty, and in order there unto I am Just now bound to Yorke and Wells to take efectuall care with the comission officers of each town to haue ey ouer them and if any faylier, imeadiately to giue me an account thereof all which one the drawin of the souldiers they receiued my order for in wrightinge which now in person agayn I am resolued to see carefuly atended, neuer the less if the souldiers should continue at pemaquid any time I

hope your honour will see cause to reinforce us which are but uery weake howeuer shall improue what strength we haue to the uttermost, I haue seen caus for to impres some men in our lower part of this riuer wher our garrisons ar strong and send some of them to pemaquid and others of them to Barwicke. All which I hope will be acceptable to your Honour, howeuer indeauors to the outtermost haue not been wantinge by your Honours humble seruant

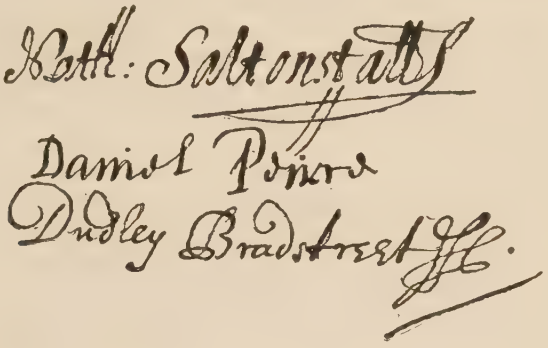


The souldiers are gon under the conduct of Capt. Chubb and Leut. Brackett untill further order. The sloops went away out of this harbor within one hower on of another, but my strict charge was to keep the Indians downe: informing them that ther was another sloop goin with prouisions.

SALTONSTALL AND OTHERS TO ADDINGTON.

SIR, — In obedience to the Lt. Gov'r: Command dated Dec'r. 14: 94, which came to my hand Dec'r 21: 94, I sent out immediately to Maj'r Vaughan by Post to pray his appearance at Salisbury on Dec'r 31: 94; on which day I went forth to Salisbury, the place appointed; at which time and place Lt: Col: Pierce, and Maj'r Bradstreet very kindly attended, to countenance and encourage the designe: and service proposed; But when I came, and we attended at the place; not any one of Newhampshire would grant us their Company, nor send the least acco't or reason for their non appearance. I am now trying to get home, tho: cold and taking Newbery in my Way to consult our own safety; We meet with Capt: Harvey who opened his Commiss: from the Lt: Gov'r: Dated Dec: 28: 94, and in discourse with him, he informes that he had directions to discourse with Vs, about Almsbury upper Garison; whither convenient to be held up or not, so that the Lt: Gov'r: might give order for the suplying it with men out of their own Town; Our thoughts are that Foote garison about mid way betw: us and Almsbury is most necessary to be kept up, and well maintained; and a corresponce to be had betw: the Garison and Haverhill. We should be glad we might have a Scout betw: Haverhill and Chelmsford; for we do not expect that the Neighbouring province will ever agree with This, unless it

be in receiving our men to guard them, what ever may become of our own plantations, that may be thought in as great hazzard. By your Servants



Newbery Janu: 2. 1694/5

Saltonstall to Addington.

Hav'll Jan: 9: 1694/5

Hon'd Sir, — I with my Lt: Col, and the Maj'r gave an Acco't from Newbery Jan: 2: 94/5 of our disappointment on the day for Meeting with Maj'r Vaughan at Salisbury where we all attended: This farther acco't I have to adde; When I came home from the Journey the 3d inst: at night I found at my house Capt. Jno: Everet who came with a Letter from Maj'r Vaughan to leave his part of the affair to Capt. Everet; We considered the Lt: Gov'r Commands, and I attended his direction given therewith; for the next day, i: e: 4th inst. We concluded how to order our men for carrying on that Meeting betw: Hav'll and Exeter: and in all his proposalls complyd with him; we thought, which I could not but joyn in, That without more men at both Townes, it could not be otherwise determined. We began upon the Scout or March on the following day the 5th instant; A fuller acco't if desired, in warmer weather, shal be given. Hav'll men plead hard with me for more men, to be on pay, so that a Scout may go the other way, and cross the head of our Woods towards Varnums, in which Maj'r Hinchman, (if you think meet to order him so to do) may comply and joyn. However without him my proposall for Hav'll will be very satisfactory and beneficiall; your answer I shall wait for and pray it may come by this Bearer James Sanders, with order what to do in it; And the order also may come to me to command men by press to make exchang for some of the men here that want it, and for others as occasion shal be; It will be necessary that some of them may have part, if not all of their wages tho: they be not yet dismist. The Constable

calls for pay and depends on the wages for to satisfie him, and supply their other necessities; for we have no Commissary here.

Sir: I pray grant me an answer be it what it will, that I may be at peace with them; and let them have what accomodation may be, in the particulars mentioned; The men are sober, peaceable, and not violent in their petitions; and yet I know that the desire of some of them is, me judice, rational and necessary. Sir, I am your Servant

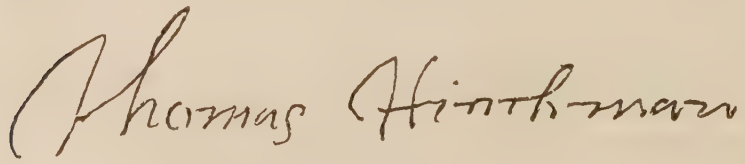
NATH: SALTONSTALL.

HINCHMAN TO STOUGHTON.

CHELMSFORD, the 18th of Jan'ry 1694/5

HONOURD SIR, — I reced yours beareing date Jan'ry the 15th. 1694/5, which I returne you hearty thanks for. That I may be strengthened thereby to performe and bringe others to theire duty in order to secure our Towns from sudden Invasion by the Common Enimie. Yet as to reportes that have bin made I know not. But there might be some grounds for the same, concerneing watcheing in some of the Towns in our Regiment; yet as for our fronteires, there are as strict orders given out as I am Capable to doe. And tis attend'd.

Honoured sir I have in obedience to yours, sent out my warrants to the respective Towns belongeing to our Regiment to set up strict watches. And as to the severall souldiers, as by yours Reced I was required to give you an account of, they are forty six in number that are in our partes, who are disposed of according to my orders. Eight of them are at Lankister, fourteen at Groton at present, eleven at Dunstable, and six at Merrimak, who are and have bin keept dayly out upon the scout, many miles about the places where they are posted. The other seven are in Chelmsford who are Improved for the Securyty of the Town as well as may be Considering how remote they are one from the othere, at the severall Garrisons where they are posted. So I Remaine your most Humble Servant to Command



FROST TO STOUGHTON.

KITTERY In the Count. YORKE Jan. 21st. 1694/5.

May pleas your Honour, — Yours of the 14th. Inst. I received on Saterday last In the Even. and since your Honour has been pleased to Repose that trust (as by your order) in me I shall take care for their

Majesties Service and Safetey of their Subjects in these partts forthwith to follow your Directions and Commands; I am goeing this day for Wells, and Yorke, to see what posture they are in and att my Returne shall take an Accountt of what Stores are left here, and render accountt of the Number of Souldiers in each place etc: to your Honour by the next Post: and in all respects shall see to the watchess, and Scouting for the observing the Enimies aproach, I humbly offer to your Honours consideration the great want of Shoes and Stockings for our Souldiers here severall of them being uncapable of service for want thereof; allso that severall Souldiers sent oute are lame more fitt for an Hospitall then to do service for the Cuntrey unless to eat up the provision, and to putt the Countrey to charge: on Saterday last at night Mr. Peprills Shallop came from Fishing, gives an accountt that on Fryday last between black Point and Sawcoe thay did see six Smokes in the woods a little from the sea side, which Judge may bee the Enimie: haveing no farther to offer at present to your Honour, I subscribe your Honours humble Servantt

CHARLES FROST.

SALTONSTALL TO STOUGHTON.

HAVERHIL, Jan: 23: 1694/5.

SIR, — Your Honours most kind answer to mine sent the 9th of Jan: 1694/5, was fully made known to many who prevailed with me to write; Their mouths (and I hope their hearts consent therewith) are abundantly open, and fill'd with thankfull acknowledgment of your faithfull thoughts for; and care of Owr; and I may say distressed; if not distracted place. Bis dat qui cito dat; your Answer being so soon given, adds to the kindness. My return should have been sooner but I could not then, nor yet can I tell what to make of the Scout towards Chelmsford or Varnum's, unless Maj'r Hinchman be engaged in it, and will speak with me at Haverhil, or Else where; as your Honor shall please to order. I have consulted with many considerate persons here, who think that twelve or 18 men may be necessary for the Scout, For, They cannot move every day upon the same March.

I have discourst Capt: Harvey the 19th instant about Foots Garison, who informes me; They shall be thankfull and satesfied if the Country afford Foots garison Foure men to be upon duty and pay at that Garison; and for other additional men of their own to joyn them He feares not but they will attend, and do what shall be convenient for them to do: For the other Garison mentioned, viz; as I understand, at John Pressy's, He thinks it will be best for the Inhabitants adjacent, to stay and maintaine the same according to their own first voluntary entrance thereon; there being a competent number of Neighbours at hand;

but how many I know not, and the place also I am fully a Stranger unto; for they never come neer me.

I venture to mention the desire of severall men; That the Country please to keep out on pay abt: 30, or 40 or 50 men, at Haverhil, to be, with a Commander over them, duely to range and sometimes ly out in the Woods, as the weather will give leave, But, Then I feare and see there will be necessity of a Commissary here, with Country Stores of Ammunition, Provision and cloathing etc. There can be no expectation of through and satisfactory service in Winter time without a supply of Snow Shoes.

I have according to your Honours Order, enclosed an Acco't of the Soldiers time and Billets at Haverhil, accounting to January the 17th. 1694/5, inclusive. The notice I have given them of your Honours Resolution and purpose is no small satisfaction to them all; and adds chearfullness.

Sir I pray that the expectation of the men may not be frustrated, but that the Orders for their pay for the time mentioned may come as soon as your self thinks meet.

Hon'd Sir, I begg that your pardon, for want of Method and apt expressions, may be, according to your own Candid disposition, freely granted to; Hon'd Sir, your humble Servant

NATH'LL SALTONSTALL

SALTONSTALL TO ADDINGTON

HAV 'LL Janr: 25: 1694/5

SIR, — The solicitous thoughts of many here, with respect to the hazzard this Plantation is in, and judged so to be; more than many other places puts them upon hurrying Me to run upon the Lt: Gov'r and your self with often Letters and proposalls, which otherwise I should not, of My self, trouble your Worship with. My Letter to the Lt: Gov'r should have come post the next day but one after the receipt of the last from His Honour; dated Jan: the 10: 1694/5, but that the weather, and way in the Towne and Woods would be a great hinderance to our motion, which we desire to attend, and know is expected of vs.

Bec: of the Lt: Gov'rs remote lodgings, or Place, I am necessitated to direct my Letters to your own hand, and pray that, since the Answer must pass through your own hand, you please to favour me and the people of Haverhil with as speedy and as kind and comfortable an Answer as I received the last time.

Give me leave, Sir, on the behalf of the Soldiers, to mention one thing, which I had no answer of in your last; yea or Nay, which might be through fullness of business, on your hands at all times. Let

a Grant be made me to press fresh men, as occasion may be; for sickness, or other reasons; to keep the number allowed of and posted here, full; Or Let it be denyed; I shall be satisfied, and shall the more freely give answer to any motions made to me; For I purpose to attend, all Orders or directions, that shall be given me.

Please, Sir, to forward the grant of Debentures and Pay to the Soldiers, as in the Bill I have draw and sent by the Lt: Gov'rs Order; and when sent to me, which is their desire, I shall carefully and speedily deliver them to the Owners. Sir, I am your Servant

N'LL SALTONSTALL.

STOUGHTON TO SALTONSTALL.

BOSTON, Jany. 31, 1694/5.

SIR, — I have yours of the 23d inst. before me with the inclosed list of the Souldiers under pay within your Regiment, which I have transmitted to the Commissioners for War with direction to prepare their Debentures, and to give you speedy notice thereof, and necessary Instructions how the Souldiers may come at their pay with the least difficulty; as also to write unto you concerning the several places of their posts: which is thought not to be to the most advantage for service: they will suggest what they apprehend advisable in that respect, and how Foots Garrison may be maintained; And likewise for the keeping of a Scout betwixt your Town and Varnum's; which it's thought will greatly conduce to the safety of the whole if diligently attended. I have written unto Major Henchman to meet yourself at Andover to adjust that matter with you, that it may be forthwith set on Foot. For what is suggested about raysing of a new Company of Souldiers to be posted in your Town, the charge thereof will be insupportable, and the Service proposed, it's thought, may be as well Effected and that saved, If the directions in the Law concerning Alarms or an attack made upon any place be well attended, and the powers given unto your selfe in your Instructions. In some other of the Regiments I am informed the chief Officer has so concerted the matter with the Captains and other Officers, that a certain number particularly named in each Company are to be in readiness forthwith to march upon any Exigent and a sutable person appointed to conduct them for the reliefe of their Neighbours; which is thought to be a good Expedient but one principal meanes under God for the safeguard and preservation of the Frontiers, is by a lively careful Scout, that may discover the Enemies approach and prevent a Surprisal. I trust you will be very strict and vigilant to see that the Scout be constantly upon duty, and the whole militia of your Regiment, be provided and furnished as the law directs, and that defects be taken notice of and duely punished, and let me from time to time be

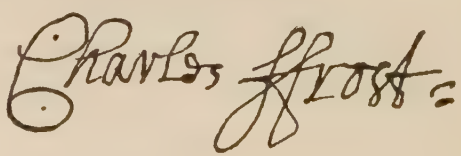
advised of what may occur, or is further necessary for their Majesties Service. I am your loveing Friend

W. STOUGHTON.

FROST TO STOUGHTON.

KITTERY: February 4th. 1694/5

May it Pleas your Honour, — Of Late since the death of Major Hoocke I haue wrought boath to your Honour and to the Commissioners of Warr but no answer Rec'd as yet, I herewith send according to your Order the Following Account. As to Account of Stores at the death of Major Hoocke which was Jan'r 10th I find vizt. 13 hhds of Bread 23 Barrells of porke 5 hhds of Peas wanting @ 1½ bushell @ ¾ of a hhd of Rye one Barrell of pouder and @ 12 lb in the Bottom of an Other Barrell and @ 200 lb of Musquet shot, 7 pair of Mittens 2 Caps 5 Weastcoats; out of which there I owe to that time to seuerall persons for Billetting of Souldiers seuerall Quantites of provisions which hereafter I shall giue a farther account of. At Yorke in the hands of Leut. Abraham Prebble @ 40 lbs of powder 20 lbs of Shot, 3 dozen of flints 2 Barrells of porke which I suppose was sent to him a Little before the death of Major Hoocke. At Wells, in the hands of Leut. Storrer 1½ Barrells of powder 1½ lb hundred pounds of Musquet Shot. This is all the Stores there is. Likewise in Wells, posted 36 Souldiers in 6 Garrisons whose Buisnes is in suitable weather to Scout to Newitchawannick and of the Eastward side of the Towne Towards Cape Porpus There is at present at Yorke posted 29 Souldiers who are ordred to scout on the Eastward Side of the Towne and towards Newitchawannick. At the vper part of Kittery 49 in seuerall Garrisons, who scout from thence to meat Wells Scout, and the vper part of the Towne Wells haueing a Late Supply of provision by Gouge the Contents of which I yet know not. Yorke is Quiet out of provision. I haue Lately dismissed 2 Souldiers that ware vncapable and unfit for Seruice and there is Seuerall More vnder the same Curcumstance for want of Necessaries. At Sawco is posted 24 Souldiers. As for Major Hoocks Accounts in Refference to the Warr the Ouerseers of his will not haueing heitherto time to settle matters are not perfected but with all Conuenient Speed will be Adjusted though fear will proue but verry slack which when done shall Transmit it to the Commissioners of Warr according to your Order; I once more pray your Honour for A Supply of Shoes and Stockins etc. for the Souldiers sent heither and also for Prouision for those at Yorke. I am your Honours Humble Seruant



Stoughton to Saltonstall, Appleton and Hinchman.

Sir, — The Intelligence I have formerly communicated unto you of the Enemys preparations and designe to make an attack upon the outposts of this Province, being refreshed unto me by way of New Yorke, and that a party are set forth from Canada towards the Eastern parts, I judge it necessary to revive my former orders sent you, that you carefully see that good watches and Scouts be kept out within your Regiment and especially in such places, as lye most Exposed. And to the intent you may not be found unprovided to meet with and repel the force of the Enemy in case of their approach, Besides what directions are given in the Law in that respect upon an alarm, and the Instructions which you have by you, It is thought advisable and I do accordingly direct that you cause to be listed a select number out of each military Company and Troop in the several neer Towns within your Regiment sufficient to make a compleat Company of one hundred men or upwards and to nominate a fit person or persons to be their Commanders who are to be alwaies in a readiness, and to be charged with it as their duty upon the first notice of the Enemies approach or alarm given, forthwith to repair well provided with Armes and ammunition to such place as shall be assigned for their pirade, and being mustered and draun together immediately to advance to the releife of the Town or place assaulted, and to repel and pursue the Enemy as occasion and opportunity shall present. Let me have an account from you of your doings herein with what speed may be. If any Service extraordinary be performed by them more than is by Law required It will have its consideration for meet allowance to be given. I am your Loveing Friend

W. S.

Boston, February 14th. 1694/5.

Hinchman to Stoughton.[1]

[February, 1694/5.]

Honoured Sir, — I reced yours beareing Date febru'ry the 14th 94/5 on the 16th of said feb'ry at nighte, wherein your honour signifies unto me that you are apprehensive that we are in dainger of being asault'd by the Enimie in our fronteires, which notice I am exceedingly obliged to your Honour for. And in obedience to your Command I have Isued out my warrants to the severall Captaines in the Regiment, under my Care, requireing them to see that strict watches be keept in the Towns for feare of a suden surpriseall by the Enimie, and farther

[1] Addressed "To the Honoured Lt. Governour Mr. William Stowton. To be left at Mr. Isaac Addingtons, Secretary, in Boston."

to make choise of and to list a select number of our most able men boath out of the horse and foote in the severall Companys belongeing to our Regiment, to the number of 134 men or thereabouts, who are to be in a reddynes, at halfe an hours warneing of any place or places being Asaulted, to move away for the releife of any people so asaulted, and in order to the repelling and destroying of the Enimie, under some meet Conduct, who are all required to be well fixed with armes and Amunition, and six days provition so that they may as well persue as repell the Enimie.

And in respect of scouteing, I have taken care that it may be and se that tis attended by the soldiers I Have as well as the season will permitt of for the securitie of our partes, and as to a Comander I have not yet apointed who shall be cheife, but if occasion be I hope I shall doe it to satisfaction. Not further to give your honour Trubble I rest, your most humble servant to Command,

THOMAS HINCHMAN.

SALTONSTALL TO STOUGHTON.

HAVERHIL, March 18: 1694/5

HON'BLE SIR, — On Friday night last I got home; The next day I sett myself to work to dispatch Letters to the severall Commanders of this Regiment for a supply of men for release of them with me at Haverhil, who are under pay, and expect their answers. I find more difficulty to obtain one or Two at Haverhil than I believe I shall meet with from all the rest. I will never plead for an Haverhill man more; when this turn is over, tho' I have designed their accommodation: I have labored, and, but yet in vain. It 's to my grief that this acco't comes to your Honours hand. Our dependence now under God is only upon your self.

Sir: The last night at 8 a Clock Post from Exeter[1] comes with a Letter from Major Vaughan, with another enclosed from Capt. March at Pemaquid. I shall not relate the contents, bec: I enclose to your Hon'r his to me. By it may (if his report received (as he saies) be true) be understood our danger; and what we must expect from the Enemie; Nothing but ruine: And how convenient it may be (as was spoken) to draw off a part of the 12 men here; to place them more remote on the South of Merrimack at Stevens's Garrison; And what need We here have of further assistance; if God please to add his Blessing to endeavours.

Hon 'ble Sir: I shall be fully thankfull if your Hon'r please to authorize some meet person to appear here; and tell us what we should, may, or must do. I have laboured in vain: Some go this, and

[1] "Eeter" in MS.

that, and the other way at pleasure, and do what they list; But I hope will observe another rather than an Home-dweller. Were it in my Province I could name One or Two. But any with your Honours Commission will be welcome; and shall with rejoycing be so to me.

Possibly the condition and danger we are in may draw more than is convenient from me. And, yet, if it may be no otherwise than now it is; I must pay a tribute to lay my Commission at your Honours Foot.

I have been ready to serve my Country, and this town, under many disadvantages, dissatisfactions, and discouragements; but may not, and cannot, hold out longer; with the vsage I meet with. I am, Sir, Your Honours most humble Servant

NATH: SALTONSTALL.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER,

1910.

In compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws, Chapter VII., Article 2, the Treasurer respectfully submits his Annual Report, made up to March 31, 1910.

The special funds now held by the Treasurer are twenty-nine in number. Of these special funds twenty-two were particularly numbered and described in the Treasurer's report for the year ending March 30, 1907.[1] The remaining special funds were numbered and described as follows in the Treasurer's report for the year ending March 31, 1909, namely:

XXIII. WATERSTON LIBRARY FUND.
XXIV. CHAMBERLAIN FUND.
XXV. SALISBURY FUND.
XXVI. SANFORD FUND.

The Sanford Fund, the income of which was applicable to the general purposes of the Society, has been transferred to, and now forms a part of, the General Fund, and in place thereof is XXVI, the EDMUND FARWELL SLAFTER FUND, being a legacy of one thousand dollars under the will of Rev. Edmund Farwell Slafter, D.D., received by the Treasurer March 7, 1910, the purpose of the Fund being as stated in the will,

> to form a Library Fund, or to be added to a library fund already existing, the income of which is to be expended for the increase and enrichment of the Library of said Society.

[1] 3 Proc., I. 6–26.

XXVII. The John Langdon Sibley Centenary Fund.

In accordance with a vote of the Council on December 8, 1909, the Treasurer has

> set apart one-fourth of the principal of said bequest and one-fourth of the income earned and accumulated in accordance with the terms of Mr. Sibley's gift . . . and that hereafter the entire income from the Centenary Fund be annually added to the principal until the expiration of the term named in Mr. Sibley's bequest, namely, January 22, 2002.

The principal of the John Langdon Sibley Centenary Fund with the accumulated income now amounts to $47,609.30.

The two funds remaining are the two special investments referred to in detail in the Treasurer's report for the year ending March 31, 1909, namely:

The Brattle Street Church Model Fund of one hundred dollars and the accumulated income which now amounts to $117.11, and which is solely applicable to the care and preservation of the Model of the Brattle Street Church which was received in April, 1887, and which fund is now invested in the Boston Five Cents Savings Bank; and,

The M. A. Parker Fund, deposited in the Provident Institution for Savings, the original amount of which was one thousand dollars, including the gift of Mr. Thomas Minns, as stated in my last report, the accumulated income on the same being $76.29. The interest on the latter fund is to be used for the purchase of books for the Library, and now appears in the Treasurer's annexed statement as the M. A. Parker Fund, which together with the Church Model Fund is a special investment, and the income received therefrom is not included in the consolidated income.

The only legacy received during the year is that under the will of Edmund Farwell Slafter, D.D., before referred to. The securities held by the Treasurer as investments on account of the above mentioned funds are as follows:

INVESTMENTS

SCHEDULE OF BONDS

NAME		DUE		PAR VALUE
Chicago & West Michigan R. R. Co.	5%	1921		$14,000.00
Chicago & North Michigan R. R. Co.	5%	1931		1,000.00
Rio Grande Western R. R. Co.	4%	1939		5,000.00
Chicago, Burlington & Quincy R. R.	4%	1921		8,000.00
Chicago, Burlington & Quincy R. R.	4%	1922		2,000.00
Chicago, Burlington & Quincy R. R.	3½%	1949		4,000.00
Cincinnati, Dayton & Ironton R. R.	5%	1941		5,000.00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R.	4%	1995		14,500.00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R.	4%	1995	"adjustment"	9,000.00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R.	4%	1995	"convertible"	3,000.00
Chicago Jct. & Union Stock Yds.	5%	1915		13,000.00
Oregon Short Line R. R. Co.	5%	1946		10,000.00
United Zinc & Chemical Co.	5%	1928		30,000.00
Oregon Short Line R. R. Co.	4%	1929		10,000.00
Lewiston-Concord Bridge Co.	5%	1924		12,000.00
Boston & Maine R. R. Co.	4½%	1944		6,000.00
American Tel. & Tel. Co.	4%	1929		10,000.00
Northern Pacific, & Great Northern R. R. Cos.	4%	1921	"joint"	50,000.00
Kansas City Stock Yards Co.	5%	1913	"convertible"	12,000.00
Long Island R. R. Co.	4%	1949		6,000.00
New York Central & H. R. R. R. Co.	4%	1934		15,000.00
Bangor & Aroostook R. R. Co.	4%	1951		10,000.00
Detroit, Grand Rapids & Western R. R. Co.	4%	1946		2,000.00
Fitchburg R. R. Co.	4%	1927		9,000.00
Kansas City, Clinton, & Springfield R. R. Co.	5%	1925		3,000.00
Lowell, Lawrence & Haverhill Street Railway Co.	5%	1923		2,000.00
West End Street Ry. Co.	4%	1915		6,000.00
Washington Water Power Co.	5%			10,000.00
United Electric Securities	5%	1939		15,000.00
Blackstone Valley Gas & Elec. Co.	4%			10,000.00
Western Tel. & Tel. Co.	5%			5,000.00
Maine Central R. R.	4½%			5,000.00
			Par value	$316,500.00

Schedule of Stocks

		Par
50	Merchants National Bank, Boston	$5,000.00
50	State National Bank, Boston	5,000.00
50	National Bank of Commerce, Boston	5,000.00
50	National Union Bank, Boston	5,000.00
50	Second National Bank, Boston	5,000.00
25	National Shawmut Bank, Boston	2,500,00
35	Boston & Albany R. R. Co.	3,500.00
25	Old Colony R. R. Co.	2,500.00
25	Fitchburg R. R. Co. Pfd.	2,500.00
150	Chicago Jct. Rys. & Union Stock Yards Co. Pfd.	15,000.00
150	American Smelting & Refining Co. Pfd.	15,000.00
158	Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R. Co. Pfd.	15,800.00
302	Kansas City Stock Yards Co.	30,200.00
10	Cincinnati Gas & Electric Co.	1,000.00
6	Boston Real Estate Trust	6,000.00
5	State Street Exchange	500.00
3	Pacific Mills	3,000.00
50	Seattle Electric Co. Pfd.	5,000.00
1194	Shares	$127,500.00

Schedule of Notes Receivable

G. St. L. Abbott, Trustee, Mortgage 6%	$13,000.00
A. & C. F. Ammand, Mortgage 6%	3,500.00
	$16,500.00

Schedule of Savings Bank Books

M. A. Parker Fund	$1,000 and accrued int.	$1,076.29
Brattle Street Church Fund	$100 and accrued int.	217.11
		$1,293.40

Recapitulations

Bonds, par value	$316,500.00
Stocks, par value	127,500.00
Notes receivable	16,500.00
Savings Bank Books	1,293.40
	$461,793.40

Represented by Balance, Investment account $458,825.83

The balance sheet follows and shows the present condition of the several accounts:

BALANCE SHEET

Investment Account . .	$458,825.83	Various Funds . . .	$410,303.53
		Accumulated Income of Funds	64,683.57
			$474,987.10
Real Estate	97,990.32	Building Fund . . .	72,990.32
		Ellis House	25,000.00
Cash	497.43		
Accrued Interest on bonds bought March 30, 1910	62.50		
Balance General Account . .	15,601.34		
	$572,977.42		$572,977.42

FUNDS AND ACCUMULATIONS

	ACCUMULATED INCOME	FUND
Anonymous		$4,118.53
Appleton	$6,236.29	12,203.00
Amory, Wm.	1,735.23	3,000.00
E. B. Bigelow	552.36	2,000.00
R. C. Billings	2,428.09	10,000.00
Chamberlain	58.67	1,232.33
Dowse		10,000.00
Ellis		31,663.66
Richard Frothingham	2,676.06	3,000.00
General Fund		44,427.43
Lawrence	1,087.06	3,000.00
Lowell	365.73	3,000.00
Mass. Hist. Trust	5,271.57	10,000.00
Peabody	4,318.58	22,123.00
C. A. L. Sibley		22,509.48
J. L. Sibley	22,707.27	121,077.00
Savage	527.96	6,000.00
Salisbury		5,000.00
Waterston Pub'g. Fund (No. 3)	3,267.97	10,000.00
Waterston Library Balance	285.32	3,875.14
Waterston Fund No. 1	1,200.92	5,000.00
Waterston Fund No. 2	4,750.75	10,000.00
T. L. Winthrop	281.51	2,364.66
Robert C. Winthrop	5,414.09	10,000.00
Wm. Winthrop	1,324.74	5,000.00
J. L. Sibley Centenary Fund		47,609.30
Edmund F. Slafter Fund		1,000.00
M. A. Parker	76.29	1,000.00
Brattle Street Church Model Fund	117.11	100.00
Total Amount Funds		$410,303.53
Total Accumulated Income	$64,683.57	64,683.57
Total		$474,987.10

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Balance Account March 31, 1909		$439,994.10
Added since:		
$10,000.00 Washington Water Power Co.	$10,350.00	
16,000.00 United Electric Securities	16,403.33	
3,000.00 New York Central & H. R. R. R.	2,883.75	
10,000.00 Blackstone Valley Gas & El.	9,975.00	
5,000.00 Western Tel. & Tel. Co.	4,862.50	
5,000.00 Maine Central 4½'s	4,993.75	
5,000.00 Seattle Electric Co. Pfd.	5,100.00	
	$54,568.33	
Accrued Interest on Parker Savings Bank Book	76.29	
Brattle Street Church Model Fund	217.11	54,861.73
		$494,855.83
Less:		
Received on G. St. L. Abbott Note	$3,000.00	
$1,000.00 United Electric Securities, Bond paid	1,030.00	
3,000.00 Am. Tel. & Tel. Co., Notes paid	3,000.00	
22,000.00 Burlington & Missouri R. R. Co., Bonds paid	$22,000.00	
2,000.00 Michigan Central R. R., Notes paid	2,000.00	
5,000.00 Pennsylvania R. R., Notes paid	5,000.00	36,030.00
Balance Account March 31, 1910		$458,825.83
Accounted for in the preceding schedules, amounting at par value to	$461,793.40	

GENERAL ACCOUNT

Balance at Debit this Account March 31, 1909		$6,036.52
Charges made during year		
Salaries of Librarian's Assistants	$3,060.00	
Editor and Assistants	6,169.97	
Engineer and Janitor	1,020.00	
Treasurer's Bookkeeper	600.00	
Cleaning Building	134.50	
Printing and Binding	1,609.52	
Stationery and Postage	307.50	
Light	67.92	
Water	73.00	
Fuel	455.00	
Repairs to Building	634.18	
Furniture	273.12	
Metal Shelving	1,140.00	
Rent Safety Vault	50.00	
Subscription to American bibliography	100.00	
Public Accountant	25.00	
Treasurer's Bond	25.00	
Telephone	118.09	
Fire Insurance	17.50	
Miscellaneous Expenses	348.88	
D. M. Matteson, "Index" (final payment)	400.00	
Total Expenses		$16,629.18
		$22,665.70

GENERAL ACCOUNT — *Continued*

Brought over		$22,665.70
Less Sale of Publications	$761.52	
Interest M. A. Parker Books transferred to Parker Fund	47.48	
Balance Dowse Fund	594.60	
Balance Ellis Fund	1,894.58	
Balance General Fund	2,598.39	
Balance Sanford Fund	119.13	
Balance Salisbury Fund	299.17	
Balance C. A. L. Sibley Fund	749.49	
Total Credits		$7,064.36
Balance at Dr., March 31, 1910		$15,601.34

ACCUMULATED INCOME OF FUNDS

Cash Received during year March 31, 1909, to March 31, 1910			$24,571.31
Less Accrued Interest on Bonds bought			321.78
			24,249.53
Interest added to Bank Books			
M. A. Parker Fund	$76.29		
Brattle Street Church Model	8.40		
Interest not included in accounts			
Brattle Street Church Model	108.11		$145.32
Sale Chamberlain's Chelsea			27.00
			$24,421.85
Accumulated Income of Funds March 31, 1909			57,882.00
			$82,303.85
Transfer to Centenary Funds:			
J. L. Sibley	$2,687.79		
Anonymous	232.52	$2,920.31	
Transfer to General Account Balances of Funds:			
Dowse	$594.60		
Ellis	1,894.58		
General	2,598.39		
Sanford	119.13		
Salisbury	299.17		
C. A. L. Sibley	749.49	$6,255.36	
Paid out on Income of Funds			
Publication of Proc., "Index," etc.	$4,294.79		
Other Publications	844.13		
Illustrations, etc.	232.90		
Books, Binding, etc.	1,324.68		
Salary of Librarian's Assistant	1,700.05		
Express on Chamberlain's Chelsea	42.06		
Framing	7.00	$8,445.61	
			$17,621.28
Accumulated Income on Funds March 31, 1910			$64,683.57

CASH ACCOUNT

Balance on hand March 31, 1909			$18,135.00
Received during year to March 31, 1910			
From Sale of Publications		$761.52	
Investments matured		36,030.00	
Legacy Edmund F. Slafter		1,000.00	
Income from Investments		24,571.31	
Sale Chamberlain's Chelsea		27.00	
Total Receipts			62,389.83
			$80,524.83
Payments during same period have been:			
Securities bought		$54,568.33	
Accrued Interest on Bonds bought		321.78	
Accrued Interest on Bonds bought March 30, 1910		62.50	
General Account		16,629.18	
Paid on account of Income:			
Bigelow Fund	$297.63		
Billings Fund	7.00		
Chamberlain Fund	42.06		
Dowse Fund	3.74		
Lowell Fund	71.12		
Mass. Hist. Trust Fund	56.47		
Peabody Fund, for "Index," etc.	2,643.33		
Savage Fund	177.53		
Waterston Pub'g., for Proc. 42	1,645.49		
Waterston Library Fund	8.10		
Waterston No. 1	7.00		
Waterston No. 2, for "Foster"	955.41		
J. L. Sibley Fund	1,933.40		
C. A. L. Sibley Fund	597.33		
Total to Funds		8,445.61	
Total Payments			80,027.40
Balance on hand March 31, 1910			$497.43

The income for the year derived from the investments and credited to the several funds in proportion to the amount in which they stand on the Treasurer's books was nearly six per cent of the funds.

The present condition of the Society is shown in detail in the foregoing statements and abstracts, but it may be convenient to give a short summary.

The real estate, which is entirely unincumbered, stands on the books at $97,990.32, but is valued by the City Assessors at $197,000. The aggregate amount of the permanent funds is

$410,303.53, which together with the unexpended balances and income is represented by securities and deposits and amounts to $458,825.83, as per schedule given above.

There is also appended to the report an itemized statement of the several funds of the Society, with the accrued income of each as of April 1, 1910, together with such restrictions upon the use of the principal or income as are found in the bequests or gifts.

ARTHUR LORD,
Treasurer.

BOSTON, April 1, 1910.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

The undersigned, a committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society, as made up to April 1, 1910, have attended to that duty, and report that they find that the securities held by the Treasurer for the several funds correspond with the statement in his Annual Report.

They have engaged the services of Mr. Henry A. Piper, a Public Accountant, who reports to them that he finds the accounts correctly kept and properly vouched, that the balance of cash on hand is satisfactorily accounted for, and that the trial balance is accurately taken from the Ledger.

THOMAS MINNS,
JAMES F. HUNNEWELL, } *Committee.*

BOSTON, April 6, 1910.

FUNDS OF THE SOCIETY.

April 1, 1910.

THE Treasurer reports the amounts of the several funds of the Society, the accrued income of each as of April 1, 1910, together with such restrictions upon the use of the principal or income as are found in the gift or bequest.

William Amory Fund.

$3,000, the bequest of William Amory, received January 7, 1889.
Voted, January 10, 1889, "That the income be applied to the general purposes of the Society; or to such specified objects as may be directed from time to time."
2 Proceedings, iv. 236.

$3,000, principal. Accumulated income, $1,735.23

Publications: 6 Collections, x.

Anonymous Fund.

$1,000.00, the gift of a Resident Member, April 14, 1877.
2 Proceedings, iii. 277.

250.00, the gift of the same member, April, 1888.
2 Proceedings, iv. 353.

Donor instructed Treasurer that "the income is to be added to the principal until the Annual Meeting in 1991, — the close of the second century from the organization of the Society. All the papers relating to the fund have been sealed up, and placed with other evidences of property belonging to the Society."
2 Proceedings, xiii. 66.

$4,118.53, present amount of fund.

APPLETON FUND.

$10,000, the gift, November 18, 1854, of Nathan Appleton, William Appleton, and Nathaniel I. Bowditch, trustees under the will of Samuel Appleton, "in accordance with what we believe to have been his wish." 1 Proceedings, II. 597.

Voted, January 11, 1855, that "the income of the same, the accounts of which shall be kept separately from the other receipts and expenditures of the Society, be applied for ever exclusively to 'the procuring, preservation, preparation, and publication of historical papers' being the objects specified in the letter of the Trustees." 1 Proceedings, II. 600.

Notice is to be inserted in each volume that is published at the charge of this fund. 1 Proceedings, II. 601.

$12,203, principal, realized from sale of stocks, March, 1863. Accumulated income, $6,236.29

PUBLICATIONS: 4 Collections,[1] III–X; 5 Collections, I–IV[2]; 6 Collections,[3] III, V, VIII; 7 Collections, I, IV-VI; 1 Proceedings, III–VIII, in part.[4]

ERASTUS B. BIGELOW FUND.

$1,000, gift of Mrs. Helen Bigelow Merriman, January 31, 1881, "in grateful remembrance of his [her father Erastus B. Bigelow] pleasant connection with the Historical Society": received February 10, 1881. 1 Proceedings, XVIII. 323.

The Treasurer, in his report of April, 1893, says, "it is not proposed to add the income to the principal after the amount reaches the sum of $2,000." This amount was reached in that year. 2 Proceedings, VIII. 187.

$2,000, principal. Accumulated income, $552.36

ROBERT CHARLES BILLINGS FUND.

$10,000, gift of the surviving executors, Thomas Minns and Joseph S. Kendall, of the will of Robert Charles Billings; received April 16, 1903. 2 Proceedings, XVII. 235; XVIII. 276.

Voted, That "the income only to be used for publications." 2 Proceedings, XVII. 235.

$10,000, principal. Accumulated income, $2,428.09

PUBLICATION: 2 Proceedings, XIX.

[1] 1 to 4 Collections, II., cost paid out of General Account; [2] V.–VII.; [3] I, II.; and [4] the other part from the same source.

Brattle Street Church Model Fund.

$100, deposit book in the Boston Five Cents Savings Bank; received, April, 1887, with the Model for its "care and preservation."
1 Proceedings, xv. 264; 3 Proceedings, i. 13, 417.

$100, principal. Accumulated income, $117.11

Building Account.

$72,990.32, value of the Society's real estate as it stands on the Treasurer's books. 2 Proceedings, xx. 225.

Chamberlain Fund.

$10,062.01, bequest of Mellen Chamberlain; received, $5,520 on December 16, 1903, $4,442.53 in May, 1906, and $99.48 in June: to defray the cost of publishing his "History of Chelsea."

$971.25, balance after publication.
261.08, sales.

$1,232.33, amount to be funded "as a perpetual memorial of the interest which our honored associate took in the work of the Society." 3 Proceedings, i. 13.

Voted, June 11, 1908: "that the annual interest upon the deposit be permitted to accumulate and compound until such time as it shall be reasonably certain that substantially the entire amount which is likely to be received from the sale of the History has been already paid into the Treasury, and that then the sum with its interest accumulations be invested as a part of the General Fund of the Society, or applied to such other purposes as the Society or its Council may direct." 3 Proceedings, i. 509.

Accumulated income, $58.67

Dowse Fund.

$10,000, gift, April 9, 1857, by George Livermore and Eben. Dale, executors of the will of Thomas Dowse, who say in their letter of that date "That the Library which is now transferred to the Historical Society may be forever preserved and used in accordance with the views of the donor, and the votes of the Society at the time the gift was accepted, the executors, in accordance with

the trust imposed upon them by the will of Mr. Dowse, have decided to appropriate the sum of ten thousand dollars, as 'the Dowse Fund of the Massachusetts Historical Society': the principal to be forever intact, and the income to be used for the purposes above named."
1 Proceedings, III. 172.

Voted, August 5, 1856, "that the said donation [of books] is gratefully accepted by the Society upon the terms prescribed by the liberal and enlightened donor," upon the single condition that they shall "be preserved forever in a room by themselves, only to be used in said room."
1 Proceedings, III. 108; 2 Proceedings, VIII. 334.

Income each year placed to the credit of the General Account in accordance with what was understood to be the wish of the executors.

$10,000, principal. Balance of income to General Account, $594.60

ELLIS FUND.

$30,000.00, bequest of Dr. George E. Ellis, received December 20, 1895: "My wish and expectation are that the bequest in money will yield sufficient annual income to insure, maintain, and repair the property."
2 Proceedings, X. 1, 149, 404.

1,663.66, added from sale of personal property.
2 Proceedings, XVII. 219.

$31,663.66, principal. Balance of income to General Account, $1,894.58

ELLIS HOUSE.

$25,000, from sale of the home property, is invested in the Society's real estate.

RICHARD FROTHINGHAM FUND.

$3,000, gift by Vrylena, widow of Richard Frothingham, March 23, 1883. 1 Proceedings, XX. 174.

Voted: "so to employ the interest of said fund, by accumulation for a time or otherwise, under the direction and discretion of the Council as to them shall seem best for the welfare of the Society." 1 Proceedings, XX. 175.

$3,000, principal. Accumulated income, $2,676.06

PUBLICATIONS: 6 Collections, VI, VII; Catalogue of the Cabinet (1885).

General Fund.

1. $2,000.00, gift of William Minot, and William Minot, Jr., executors of the Will of Miss Mary Prince Townsend from her residuary estate given to them in trust, June 13, 1861. 1 Proceedings, v. 203.
2. $2,000.00, bequest of Henry Harris, received July, 1867. 1 Proceedings, x. 39.
3. $1,000.00, legacy of George Bemis, received March, 1879. 1 Proceedings, xvii. 69.
4. $100.00, gift of Ralph Waldo Emerson, received April, 1881. 1 Proceedings, xix. 292.
5. $1,000.00, legacy of Williams Latham, received May, 1884. 2 Proceedings, ii. 74.
6. $900.00, bequest of George Dexter, received June, 1884.
   337.56, sale of subscription rights.
   $1,237.56 2 Proceedings, ii. 74; xvi. 133.
7. $1,000.00, legacy of E. R. Hoar, received February, 1895. 2 Proceedings, x. 129.
8. $100.00, gift of Horace Davis, received April, 1904. 2 Proceedings, xviii. 264.
9. $100.00, gift of Edward D. Harris, received March, 1905. 2 Proceedings, xix. 208.
10. $4500.00, thirty commutation fees at $150 each. 3 Proceedings, i. 9

    Voted, June 13, 1907, that the Treasurer repay "to said members from the General Fund a propor, tional amount of the sums received from them, they being credited with annual interest and being debited with the regular annual fee from the date when the commutation fees were severally paid." 3 Proceedings, i. 97.

    Amount repaid by the Treasurer from the income $674.75. 3 Proceedings, i. 422
11. $29,955.17, withdrawn from sale of the Tremont Street estate. 2 Proceedings, xv. 33.

    731.70, from Boston Medical Library for party wall.
    $30,686.87 2 Proceedings, xvi. 133.

    397.00, spent for permanent improvements and credited to the Building Account on March 31, 1906. 3 Proceedings, i. 10.
    $30,289.87 2 Proceedings, xx. 211.

12. $100.00, from sale of bond March, 1888.
2 Proceedings, XX. 212.

13. $1,000.00, bequest of John Elliot Sanford, received in 1908.
Proceedings, XLII. 242.

$44,427.43, principal.
Balance of income to General Account, $2,717,52
Income had paid for the portrait of George Livermore, painted by Carroll Beckwith, New York, 1904, $1,538.80.
2 Proceedings, XIX. 83–86, 216, 224.
PUBLICATION: 2 Proceedings, VII.

LAWRENCE FUND.

$3,000, the bequest of Abbott Lawrence (H. U. 1849), received June 14, 1894.
The will requires that the income shall be expended in publishing the Collections and Proceedings of the Society.
2 Proceedings, IX. 96.

$3,000, principal. Accumulated income, $1087.06
PUBLICATION: 2 Proceedings, XVII.

LOWELL FUND.

$3,000, the bequest of Hon. John Lowell (H. U. 1843), received September 13, 1897. 2 Proceedings, XII. 180.
Voted, That the income thereof "be applied to such purposes as the Council may from time to time authorize."
2 Proceedings, XII. 1.

$3,000, principal. Accumulated income, $365.73
PUBLICATION: 2 Proceedings, XX.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL TRUST FUND.

$2,000, gift, October 15, 1855, by David Sears, by deed of trust, accepted by the Society November 8, 1855, "the same, with its accumulations and income, again so invest, and keep invested, to establish and constitute a permanent fund . . . the annual income of said fund to be added to the principal annually, between the months of July and January, to form a new capital of said fund; . . . it being understood, that, in any year before said annual income is so invested, said Historical Society, and its successors may, under a recorded vote, draw forth and receive said past year's income, to be expended in such

objects as to them may seem desirable. . . . further, whenever, in aid of other means, to purchase or provide for desirable objects, appurtenant to the library or halls of the Society; either for embellishments or alterations, or for paintings, including portraits of distinguished citizens and deceased members; or for works of art, &c., — then, and in either of these cases, the said Trustees may, under a recorded vote of authority of the Society, draw out and receive the whole, or any part, of said accumulations of said fund, to be expended by them in either or any of the above-named purposes. Provided always, that in no case whatever shall the original trust-sum be encroached upon or diminished."

1 Proceedings, III. 45–47.

$500, gift, December 26, 1866, by Mr. Sears.
$500, " " " " by Nathaniel Thayer.

1 Proceedings, X. 10.

Voted, June 14, 1877: "to add . . . the annual income thereof until the principal and accumulated interest, together with any gifts or legacies to the Society for that purpose, shall amount to the sum of $10,000; and that thereafter the Society will annually appropriate the income of said fund in the manner presented in the Declaration of Trust of the late Hon. David Sears, dated, October 15, 1855, and accepted by the Society on November 8, 1855. 1 Proceedings, XV. 305.

$7,000, accumulated income added October 12, 1882. The amount over this, $157.87, was appropriated toward the publication of the "Trumbull Papers."

1 Proceedings, XIX. 386.

Vote taken annually at the May Meeting to retain the income in the treasury.

$10,000, principal, by vote. Accumulated income, $5,271.57

The Income paid for several marble pedestals for busts, at a cost of $617.

2 Proceedings, XVII. 224.

PUBLICATIONS: 5 Collections,[1] IX, X; 6 Collections, IV, IX; 7 Collections, II, III.

M. A. PARKER FUND.

$1,000, deposit book of Miss Maria Antoinette Parker, February 1, 1821, and gifts by Thomas Minns, $800, October, 1906, and $124.29, March 27, 1908.

[1] VIII, cost contributed by Robert C. Winthrop, Jr. — 1 Proceedings, XIX. 356.

Request of donor that the "interest on this gift is to be used for the purchase of books for the Library."
3 Proceedings, I. 418.

$1,000, principal. Accumulated income, $76.29

PEABODY FUND.

$20,000, gift by George Peabody, January 1, 1867, in bonds "which bonds, or their proceeds, shall be held by them as a permanent trust-fund, of which the income shall be appropriated to the publication and illustration of the Proceedings and Memoirs, and to the preservation of their Historical Portraits." 1 Proceedings, IX. 438.

$22,123, net proceeds of the sale of bonds, February 4, 1874.
1 Proceedings, XIII. 275.

Accumulated income, $4,318.58

PUBLICATIONS: 1 Proceedings, I, II, IX–XX, and Index; 2 Proceedings, I–VI, VIII,[1] XI–XVI, and Index.

SALISBURY FUND.

$5,000, the bequest of Stephen Salisbury (H. U. 1856), received April 11, 1907. 3 Proceedings, I. 1, 418.

$5,000, principal. Balance of income to General Account, $299.17

SAVAGE FUND.

$5,000, the bequest by James Savage received, by vote, June 12, 1873. His will says: "of the income whereof no use shall be made except for the increase of said Society's library, at the discretion of said Society's Standing Committee, who shall annually make report of their doings herein."
1 Proceedings, XIII. 50.

$1,000, added by change of investment in 1887.
2 Proceedings, III. 285; IV. 111.

$6,000, principal. Accumulated income, $527.96

CHARLOTTE A. L. SIBLEY FUND.

$22,509.48, the bequest of Mrs. Sibley, received in two instalments, August 5, 1903, and April 18, 1904. Her will says:

[1] IX, X, cost paid out of General Account.

"Without any restrictions, to be used and appropriated for the purposes of its [the Society's] incorporation, in such manner as it shall deem expedient."

2 Proceedings, II. 169; XVI. 22.

$22,509.48, principal. Balance of income to General Account, $749.49

John Langdon Sibley Fund.

$161,169.33, the bequest of John Langdon Sibley, received in two instalments, August 5, 1903, and April 18, 1904. His will says: "the income thereof to be applied to the publication of Biographical Sketches of the graduates of Harvard University, written in the same general manner as the sketches already published by me, and in continuance thereof. If any income then remain, the same shall be applied first to the purchase of printed books, pamphlets, or manuscripts, the same being composed by graduates of Harvard University, or relating to such graduates; and next to the general purposes of the Society."

After setting apart the Sibley Centenary Fund, in accordance with a vote of the Council on December 8, 1909, as given below, the income of the remaining three-fourths will be applied in accordance with the purposes named above.

2 Proceedings, II. 169.

$121.077.00, principal. Accumulated income, $22,707.27

John Langdon Sibley Centenary Fund.

$44,921.51, part of Mr. Sibley's bequest.

Vote of the Council, December 8, 1909, authorized the Treasurer to "set apart" this sum, "one-fourth of the principal of said bequest and one-fourth of the income earned and accumulated in accordance with the terms of Mr. Sibley's gift . . . and that hereafter the entire income from the Centenary Fund be annually added to the principal until the expiration of the term named in Mr. Sibley's bequest, namely, January 22, 2002.

$47,609.30, present amount of the fund.

EDMUND FARWELL SLAFTER FUND.

$1,000, legacy of Edmund Farwell Slafter received March 7, 1910.
See *ante*, 520.

His will says: "to form a Library Fund, or to be added to a library fund already existing, the income of which is to be expended for the increase and enrichment of the Library of said Society."

$1,000, principal.

WATERSTON FUND (No. 1).

$5,000, the bequest of Rev. Robert C. Waterston, received April 21, 1900, a compromise, as the result of a legal question, as to the $10,000 bequest mentioned in Proceedings, 2d series, VIII. 172. His will says: "to accompany the collection of Autograph Letters, Papers and Documents . . . the income thereof to be appropriated to the printing and publishing of a complete catalogue of said Autograph papers, with proper description thereof and the printing in whole or in part of such papers as may be deemed desirable, also to the arrangement for their more convenient use and safe keeping, also for the purchase from time to time of any autograph letters and papers of literary or historical interest or value. These letters and papers to be added to the above named collection, and the whole to be known and named as the Waterston Collection."
2 Proceedings, VIII. 172.

$5,000, principal. Accumulated income, $1,200.92

PUBLICATION: Catalogue of the Waterston Library, issued in February, 1906.

WATERSTON FUND, No. 2.

$10,000, the bequest of Rev. Robert C. Waterston, received April 21, 1900. His will says: "the income thereof to be used in the printing and publishing of any important or interesting Autograph, original Manuscripts, Letters or Documents which may be in possession of said Society, . . . and the volumes thus printed to be designated in the volume as published by said Fund, and copies of such volumes, as far as considered desirable by the Standing Committee, to be sent to other Historical Societies or Public Libraries." 2 Proceedings, VIII. 172.

$10,000, principal. Accumulated income, $4,750.75

Waterston Publishing Fund (No. 3).

$10,000, the bequest of Rev. Robert C. Waterston, received December, 1894. His will says: "the income thereof to be used as a publishing fund for the publication and distribution in such manner as the Standing Committee shall deem best to Libraries or individuals of such papers and books as are best calculated to disseminate useful, Historical, Biographical or Literary information, and to be of service in any way to society and mankind . . . and the fact that any book is printed by such fund to be stated on the title page or elsewhere in each book."

2 Proceedings, VIII. 172; IX. 241.

$10,000, principal. Accumulated income, $3,267.97

Publications: 2 Proceedings, XVIII; 3 Proceedings, I, II.

Waterston Library Fund.

$10,000.00, the bequest of Rev. Robert C. Waterston, received April 21, 1900; for a room to contain his Library, bequeathed to the Society. His will says that the fund is to be used "to put such room or portion of said building in order for the commodious and safe-keeping of the books, or if such money is not so needed or is not wholly so used, the remainder shall go to add books to this collection under the direction of the Standing Committee."

2 Proceedings, VIII. 173; XV. 34.

$3,875.14, amount remaining for this purpose after fitting up the room. Accumulated income, $285.32

Robert C. Winthrop Fund.

$5,000, the bequest of Robert C. Winthrop, received in December, 1894.

Voted, December 13, 1894: that the income "shall be expended for such purposes as the Council may from time to time direct." 2 Proceedings, IX. 241.

5,000, the bequest of Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., "to be added to and form part of the fund bequeathed . . . by my Father, and called by his name," received on October 13, 1905. 2 Proceedings, XIX. 304.

$10,000, principal. Accumulated income, $5,414.09

THOMAS L. WINTHROP FUND.

$2,000.00, received from sale, under direction of the Council, of Audubon's "Birds of America," April 9, 1905, given to the Society in the early part of 1837, by Thomas L. Winthrop.

1 Proceedings, II. 77, 80; 2 Proceedings, XIX. 300; XX. 215.

$2,364.66, principal. Accumulated income, $281.51

WILLIAM WINTHROP FUND.

$3,000, bequest of William Winthrop, received on October 13, 1882; fund formed, November 9, 1882; Society "shall apply and devote the whole of the accruing annual interest and profits to the binding, for better preservation, of valuable manuscripts and books appertaining to the Society."

1 Proceedings, XX. 17.

2,000, the bequest of Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., received October 12, 1905. His will says: "I invite attention of said Society to the fact that the income of said fund was directed to be applied to the binding of 'valuable manuscripts and books,' and that it has been a perversion of the intentions of the donor to use it, or any part of it for binding miscellaneous printed matter of little value."

2 Proceedings, XIX. 306.

$5,000, principal. Accumulated income, $1,324.74

SUMMARY OF PURPOSES.

Unrestricted Funds.

FUNDS	PRINCIPAL	ACCUMULATED INCOME
AMORY, page 529. Income also for "such specified objects as may be directed."	$3,000.00	$1,735.23
BIGELOW, page 530.	2,000.00	552.36
CHAMBERLAIN, page 531. Principal may be used.	1,232.33	58.67
FROTHINGHAM, page 532. Income subject to vote of the Council.	3,000.00	2,676.06
GENERAL, page 533.	44,427.43	
LOWELL, page 534.	3,000.00	365.73

Funds	Principal	Accumulated Income
Brought up	$56,659.76	$5,388.05
Income subject to vote of the Council.		
Massachusetts Historical Trust, page 534.	10,000.00	5,271.57
Income available if there is a "recorded vote" to reserve it in the Treasury.		
Whole or any part of the accumulations may be used under a "recorded vote" for "desirable objects," "embellishments or alterations, or for paintings, including portraits of distinguished persons and deceased members; or for works of art, &c."		
Salisbury, page 536.	5,000.00	
Sibley, C. A. L., page 536.	22,509.48	
Winthrop, R. C., page 539.	10,000.00	5,414.09
Income subject to vote of the Council.		
Winthrop, T. L., page 540.	2,364.66	281.51
	$106,533.90	$16,355.22
Restricted Funds.		
Appleton, page 530.	$12,203.00	$6,236.29
Income for "the procuring presentation, preparation, and publication of historical papers."		
Billings, page 530.	10,000.00	2,428.09
Income for publications.		
Brattle Street Church Model, page 531.	100.00	117.11
Income for "care and preservation" of the Model.		
Dowse, page 531.	10,000.00	
Income credited to the General Account.		
Ellis, page 532.	31,663.66	
Income credited to the General Account.		
Lawrence, page 534.	3,000.00	1,087.06
Income for publication of Collections and Proceedings.		
Parker, page 535.	1,000.00	76.29
Income for "purchase of books."		
Peabody, page 536.	22,123.00	4,318.58
Income for publication of Proceedings, and preservation of portraits.		
Savage, page 536.	6,000.00	527.96
Income "for the increase of said Society's Library."		

FUNDS	PRINCIPAL	ACCUMULATED INCOME
Brought up	$96.089.66	$14,791.38
SIBLEY, J. L., page 537.	121,077.00	22,707.27
Income for Sketches of Harvard graduates, then for books, pamphlets, and manuscripts by Harvard Graduates, or relating to them, and then to other purposes.		
SLAFTER, page 538.	1,000.00	
WATERSTON (1), page 538.	5,000.00	1,200.92
Income for printing a Catalogue of the Waterston Collection, for printing manuscripts in the Collection, for arrangement of the manuscripts "for their more convenient use and safe keeping," also for the purchase of autograph letters and papers to be added to the Collection.		
WATERSTON, No. 2, page 538.	10,000.00	4,750.75
Income for publishing manuscripts in the possession of the Society.		
WATERSTON PUBLISHING, page 539.	10,000.00	3,267.97
WATERSTON LIBRARY, page 539.		
Fund to fit up the Waterston room, the remainder "to add books to this collection." Entire fund may be spent.	3,875.14	285.32
WINTHROP, W., page 540.	5,000.00	1,324.74
Income for binding "valuable manuscripts and books."	$252,041.80	$48,328.35
Centenary Funds.		
ANONYMOUS, page 529.		
Income to be added until the "Annual Meeting in 1991."	$4,118.53	
J. L. SIBLEY, page 537.	47,609.30	
Income to be added until January 22, 2002.		
Grand Totals, all Funds	$410,303.53	$64,683.57
Real Estate.		
ELLIS HOUSE, page 532.	$25,000.00	
BUILDING ACCOUNT, page 531.	72,990.32	

List by purposes of the restricted Funds.

Purposes	Funds
Binding, "preservation . . . of historical papers."	Appleton.
of "valuable manuscripts and books."	W. Winthrop.
Books, purchase of.	Parker, and Savage.
purchase of, for increase of Library.	Slafter.
purchase of, for the Waterston Collection.	Waterston Library.
purchase of "books, pamphlets and manuscripts by Harvard Graduates, or relating to" them.	J. L. Sibley.
Building, "to insure, maintain and repair the property."	Ellis.
care and preservation of the Dowse Library.	Dowse.
for "commodious and safe keeping" of the Waterston Collection.	Waterston Library.
for "embellishments or alterations."	Mass. Hist Trust.
Cabinet, "for paintings, including portraits of distinguished persons and deceased members; or for works of art, &c."	Mass. Hist. Trust.
for preservation of the portraits.	Peabody.
Council, Funds subject to vote of: Amory (for special purposes), Frothingham, Lowell, Savage, Waterston Library, and R. C. Winthrop.	
Harvard University, for publication of Biographical Sketches of graduates, and for the purchase of printed books, pamphlets, or manuscripts by graduates, or relating to them.	J. L. Sibley.
Manuscripts, for "the procuring, preservation, preparation, . . . of historical papers."	Appleton.
for the purchase of autograph papers to be added to the Waterston Collection.	Waterston (1).
Manuscripts, for the purchase of manuscripts by Harvard graduates, or relating to them.	J. L. Sibley.
Manuscripts and books, "for the increase" of the Library.	Savage.
and books, by Harvard graduates, or relating to them.	J. L. Sibley.
Publications,	Billings.
Collections and Proceedings,	Lawrence.
" " "	Waterston Pub.
of proceedings, memoirs and illustrations.	Peabody.
of manuscripts in the Waterston Collection.	Waterston (1).
" " in possession of the Society.	Waterston, No. 2.
of historical papers.	Appleton.
of Sketches of Harvard Graduates	J. L. Sibley.

MAY MEETING

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the PRESIDENT in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the list of donors to the Library during the last month was read by the Librarian.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the gift by the Massachusetts Society of Sons of the Revolution of a photogravure of the Fairbanks house at Dedham.

The Editor announced gifts from Mr. SHAW for the Samuel Phillips Savage collection, among which is a map of the British Dominions, drawn by Herman Moll, in 1715, on which Captain Jeffrey Gray has drawn in manuscript the proposed line of forts or the "barrier scheme" of 1725 against Indian incursions, extending from Boston to Bay Chaleur. The map was exhibited to the Society by Judge Lemuel Shaw in July, 1855.[1] He also announced the deposit by Miss Effie Ellis, of Boston, of two manuscript record books of the Brook Farm Community, of West Roxbury. One is a ledger of expenditures from November, 1844, to September, 1846; and the other is a record of the meetings of the Community, then called Institute for Agriculture and Education. The records of the first meetings are signed "Ch. Anderson Dana," then a student.

Henry Morton Lovering, of Taunton, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The PRESIDENT reported from the Council the appointment of the following committees:

House Committee,

Messrs. Grenville H. Norcross, Samuel S. Shaw, and Worthington C. Ford.

Finance Committee,

Messrs. C. F. Adams, Grenville H. Norcross, and Charles P. Greenough.

[1] 1 Proc., III. 37.

The PRESIDENT then appointed as the Committee to publish the Proceedings of the Society:

Messrs. C. F. Adams, Edward Stanwood, and James Ford Rhodes.

It was voted that the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the past year be retained in the Treasury and expended in such objects as to the Council of the Society may seem desirable.

CHARLES C. SMITH from the Committee to propose an amendment to the By-Laws read the following report:

The Committee appointed at the Annual Meeting to prepare an amendment to the By-Laws relating to the work of the Editor respectfully report:

That at the meeting of the Council in December, 1886, "Mr. Winsor moved that a Committee be appointed to consider the expediency of employing an Editor to act under the direction of the various publishing Committees. Messrs. Smith, Winsor and Everett were appointed." This Committee gave the matter careful consideration, and were unanimously of the opinion that the appointment of a salaried Editor would be in itself desirable, but the financial condition of the Society was such that it would not be practicable to create a new office. This decision was reported orally by Mr. Everett, and the matter was dropped without any formal action by the Council. Two or three years later, at the May meeting of the Society in 1889, Mr. R. C. Winthrop, Jr., in behalf of Dr. Winsor, who was unavoidably absent, called attention to "the favorable showing of the Society's financial condition in the recent report of the Treasurer," and on his motion a Committee of five members of the Society, consisting of Dr. Winsor, as chairman, Dr. Deane, Dr. Young, Judge Chamberlain, and Mr. R. C. Winthrop, Jr., was appointed "to consider and report upon the advisability of adding a third article to Chapter XIII of the By-Laws, thereby authorizing the Council to employ from time to time the services of some competent person to relieve the various Committees of Publication of some portion of their laborious duties." This Committee made a unanimous report at the June meeting recommending the adoption of a new article to be added to Chapter XIII of the By-Laws, the title of which was to be changed to "Of Publications." Their

report was accepted, and its recommendations were formally adopted. The new article, which was drawn by Mr. Winthrop, is substantially the same as Article 4 of Chapter XIII of the present By-Laws. After Mr. Smith's return from Europe in the autumn of 1889, he was appointed Editor. By virtue of his Treasurership he was a member of the Council, which body was at all times in direct touch with his work as Editor. After his resignation as Editor in 1907, the office remained vacant for about a year and a half. His successor, Mr. Ford, who had been a Resident Member from November, 1900, until his removal to Washington, two years later, was appointed in the latter part of 1908, and entered on his duties January 1, 1909. At the February meeting of the Society, Mr. Ford was again elected a Resident Member, thereby becoming *ex-officio* a member of all publishing committees, but not of the Council. Through this circumstance the Council and the Editor ceased to be in direct touch, and it soon became apparent that some inconvenience was likely to be found in carrying on the work of the Society. This difficulty can be remedied by a very slight addition to the By-Laws as they now stand. Your Committee accordingly recommend the insertion in Chapter XIII, Article 4, line 6, after the word "member," of the words "of the Council and." The article will then read: "If the person so appointed be a Resident Member of the Society, he shall be *ex-officio* a member of the Council and of all committees of publication."

CHARLES C. SMITH,
WINSLOW WARREN,
WILLIAM R. THAYER,
} *Committee.*

It was then voted unanimously to amend Article 4, Chapter XIII, of the By-Laws, by inserting the words, "of the Council and," so that the article will read:

ART. 4. — The Council may appoint a member of the Society, or other competent person, who shall be immediately responsible for the proper editing of all volumes, whether of Collections or Proceedings, the supervision of the Society's copyists, and the adequate preparation of all material intended for the press. If the person so appointed be a Resident Member of the Society, he shall be *ex-officio* a member of the Council and of all committees of publication; but the authority of any Editor shall be subordinate to that of said committees. The Editor shall receive such salary as may be fixed by the Council.

JOHN D. LONG presented a collection of letters and papers of Francis and William Baylies, of Taunton, 1827–1834, given to him by Dr. Loring W. Puffer, of Brockton, who received them from Ellis Ames, of Canton, literary executor of the Baylies brothers.

The PRESIDENT read portions of the following paper:

CAVALRY IN THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

In the notice of this meeting the subject of my present paper is given as "The Failure of Washington to utilize Cavalry," and it so chances that this morning's papers announce the unveiling at Washington yesterday of the long delayed Pulaski statue. In connection with my paper the event is of interest, for Count Casimir Pulaski was the first Chief of Cavalry in our Revolutionary Army. Being some twenty-eight years of age, he came to this country with letters from Dr. Franklin in the year 1777, one of a numerous band of Europeans, some, like Lafayette and Steuben, men of rank, character and military training, the larger number adventurers, pure and simple. This matter, by the way, of Europeans drifting in times of war over to America, moved either by motives of sympathy combined with a spirit of adventure, or as soldiers of fortune, I discussed here incidentally two years ago;[1] my attention then being drawn to the subject by the recent publication of what occurred when, in 1861, an attempt was made to induce Garibaldi to take part in our Civil War conflict, at that time in its earliest, or Bull-Run stage.

In Garibaldi's case, it will be remembered, difficulty arose from the fact that, while our government was ready to offer him a commission of the highest military rank by law authorized, that of Major-General, Garibaldi, most fortunately, declined to come unless he was immediately to be put in supreme military command, — practically made Dictator. This, of course, reduced the whole movement to its proper basis, — that of an absurdity.[2] The Garibaldi episode, the circumstances connected

[1] 3 Proc., I. 319-325.

[2] A somewhat similar proposal was made in the War of Independence. Silas Deane, then in France, and under instructions to engage officers and munitions of war, listened to a suggestion that a commander-in-chief of the American army could be had in Europe, provided sufficient recognition was given to him by Congress. He derived the suggestion from Kalb, who made it in behalf of Charles

with which have only recently come to light, never attracted attention; while Pulaski's memory is a tradition, preserved only through the medium of the school-reader by Longfellow's lyric. Yet, as an historical fact, it did devolve on the Pole, Casimir Pulaski, to make the first serious attempt to give form to a systematic American cavalry organization for actual use in practical warfare. Of him and it I shall presently in this paper have more to say.

Fifteen years ago I was accidentally led into a somewhat careful as well as critical examination of the actual facts of two Revolutionary battles, as contradistinguished from the accounts thereof contained in our books of history accepted as "standard," — the two battles were that at Bunker Hill, on the 17th of June, 1775, and that before Brooklyn, N. Y., known as the Battle of Long Island, fought August 27, of the following year, 1776.[1] In connection with the second of these engagements, that on Long Island, my attention was particularly drawn to the curious fact, which I did not remember ever to have seen noticed, that Washington, in the operations he then conducted, had apparently no conception of the use to be made of cavalry, or mounted men, in warfare. His idea of an effective military organization, at least for the work then cut out for him to do, appeared to be a command consisting of infantry of the line, with a suitable artillery contingent. He did not seem at all to grasp the idea of some mounted force as an instrument essential to ascertaining the whereabouts and movements of his opponent, or concealing his own movements.

My attention has more recently been drawn again to this subject, while reading two of the later contributions to the military annals of the War of Independence, the volume, published in 1907, of his "American Revolution," by Sir George Otto Trevelyan; and Sydney George Fisher's "Struggle for American Independence," which appeared two years ago. Sir George Trevelyan brings his narrative down to the battle

Francis Broglie, known as "Count" Broglie. The Count required a dictatorship, and promised much; but Congress paid no attention to the suggestion, and the matter was dropped, until revived by Thomas Paine in his controversy with Deane. The story is told in Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution (Wharton), I. 391, and Deane Papers (N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.), III. 362.

[1] Amer. Hist. Review, I. 401–413, April, 1896; 650–670, July, 1896. As respects both battles see also paper entitled "A Plea for Military History," in "Lee at Appomattox and other Papers," 354–361.

of Monmouth, in June, 1778, about twenty-two months after the operations on Long Island to which I have alluded. Mr. Fisher's narrative is complete, covering the operations of the entire War of Independence. Having myself been an officer of cavalry during nearly the whole of the War of Secession (1861–1865), I have since, not unnaturally, when occupied with military talk or books, found myself instinctively, and almost unconsciously, giving attention to cavalry as a factor in what occurred. Especially has this been the case while reading of the doings of Prince Rupert and of Cromwell in Great Britain, of the wars of Frederick the Great and of Napoleon, and, more recently, of that in South Africa. In this reading, almost wholly casual, I have, when studying historical works relating to our, so-called, Revolution, been more and more impressed by the absence of all reference to the employment of, or the failure to employ, cavalry in Washington's strategy and tactics; though the narratives of Trevelyan and Fisher are, in a measure, less open to this criticism than those which preceded them. So far as my observation goes, those who have undertaken to tell that story have been altogether civilians, men of the library; and in reading their accounts of what took place it has been to me unceasingly apparent that, even less than Michael Cassio, had they ever "set a squadron in the field"; nor, consequently, did they "the division of a battle" know in connection with the practical use of the "squadron." Judging by the narratives, it never seems to have occurred to the writers thereof that in 1776 and later, the seat of warfare in America, especially between the Hudson and the Potomac, — the field in which Washington conducted his operations, — was one singularly adapted to irregular cavalry operations. As the records show, it was a region full of horses, while every Virginian and nearly every inhabitant of Pennsylvania and the Jerseys was accustomed to the saddle. Then, as later in the Confederacy during our War of Secession, people owned their mounts. Every farming lad and every son of a farmer was, in a rude way, an equestrian; the doctors made their rounds on horseback; the lawyers rode the circuits; in fact the whole social and business life of the community was in a more or less direct way connected with the saddle and the pillion. The horses, also, were of fairly good breed; and, when brought into military use, showed solid powers of endurance, especially those raised in Virginia.

Under such circumstances, subsequent experience in our own civil troubles should, it would seem, lead the modern critic and student of military operations to assume that the patriot force would naturally have drifted into that irregular mounted service which was so large and picturesque a feature both in earlier and later warfare, — not less in the operations under Prince Rupert in Cromwell's day than more recently in South Africa.

Connected with the history of the Revolutionary operations and campaigns, beside the, so-called, standard narratives, we have the "Memoirs," left by various participants, such as "Light-Horse Harry" Lee, Graydon, Tarleton and Stedman, all of whom were in a way experts from the military point of view; though, when they wrote from memory, perhaps long after the event, their statements are, of course, open to the suspicion which proverbially attaches to evidence of that character. I fail, however, to recall any more recent general historical narrative relating to persons or events of the Revolutionary struggle which indicates on the part of the narrator any direct personal familiarity with military operations; and, in many of them, the absence of that familiarity is almost painfully noticeable. Our late associate, John Fiske, is a case in point. Not only is his most readable work marred and made unreliable by a spirit of adulatory and indiscriminating hero-worship wherever Washington is concerned, but, while he has composed an interesting story, the absence of anything indicative of either military experience or strategic instinct is conspicuous. He tells the tale; but he does not understand its details, nor, from the military point of view, their significance. In connection with Washington, another instance readily suggests itself. As a contribution to history, and the great literary reputation of its author, Irving's Washington naturally recalls Sir Walter Scott's Life of Napoleon; but, in referring to the latter, Napier in his Peninsular War does not hesitate to allude (Bk. iv. chap. 6) to "that intrepidity of error which characterizes the work."

Let me here, once for all, premise that it is no part of my present purpose to deal exhaustively with the subject, or myself to endeavor to make good what I regard as the omission of others. The attempt so to do would involve an amount of research upon which I cannot afford time to enter, on a subject with which I make claim to no especial familiarity. I propose,

therefore, merely to call attention to what I have been led to consider a noticeable and serious defect in historical treatment; and, in so doing, to suggest a tentative criticism involving possible limitations in Washington as a military commander, — his knowledge of the use of the standard weapons of warfare, and his lack of a certain mental alertness in availing himself of weapons within his reach. This paper, therefore, confessedly superficial, is suggestive only. It is the throwing out of an idea, in hopes that some other engaged in a more careful study of the subject may take it up, and work that idea out for what it is worth, be the same more or less.

The criticism opens with the course of events in the second year of the war, — the operations in and about New York during the latter half of 1776; for it goes without saying that, except for camp and orderly duty, and as an instrument to effect more rapid communication, there was no occasion for any force of cavalry, or opportunity for its use, in the operations of 1775, whether conducted about Boston, or in the wilderness of Maine, or in the Canadas, with Montreal and Quebec as objectives. But in the early months of 1776 the seat of active warfare was transferred from Boston and its immediate neighborhood to the mouth of the Hudson; and Washington himself reached New York, and assumed command there, on the 13th day of April. On the other side, the British armament, naval and military, made its appearance off Sandy Hook during the closing days of June; and, in the early days of July, a landing on Staten Island was effected. Then, for nearly two months, the opposing forces idly confronted each other. During that long period, — the best campaigning weather of the whole year, — Washington was meditating the extremely difficult problem before him; a problem, though he confessedly did not at the time realize the fact, from a military and strategic point of view altogether insoluble.[1]

It is now quite apparent that, to advance the patriot cause, a wholly new system of both strategy and tactics was advisable. The mouth of the Hudson did not, under existing conditions, admit of successful defence. The true policy to be pursued was to abandon it to the enemy; and then to draw that enemy away from his base, and into the interior,

[1] Writing to the President of Congress, September 2, 1776, Washington said: "Till of late I had no doubt in my own mind of defending this place."

where recourse against him could be had to the tactics of Lexington and Concord. Away from New York, he would have no strategic objective, and he could be harassed day and night and from behind every tree and stone wall. He would have held only the ground on which he camped; and the more country he tried to cover, the more vulnerable he would have become. Space, mobility and marksmanship were the elements of American strength; in solid battalions, as in artillery and organization, they were manifestly weak. But it was on these last that Washington staked the issue of the second campaign of the War. It was on his part a strategic misapprehension; and the campaign was doomed to disaster from the start.

Such being the general strategic situation, the brothers Howe, the one in command of the British fleet, the other of the army, continued to offer throughout the summer months a well-sustained demonstration of their incapacity, or their unwillingness to make any effective use of either the one or the other arm of the service. Active land operations were at last begun by Sir William Howe in the closing days of August. He was in command of a large and very perfectly equipped force, some thirty thousand strong. Washington, having then been for twenty weeks on the ground, found himself facing an enemy in complete control of the sea, while it devolved on him to hold the town of New York at the extreme end of Manhattan Island, a position not only surrounded on three sides by deep and navigable waters, but commanded from the east by the heights of Brooklyn, within easy artillery range. As a simple, hard, military fact, Washington was open to attack by a military force not only numerically superior, but in every way better organized and equipped than his own, on his Brooklyn front, on either flank, or in his rear; and the point of attack, wherever selected, would assuredly be covered by the converging fire of such a number of ships-of-war as could be advantageously brought into action. The patriot leader, misled by his Boston experience of the previous year, had delivered himself into the hands of his opponent.

Under these conditions, not yet developed fully, during the early days of July and seven weeks before Sir William Howe showed any signs of activity, Governor Trumbull of Connecticut sent a detachment of "light-horse," as they were called, to

New York. Some four or five hundred in number, they were a body of picked men, — as Washington wrote, "most of them, if not all, men of reputation and property." Yet, on the score of expense, he refused to allow them to keep their horses; and, when they declined to do infantry duty, he roughly sent them home, writing to their commander, "they can no longer be of use here, where horses cannot be brought into action, and I do not care how soon they are dismissed."[1] It is not easy to understand how a commander of Washington's experience could have reached such a conclusion, much less have expressed it so bluntly and in writing. In the first place, what had he in mind when he asserted that his operations were necessarily conducted "where horses" could not "be brought into action"? It is obvious that both New York and Brooklyn then were, as they now are, on islands; but, that fact notwithstanding, the field of operations included in those islands afforded ample space as well as constant occasion for the employment of any arm of the service, — engineers, infantry, artillery or cavalry. In the second place, to hold the town of New York it was necessary to occupy Brooklyn, and the occupation of Brooklyn implied at least a dozen miles of uncovered front, or avenues of approach, to be vigilantly guarded and unceasingly patrolled. As an historical fact, it was by means of one of these avenues of approach to Brooklyn, wholly unguarded,— though some four or five miles only to the eastward of the direct road from the place where Howe landed his army,— that, a little later on, a sufficient detachment of the British force worked its way by a flanking movement to the rear of Washington's outlying right wing, and inflicted on it and him crushing disaster. Yet Long Island then was full of forage, which afterwards was either destroyed or fed the horses of the British cavalry and artillery; and, so shockingly deficient was the American mounted service, that on the very day when Clinton turned, in the way referred to, the American flank,

[1] Writings of Washington (Ford), iv. 217*n*, 229, 238. See 588, *post*. Much the same course was followed in North Carolina. Hewes writes from the Continental Congress, May 16, 1776: "I urged the necessity of taking your light Horse in to their service, but could not prevail on them to do it, no colonies having been yet allowed to raise any on Continental pay. It is said they are very expensive Troops, and of little use in this contest. I am informed a company or two were raised in South Carolina, but being found by experience to be too expensive the Horses were discharged, and the men turned in to the ranks of foot Regiments." — Colonial Records of North Carolina, x. 605.

Heath, the American acting quartermaster-general, was writing from King's Bridge, a few miles away on Manhattan Island to Mifflin, about to cross his command over the East River to Brooklyn, — "We have not a single horse here. I have written to the General [Washington] for two or three."[1] To a military critic, the attempt to hold the outer Long Island line under such circumstances seems little short of ineptitude. General Sullivan, who was in command of that line, and who, together with Stirling, his next in command, was captured when his flank was turned, afterward claimed that he had all along felt uneasy about the Bedford road — that by which Howe effected his turning movement — and "had paid horsemen fifty dollars for patrolling [it] by night, while I had command, as I had no foot for the purpose."[2] The plain inference would seem to be that none of the American commanders, from Washington down, had at this stage of the war any understanding of the use and absolute necessity of mounted men in field operations. A cavalry patrol fifty strong only, on the flank of the American advanced line on Brooklyn's right front, and patrolling the approaches, might, and probably would, by giving timely notice, have saved the commands of Sullivan and Stirling from the disaster of August 27; and yet, a few weeks before, the four hundred Connecticut mounted men had been sent home by Washington for the reason that cavalry could be of no service in military operations conducted "here, where horses cannot be brought into action"! But, American or British, it was all of a piece; and the whole story of what occurred August 27–30, 1776, on Long Island, is on both sides

[1] "We suffer here extremely for horses; not a single one at this Post to send on Express. General Mifflin acquaints me that he cannot spare either horse or waggon from that Post. I beg that two or three may be ordered here." — Heath to Washington, August 27, 1776, Heath Papers. At this very time General Howe's light horse were pillaging and intimidating the inhabitants of Long Island, offering an example of mobility and effectiveness.

[2] Amory, Life of John Sullivan, 28. Stedman says: "This pass the enemy had neglected to secure by detachments, on account of its great distance. In order to watch it, however, they sent out occasional patroles of cavalry: But one of these being intercepted by a British advanced guard, the pass was gained without any alarm being communicated to the Americans." — History of the American War, I. 195. The "great distance" in this case was a short two miles, and the route the British took to get into Sullivan's rear ran, according to the excellent map in Stedman's History, just about half a mile from Sullivan's extreme left flank. That such a route should not have been constantly patrolled seems, under the circumstances, simply inexplicable.

suggestive only of a badly played game of chess; as the result of which the losing party escaped a checkmate only through the quite unaccountable procrastination of his opponent on land, and the inactivity of that opponent on the water.[1]

All these happenings, as well as the subsequent transfer of the patriot army from Brooklyn across the East River to New York, occurred during the closing days of August. Four months later the affairs at Trenton and Princeton closed the campaign of 1776, and Washington's army went into its winter quarters at Morristown.

For present purposes, it is not necessary even to pass in rapid review the incidents of that melancholy campaign or its redeeming, and even brilliant, close in the Christmas week of 1776. It is sufficient to say that throughout those operations, from the ignominious Kip's-Bay panic on September 15 to the splendid closing rally at Princeton on New-Year's day, 1777, there is nowhere any indication of the presence of mounted men, much less of any organized auxiliary cavalry service, connected with the patriot army; nor is it easy to see how the necessary courier and orderly work was done. Of patrol work, picket duty, and scouting service, there was no pretence on either side. Indeed, it was to this fact, and the neglect on the part of the British of the most ordinary military precautions against surprise, that Washington owed his success at both Trenton and Princeton. Yet the second year of active operations was drawing to a close; and, certainly, operations during the last four months of that second year were not conducted "where horses" could not "be brought into action."[2]

It is narrated of Frederick the Great that, after his first experience in active warfare in the fortunate, but for him personally inglorious and somewhat mortifying Mollwitz campaign, he subjected himself to sharp self-examination as to the errors and oversights for which he felt himself to have been

[1] The first return of cavalry was on September 28, 1776, one month later, when one hundred and sixty light-horse were recorded.

[2] November 29, 1776. Congress appointed a committee of five to "consider and report a proper method for establishing and training a cavalry in this continent." The meagre result was Sheldon's appointment to command a single regiment of cavalry. Of course, it could not be raised, equipped and trained before the following Spring. — Journals of the Continental Congress (Ford), VI. 992, 1025. In January, 1777, the two troops of light horse from Virginia (Bland's and Baylor's) were taken into continental pay, and in February, Moylan's regiment consisted of six troops, each troop containing thirty-two privates. — VII.

responsible; and especially he "meditated much on the bad figure his cavalry" cut at Mollwitz; and, thereafter, he strove incessantly to improve that branch of the Prussian service, "till at length it can be said his success became world-famous, and he had such Seydlitzes and Ziethens as were not seen before or since" (Carlyle, Frederick, Bk. XII. chap. 13).

If Washington, in his Morristown winter quarters, subjected himself, as he doubtless did, to a similar rigid introspection, the first and most necessary requirement of the situation which suggested itself to him, must, it would seem, have been an adequate mounted force of some kind, attached to his command, at once his army's eyes and ears, its safeguard against surprise and his most ready weapon of offence. And, as respects safeguard against surprise, Major General Charles Lee, then second in command in the patriot army, furnished at this juncture and in his own person an illustration most opportune, though somewhat ludicrous as well as forcible. Of Lee it is unnecessary to speak. Both as man and soldier he stands condemned.[1] But, in the course of these operations, Howe had sent out Colonel Harcourt with a detachment apparently of the Seventeenth Light Dragoons (Stedman, I. 191, 226) to obtain information as to Lee's movements. This detail seems to have roamed about at will; and finally, through an intercepted letter put in charge of "a countryman" to carry to its destination, Colonel Harcourt not only learned of General Lee's whereabouts, but also got full information as to how he was accompanied. Stedman (I. 226) says that the American commander had gone out "in order to reconnoitre," and "stopped at a house to breakfast." Fiske asserts (I. 226) that Lee had "foolishly taken up his quarters" at the house in question,

[1] Lee did appreciate the value of cavalry. "For God's sake, my dear General, urge the Congress to furnish me with a thousand cavalry. With a thousand cavalry I could insure the safety of these Southern Provinces; and without cavalry, I can answer for nothing. I proposed a scheme in Virginia for raising a body almost without any expense. The scheme was relished by the gentlemen of Virginia, but I am told the project was censured by some members of the Congress, on the principle that a military servant should not take the liberty to propose anything. . . . From want of this species of troops, we had infallibly lost this Capital, but the dilatoriness and stupidity of the enemy saved us." — To Washington, July 1, 1776, Correspondence of the Revolution (Sparks), I. 246. He had already written to the Virginia Committee of Secrecy: "Your resolution to raise a body of light-horse is, in my opinion, most judicious. It is a species of troops without which an army is a defective and lame machine."

and had there slept. However this may be, on the morning of the 13th of December, a fortnight to a day before the affair at Trenton, a mere squad of British cavalry, thirty strong only, swooped down on White's Tavern, near Baskingridge, — halfway across the State of New Jersey, — and, in leisurely fashion, carried Lee off in slippers and dressing-gown, a prisoner of war. Another point of interest in connection with this somewhat opera bouffe performance was the presence in it, as a participant, of Banastre Tarleton, then a cornet of light-horse. Subsequently Tarleton gained notoriety as an active and enterprising cavalry officer in the Southern Department; and, as such, he also left a volume of Memoirs relating to the operations in which he bore part. The capture of Charles Lee does, however, reveal the fact that Howe's army in this campaign did boast a small force of regular cavalry, designated by Stedman "light dragoons" (I. 191) or "light-horse" (226), and mention is from time to time made of it; but its only noticeable, or even recorded, performance was this bagging of Charles Lee. It is none the less apparent that, with a sufficient and effective auxiliary mounted force, such as Tarleton subsequently had under him in the Carolinas, the advantages gained in the operations about New York during the autumn months of 1776 by Howe and Cornwallis could easily have been followed up later, and Washington's straggling and demoralized army might have been effectually dispersed. On the other hand, while the British, from the lack of a mounted force adapted to irregular service and American conditions, did not, and could not, follow up their successes, the Americans, for the same reason, were wholly unable to harass their enemy and retard his advance. They could not even keep informed as to that enemy's position and movements, much less cut off his supplies, or exhaust and distract him by continually beating up his cantonments, — a system of tactics subsequently most successfully employed in the Carolina campaigns under even less advantageous conditions. That the British during the earlier stages of that seven years' struggle failed, so to speak, to "catch on" to this somewhat novel feature in warfare, as then conducted, is perhaps, considering the national characteristics, no matter for surprise. At best the British soldier is not peculiarly adaptive; and, fighting in a new country under wholly unaccustomed conditions, a Prince Rupert was not at once developed. The

curious and hardly explicable fact, however, is that, later, they did "catch on" more quickly than Washington, who was to the manner born, and did develop, in advance of the Americans, a substitute for Prince Rupert, and a tolerably good one also, in the person of Tarleton. But, with material directly at hand in the way of both horses and riders, it is fairly matter of wonder that no American Mosby developed anywhere or at any time within the field of operations presided over by Washington. Further south the partizan leader and the mounted rifleman did appear, as if by spontaneous generation, almost immediately after interior operations began; for Marion, Sumter, Pickens and the two Horrys were the Mosbys and Wheelers of the earlier struggle (Fisher, II. 275). But north of Chesapeake Bay, where the initiative and personal influence of Washington, so to speak, set the gait, any trace of this aggressive individual enterprise is looked for in vain. Morgan stands forth the nearest approach to it. Washington, as is well known, did at one time consider the possibility of being compelled to fall back to the well-nigh unexplored region beyond the Alleghanies; and, subsequently, he had recourse to what is known as a system of Fabian tactics. But the Parthian system of tactics was quite as well established historically as the Fabian,[1] only it never seems to have occurred to him. Yet all the conditions lent themselves admirably to a recourse to that system. As I have said, the men were there; the horses were there; the forage was there: all in abundance. The organization and leaders only were lacking; nor were the leaders far to seek. Daniel Morgan, of Virginia, was there, Jersey-born but of Welsh stock, no less a born commander of irregular horse than, eighty years later, in the War of Secession was Forrest, of Tennessee, a man of exactly similar type, instinctively a strategist and cavalry leader. And again another instance: from the very commencement of hostilities, Benedict Arnold gave unmistakable evidence of the possession of every quality which went to make up the dashing cavalry commander.

Contrasting him with well-known characters familiar to a later generation, Washington seems, on the contrary, to have had more traits in common with George H. Thomas than with

[1] "The ne'er yet beaten horse of Parthia
We have jaded out o' the field." — Antony and Cleopatra, iii, 1.

either Sherman or Sheridan. To the military critic, he is something of a puzzle; for, though ordinarily cautious and even slow, he at times was wonderfully alert, and at other times actually audacious. In the operations in and about New York during the autumn of 1776 he failed to grasp the strategic situation, and vacillated in presence of his opponent in a way which should have led to his destruction. The decision, alertness and energy displayed by him at Princeton and Trenton were, on the other hand, indicative of qualities which at the time elicited from the retired veteran of Potsdam words of warm appreciation; while, the next year, at Brandywine and Germantown, the audacity, not to say rashness, with which he challenged battle with an opposing force which, not only in organization and equipment, but even numerically, completely outclassed him, was, and is, simply confounding. Finally his move on Yorktown in 1781 was a brilliant strategic conception, as decisive as it was energetically carried out.

Returning, however, to the subject under immediate consideration, — the organization of a mounted service and its effective use in the Revolutionary operations, — Washington did not evince mental alertness. On the contrary, while his correspondence and reports reveal no trace of the consciousness of an unsupplied necessity in this direction, he, in the field, showed himself distinctly lacking in what may, for present purposes, be well enough described as the cavalry *flair*, so conspicuous in Cromwell and Frederick. There is in Sheridan's Memoirs a passage curiously illustrative of this divergence of view, chiefly attributable to character and temperament, but in part due to training and vocation. Sheridan was essentially a cavalry officer, — a *sabreur*. Originally assigned to the artillery, General George G. Meade, the victor of Gettysburg, later served in the engineer corps until August, 1861, when he was put in command of a brigade of Pennsylvania infantry then being organized. Both were in their respective ways excellent officers, but Sheridan says of Meade (Memoirs, I. 355): "He was filled with the prejudices that, from the beginning of the war, had pervaded the army regarding the importance and usefulness of cavalry. General Scott then predicted that the contest would be settled by artillery, and thereafter refused the services of regiment after regiment of mounted troops. General Meade deemed cavalry fit for little more than guard

and picket duty." Sheridan, on the contrary, regarding the problem from the cavalry point of view, grasped the possibilities and wanted to weld that arm of the service into an effective, and even deadly, weapon of offence. Throughout the Revolutionary operations, Washington seems to have looked upon cavalry much as did Scott and Meade in the later struggle; and, in the Revolution, no Sheridan forged to the front.

To undertake to review in detail the subsequent Revolutionary campaigns from a cavalry point of view, would extend this paper beyond all reason; it would assume the proportions of a treatise. Necessarily, therefore, I must confine myself to outlines and suggestions. I have referred to the campaign of 1776 [1] That of 1777 — Washington's third — was marked by Burgoyne's invasion from Canada, and the ill-considered and altogether aimless movement of Sir William Howe on Philadelphia. The northern campaign began in the middle of June, and closed with the Saratoga surrender on the 17th of October. Burgoyne was a cavalry officer, and had won such distinction as he enjoyed by organizing the so-called "light-horse" as an arm of the English military service. Now, however, he was called upon to conduct operations in a well-nigh primeval wilderness, through which he should have moved by water whenever it was possible so to do, but elected to march by land. Accordingly, men, and Germans in some cases at that, accustomed to European roads found themselves following woodland trails through a country intersected by creeks, and consisting in great part of impassable morasses. Under such conditions, a mounted force would have been simply an additional incumbrance. Accordingly, in the Saratoga campaign, cavalry cut, and could cut no figure.

It was otherwise in Maryland and southern and eastern Pennsylvania, the region which Howe selected as the field for his operations; and that in which Washington next had to figure.

During the earlier months of that summer, there had been some desultory movements on the part of Howe, from New

[1] There is record of a payment made by the Continental Congress of nearly five thousand dollars, for the service of a company of light-horse of Essex County, New Jersey, raised December 25, 1776, and discharged March 17, 1777. The exact service given is not mentioned, but it probably guarded the prisoners taken at Princeton and Trenton. — Journals of the Continental Congress (Ford), VIII. 393.

York as a base, which Washington had contented himself with observing. He was pursuing a Fabian policy. He was, also, wise in so doing; for, in every branch of the service, — infantry, artillery, or even cavalry, — the force opposed to him was incomparably superior to anything he could put in motion. In fact, it is not easy now to see how Washington was able to hold the field even defensively. The movements at this juncture are known in Revolutionary annals as Howe's "two weeks' fooling in New Jersey" (Fisher, II. 13), and during them it is quite needless to point out how valuable any mounted force, regular or irregular, would have been to the patriot commander. Presently Howe moved his army back to Staten Island, and, loading it on transports, disappeared from view until the last days of July, when he, so to speak, turned up at the entrance of Delaware Bay. Washington, his opponent's objective being now apparent, hurried his ill-organized command to the new field of operations. On his way he passed through Philadelphia, where the Continental Congress was then holding its sittings; and, from a letter written by John Adams to his wife, we get a glimpse of a more or less nebulous cavalry contingent as a component part of the patriot army. John Adams wrote: "Four regiments of light-horse, Bland's, Baylor's, Sheldon's and Moylan's. Four grand divisions of the army, and the artillery with the matrosses. They marched twelve deep, and yet took up above two hours in passing by. General Washington and the other general officers with their aides on horseback. The Colonels and other field-officers on horseback." [1]

Presently, the British expedition made its appearance in Chesapeake Bay, and, finally, a landing was effected near Elkton. Philadelphia, it was plain, was now the British objective, and Washington hurried across the country to plant himself in Howe's path. With a force some eleven thousand strong, only half-disciplined and wretchedly equipped, while Howe had eighteen thousand regulars, with an artillery contingent, this was distinctly audacious. Going by sea, Howe, of

[1] Familiar Letters (1876), 298. At this very time a Committee of Congress went to camp and reported that the army consisted of 17,568 men, rank and file, 193 privates of the corps of artillery, and 188 privates of the cavalry. In addition, however, were Colonel Moylan's regiment of horse, and four troops belonging to Sheldon's and Bland's regiments, of which the details are not given. The Committee made no recommendations on cavalry, — Journals, VIII. 608.

course, could not have had any considerable force of mounted men, probably only a squadron or two.[1]

What now ensued illustrated most strikingly the absence of cavalry on either side. To one trained practically in the methods of modern warfare it reads like a burlesque, exciting a sense of humor as well as a feeling of amazement. While Howe's army lay at Elkton, preparing in a leisurely way to take up its line of march to Philadelphia, Washington, it is said, accompanied by Greene and Lafayette, with a few aides, went forward to reconnoitre. In other words, the two generals, most prominent in the army and necessary to its preservation as well as effectiveness, accompanied by a distinguished foreign guest, actually went out in person on a scout. In the early days of our Civil War, a prominent politician freshly made a General distinguished himself by attempting a close reconnoissance on a railroad train; and, in South Africa, on one memorable occasion, an English commander undertook to ascertain the whereabouts of the enemy by utilizing a park of artillery as a skirmish line: but no case except this of Washington is recorded of a general-in-chief going on an over-night scout himself because, apparently, he could in no other way get information of a kind, to say the least, highly desirable.

Riding forward to certain elevations, from which they got a glimpse of a few tents in the distance, Washington and his companions were caught on their return in a heavy rain, and took shelter for the night in a farm-house which chanced to be owned and occupied by a loyalist (Fisher, II. 22). They seem to have been utterly without escort and ran fully as great a risk of being gobbled up as did Lee, eight months before. That they did not now share Lee's fate was pure luck.

It next devolved upon the patriot army to cover Philadel-

[1] Stedman says (I. 289) that Howe's army, including "a regiment of light-horse," embarked at New York on the 5th of July, "where both foot and cavalry remained pent up, in the hottest season of the year, in the holds of the vessels, until the 23d, when they sailed from Sandy Hook." Not until the 24th of August did the expedition reach its landing-place, at the head of the Elk. Not until the 8th of September was the entire force concentrated and put in motion towards Philadelphia. The horses of the expedition were thus, during the most trying period of the American summer, kept exactly seven weeks in the holds of the transports. Taking all things into consideration, greater dilatoriness would not have been easily possible. Had Washington at this time been in position to issue orders for the movements of both armies, his own and the British, he could hardly, from the American point of view, have bettered the situation.

phia. Howe was perfectly advised as to the composition of the force opposed to him, the inadequacy of its equipment, its lack of cavalry or any mounted force, and its consequent inability to secure early and correct information as to his own whereabouts and tactics. He acted accordingly, preparing a flank movement almost exactly similar to that so successfully employed on Long Island a year previous, and at both Chancellorsville and Sadowa in the following century. Cornwallis moved around Washington's unsuspecting right, just as "Stonewall" Jackson eighty-five years later, and less than one hundred and fifty miles further south, circled Hooker's right. Trevelyan says (Pt. III. 228) that the reports which now reached Washington "were in a high degree confused and contradictory. He had no means of getting at the positive truth, because he was very weak in cavalry"; and so the morning of a momentous day wore away "amidst distracting doubts and varying counsels." Presently, as the result of a reconnoissance made by a single horseman sent out to explore by Sullivan, who commanded the American right, Washington was erroneously advised as to his opponent's probable plan of action, and set his forces in motion for an attack on that portion of Howe's army in his own immediate front. Other and more correct information then at last reaching him, he again changed his plan; but it was now too late. Howe's flanking movement had been completely and successfully carried out; and it only remained for the historian to record that the disaster which a few hours later overwhelmed the patriot cause was due to the fact that those in charge of it could obtain "no reliable information from the inhabitants, and had so few and insufficient cavalry that they could make no extended and rapid explorations." A year almost to a day had elapsed since this same Sullivan had found himself the victim of a precisely similar movement on Long Island, his opponent getting in his rear by a perfectly obvious roundabout route, but one over which his approach was never "dreamed of." On that occasion Sullivan, having no men at his disposal to watch the road, had, it will be remembered, "paid horsemen fifty dollars for patroling it by night"; and now, under very similar conditions, he wrote, "I have never had any light-horse with me since I joined the army. I found four when I came to Brentford's Ford, two of whom I sent off with Captain Hazen to Jones's

Ford." In such a state of affairs, with an overpowering hostile force creeping around the army's right wing, the question naturally suggests itself, where were "Bland's, Baylor's, Sheldon's and Moylan's four regiments of light horse"?[1] Of them and their movements no mention is made. Howe now had Washington exactly where a vigorous and energetic commander likes to get his opponent. Demoralized and exhausted, the patriot army was driven into a *cul-de-sac* formed by the junction of the Schuylkill with the Delaware. Ruthlessly pursued, there was no escape for it. As the alternative to surrender it would have been hustled into the river. But now, as a year before on Long Island, Washington owed his salvation to the inertness of an opponent who never saw any occasion for following up an advantage. Having won what could easily have been made a decisive victory, Sir William Howe showed no disposition to assume an active aggressive, but lay for two weeks in camp in an agreeable situation in a healthy high position within a few miles of his highly successful battle-field.[2]

During this inexplicable interval in active operations, the absence on the patriot side of any eyes and ears of an army

[1] Fisher remarks (II. 27): "This Sullivan who learned of the flanking movement too late at Brandywine, was the same Sullivan who had failed to know of the flanking movement in time at Long Island. His *forte* did not lie in protecting an army's flank." This, possibly, is true. It is, however, equally true that on a previous notable historical occasion the *forte* of the children of Israel did not lie in the making of bricks without straw.

[2] Stedman says (I. 292): "A general rout took place. A considerable part of the American army fled with precipitation, in small and confused parties, by different roads, towards Philadelphia, Lancaster, and Reading, while General Washington, and the corps he was able to keep together, fled with his cannon and baggage to Chester; where he remained, within eight miles of the British army, till next morning, when he marched by Derby to Philadelphia." Bancroft explains (v. 599, Century ed.) that "nightfall, the want of cavalry, and the extreme fatigue of Howe's army forbade pursuit." Stedman observes (I. 293): "The victory does not seem to have been improved in the degree which circumstances appeared to have admitted. When the left column of the British had turned Washington's right flank, his whole army was hemmed in: . . . He was obliged to retreat twenty-three miles to Philadelphia, where the British lay within eighteen miles of it. . . . For some reason, however, which it is impossible to divine, the commander in chief employed himself for several days in making slight movements, which could not by any possibility produce any important benefits to the British cause." Fiske is fully equal to even that military situation. He says (I. 317): "Washington detained the victorious enemy a fortnight on the march of only twenty-six miles; a feat which not even Napoleon could have performed with an army which had just been 'routed.'"

received further forcible illustration in the so-called Paoli "massacre" of September 20, through which "Mad Anthony" Wayne got a rough lesson in warfare. When Washington, after the disaster on the Brandywine, withdrew across the Schuylkill, he left a small force, some fifteen hundred strong, on its further side, under Wayne, to watch Howe, and, it is said (Fisher, II. 33), to "harass his rear" if he moved forward. The reason thus given for such a risky division of a force, insufficient at best, is not over and above intelligible; and, certainly, infantry were here left to do what was plainly the work of cavalry. Wayne also was, like Sullivan on the Brandywine, without the means of effective outpost service. Apparently he had a few very inefficient mounted men posted as videttes, who failed to give timely notice of the enemy's approach.[1] The natural result, a night surprise, followed. At about one o'clock in the morning (Stedman, I. 294) Wayne's camp was rushed, and he lost about a fifth of his command, — lives thrown away. But historically the affair has its lesson; for the different eyes with which historians regard it and state the facts connected with it are suggestive. In Trevelyan only is there any comment on the absence of organization which made such a foot-surprise practicable, — the single military lesson to be learned from it; but one historian says of the British commander, Major-General Grey, his "only distinction in the war was in prisoner-killing"; and, in this case, he "committed, it is said, most ruthless slaughter with sword and bayonet on those he first came upon. . . . Wayne was not surprised, as has been generally supposed. . . . He was accordingly well prepared, resisted gallantly, and was able to retire, saving his artillery and stores" (Fisher, II. 33). But another historian writes: "The best officer in Howe's army, short of Cornwallis, was Charles Grey, who died Earl Grey of Howick in Northumberland, and who was the father of the celebrated Whig prime-minister. It once was the fashion in America to write about General Grey as if he was a pair with Governor Tryon; but, in truth, he was a high-minded and honorable gentleman, and a soldier every inch of him. . . . It was as complete a surprise, and as utter a rout, as ever occurred in modern warfare" (Trevelyan, Pt. III. 233). On this disputed point it can only be observed that, if the American commander was at Paoli not surprised and was "well

[1] Stillé's Wayne, 86.

prepared" against a midnight attack, the outcome thereof called for a great deal of explanation on his part. A loss of between three and four hundred sustained by his command was counterbalanced by "precisely a dozen casualties in the English ranks." If "well prepared" for him, Wayne certainly failed, on that occasion, to give his opponent what is in warfare known as a warm reception. At the bar of history the burden of further proof would appear to rest on the American investigator.

During the previous winter Congress, presumably on the suggestion of Washington, had given some more or less shadowy consideration to the idea of organizing a body of what was termed "light cavalry," in apparent distinction to the severely drilled and heavily accoutred dragoon; for, stated in general terms, in Europe the dragoon constituted the more solid mounted arm of the service, equipped with carbines, while the hussar and lancer, lighter and more dashing, depended on the sabre and lance. Both were quite unfitted to the essential conditions of practical warfare in America. It is, therefore, extremely questionable whether any such mounted force as the Congress authorized during the winter of 1776–1777 ever really came into existence, even on paper. The historians make no mention of it. Meanwhile, Count Pulaski had now been for some time in the country and apparently attached to Washington's headquarters; a member of his military household. Bancroft, in his not very satisfactory or intelligible account of the Brandywine operations, enigmatically says, "on that day [Pulaski] showed the daring of adventure rather than the qualities of a commander"; but, apparently because of his dashing conduct, Congress, on the recommendation of Washington, commissioned him as Brigadier General.[1] This

[1] Pulaski held no appointment at the time of the battle of Brandywine. He had a high opinion of his own qualities, for he asked "such rank and command in the army of these united states as will leave him subordinate to the Commander in Chief alone, or to him and the Marquis de Lafayette." — Journals, VIII. 673.

Washington's view of the cavalry may be measured by his recommendation of Pulaski: "This department is still without a head; as I have not, in the present deficiency of Brigadiers with the army, thought it advisable to take one from the foot for that command. The nature of the horse service with us being such, that they commonly act in detachment, a general officer with them is less necessary than at the head of the Brigades of infantry. . . . But though the horse will suffer less from the want of a general officer than the foot, a man of

was done, the historian informs us, "in order to encourage and develop that arm which heretofore had amounted to little or nothing in the patriot service" [1] (Fisher, II. 30).

At this stage of the present study it is very desirable, if any result of value is to be reached, to bear continually in mind the advice of Dr. Johnson to Boswell that he should, before entering on a certain discussion, "clear his mind of cant"; and in the present case the term "cant" must be held to include cults, hero-worship, patriotism, traditional gratitude, race-pride and various other factors, all more or less disturbing in any historical narrative. The present is an effort towards a cold, critical, military analysis from a purely cavalry point of view. It is also, of course, easy to be wise after the event;

real capacity, experience, and knowledge in that service, might be extremely useful." Franklin, in his endorsement of Pulaski, said nothing of his special fitness for the cavalry service, and Washington doubtless only repeated the Polish adventurer's own claims when he told Congress that "as the principal attention in Poland has been for some time past paid to the cavalry, it is to be presumed this gentleman is not unacquainted with it." — Writings of Washington (Ford), VI. 57 *n*. He was appointed to command the horse, with the rank of brigadier general, but the experiment was short and, apparently, the reverse of fortunate. He resigned his command in March, 1778, to raise an independent mixed force of horse and foot, known in Revolutionary annals as "Pulaski's Legion." — Journals, X. 312.

Of curious interest is the resolution of Congress, of March 2, 1778, on raising State companies of light horse, to serve at their own expense, save provisions and forage, and not to act as expresses or as escort to other than the General. The plan was addressed to the "young gentlemen of property and spirit" in the States.

[1] Pulaski, some months after his appointment, complained of the "ineffective state" of the cavalry. "It cannot be appropriated to any other service than that of orderlies, or reconnoitring the enemy's lines, which your Excellency must be persuaded is not the only service expected from a corps, which, when on a proper footing, is so very formidable. Although it is the opinion of many, that, from the construction of the country, the cavalry cannot act to advantage, your Excellency must be too well acquainted with the many instances wherein the cavalry have been decisively serviceable, to be of this opinion, and not acknowledge that this corps has more than once completed victories. . . . What has greatly contributed to the present weak state of the cavalry was, the frequent detachments ordered to the suite of general and other officers, while a Colonel commanded, which were appropriated to every use, and the horses drove at the discretion of the dragoons." — Correspondence of the Revolution (Sparks), II. 53. Again, in December, 1777, he wrote: "While we are superior in cavalry, the enemy will not dare to extend their force, and, notwithstanding we act on the defensive, we shall have many opportunities of attacking and destroying the enemy by degrees; whereas, if they have it in their power to augment their cavalry, and we suffer ours to diminish and dwindle away, it may happen that the loss of a battle will terminate in our total defeat. Our army, once dispersed and pursued by their horse, will never be able to rally."

and, in the full light of subsequent occurrences, to see what ought to have been done, or left undone, at any given crisis of human affairs. Premising all this, it is yet difficult to avoid the conclusion that if, in the autumn and winter of 1777, the organization and development of an effective mounted force in the American Continental Army was the end in view, the selection of Pulaski as the officer to work that result about was in no way happy.

A showy, dashing Polish horseman, and, as the end showed, a most generous and gallant young fellow, Pulaski, as Chief of Cavalry for the somewhat inchoate Continental Army of 1778, labored under difficulties which were in fact insuperable. With a quick temper and impatient disposition, he could not make himself understood in English; and, a stranger in a strange land, his whole former military experience was, among Americans and under American conditions, a positive drawback. He submitted to Washington a sensible memorial, in which he pointed out clearly the pressing necessity of an organized and improved cavalry service; and, subsequently, he forwarded several reports setting forth in most imperfect English the difficulties he encountered. These I have not seen; nor have I read Colonel Bentalou's pamphlet entitled "Pulaski Vindicated"; but judging by brief extracts printed by Sparks in his Memoir,[1] I infer with some confidence that, while he addressed himself with zeal to the task he sought for and which was assigned him, Pulaski did not go at it in the right way, — in the way in which, for instance, Morgan would probably have gone at it. In other words, he did not understand America, and had no correct idea as to conditions. Consequently, as Sparks very well puts it, "the officers of the several regiments, who had heretofore been in a measure independent, were not easily reconciled to the orders of a superior, particularly of a foreigner who did not understand their language, and whose ideas of discipline, arrangement and manœuvres were different from those to which they had been accustomed." The result naturally to be expected in due time ensued. Thus the first attempt at a Continental cavalry organization failed; nor can the responsibility for its failure be attributed exclusively to the injudicious interference of an intractable Congress. It failed because it was in no way

[1] Life of Count Pulaski, Sparks's American Biography, New Series, IV.

American, or entered upon with a correct, because instinctive, appreciation of existing potentialities. And so the brave and unfortunate Pulaski passed on to his early death. It was merely another case of a square peg in a round hole. But the question still presents itself — Who put the peg in that particular hole? — and did the person making the assignment exactly understand either the nature of the hole or the adaptation of the peg to it?

I now find myself face to face with an accepted American historical cult; for the investigator who is so rash as to question, from any point of view or in any respect, Washington's all-embracing prescience or infallibility of military judgment, incurs imminent risk of being summarily ruled out of court, — or, so to speak, historically disbarred. In avoidance of this penalty, I find myself, therefore, compelled to reiterate what in any good military treatise would be ignored as a commonplace. To any one at all acquainted with the practical side of warfare the proposition is elementary: There is no branch of the service in which a familiar acquaintance with the country to be operated in, and its conditions, is so essential to a commander's success, as in the cavalry. A man not to the manner born may be a good officer of infantry or of artillery, and an excellent engineer, even though he speaks but indifferently the language of his soldiers; not so the efficient commander of horse. To be really effective, he must be of his command; his troopers must see in him one of themselves. Especially is this so in a new country, such as the United States in all respects was during the last half of the eighteenth century. In America and in Europe, engineering and artillery were in essentials the same. That European infantry at times found itself out of place under American conditions had been demonstrated in Braddock's case and again at Bunker Hill; but still the European battalion and officers could do good work when out of the woods and the reach of rangers and riflemen. With the mounted service it was altogether otherwise. American conditions called for a species of cavalry peculiar to themselves; and, in organizing and commanding it, a European had first to unlearn everything he had ever been taught, and start fresh. He must understand the country, its people and their speech, its horses, its roads and its forage. In a word, no less in Revolutionary times than during our War of Secession, if he is going to prove a cavalry

success, he must be a Daniel Morgan and not a Casimir Pulaski.

To the "bookish theorick" and closet historian, — the Bancrofts and the Fiskes, past, present and to come, — all this may at best be news, or at worst seem quite immaterial; but any man who in America has himself ever "set a squadron in the field" in presence of an enemy will see in it not only the alphabet, but the very crux itself, of his calling. And my point is that, after two whole years of campaigning in the Jerseys and Pennsylvania, Washington ought to have grasped this elementary proposition. That he did so grasp it, I find no evidence, whether in his operations or his correspondence. Yet the third year of active warfare was now drawing to its end, and while poor Pulaski was struggling in vain with the English language and a "Legion" cavalry organization, at once inchoate, ill-considered and insubordinate, both Morgan and Arnold were in command of men who ought to have been on horseback with rifles on their saddle-bows, but who still marched and fought on foot with musket and bayonet.

To return, however, to the Brandywine and the course of military events. The battle was fought September 11th; and towards the close of that month, Howe, by a skilful move, outmanœuvred Washington and, throwing his army across the Schuylkill, occupied Philadelphia. But that he succeeded in doing this, pronounced by the historian (Fisher, II. 35) "the cleverest piece of work" ever accomplished by him, was again entirely due to Washington's absolute lack of any approach to an effective outpost service.

The battle of Germantown followed, involving, of course, the continued occupation of Philadelphia. An audacious conception, it was well planned by Washington, and came near being a brilliant success. Unfortunately, there was, as the historians say, no possibility of quick communication on the field; owing to the prevalence of dense fog the position of the enemy could not be correctly ascertained; and what mounted force was available, known now as "Pulaski's cavalry," was so much separated by attending the different divisions of the army on their march, and other services,[1] that, during the battle, the

[1] The detailed disposition of the mounted force forming part of Washington's army at Germantown furnishes conclusive evidence of the absence of any correct conception of either the organization of cavalry or its use in field work on the

several detachments were not in a condition to be brought into action together. Considering the fog and the nature of the locality, it is also very questionable whether at Germantown any opportunity offered for the effective use of horse.[1]

Such was the close of the campaign of 1777. Valley Forge followed; for, on the 19th of December, Washington led his now wholly demoralized following, an army in name only, along the western bank of the Schuylkill to their doleful winter quarters.

Summarizing the campaign of 1777, so far as the operations conducted by Washington in person were concerned, Trevelyan (Pt. III. 332) says that if Washington had "begun the campaign with a respectable force of cavalry, numerous enough to cover his own front and watch the movements of the enemy,

part of the American general at that stage of the conflict, fourteen months after Howe landed on Staten Island. The entire force might have amounted to two full squadrons, or one modern battalion (400 rank and file). Pulaski, who neither talked nor understood English, but had been made a Brigadier-General less than three weeks before, was in nominal command of all the cavalry; but the cavalry was not organized, and the several units which might have gone into an organized whole were distributed as follows: — Moylan's Dragoons accompanied the right wing under Sullivan; two troops of Sheldon's Dragoons under Major Tallmadge, some of Bland's Dragoons, and several of Pulaski's recruits accompanied Greene's left wing. A detail of Bland's troopers acted as escort to Washington. The first City (Philadelphia) Troop was with the Pennsylvania militia on Sullivan's right. In Conway's brigade was a detachment of McLane's cavalry. The reserves under Stirling had no cavalry. The mounted men drove in the advanced British pickets at Chestnut Hill, and elsewhere on this occasion did orderly and courier duty; but, as cavalry, they were not actively engaged.

For the above details I am indebted to the accomplished librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Mr. John W. Jordan, who is now engaged in the preparation of a careful monograph on the battle of Germantown. When completed it should be of interest as showing that the idea of a distinctively American mounted service had not yet occurred to any one. So far as I have been able to ascertain, it first suggested itself to Banastre Tarleton, as the result of his experience and observation during the operations in Pennsylvania and New Jersey between November, 1776, and June, 1778. He was then a captain in Harcourt's horse. Described by Colonel Vetch, in his sketch in the Dictionary of National Biography, as "a born cavalry leader, with great dash, and as such unequaled in his time," Tarleton, as will presently be seen, put his conception of the new weapon in American warfare into form and use in South Carolina, in the early months of 1780. He was then in his twenty-sixth year. At first he was almost unopposed, and used his novel appliance in a most effective way and with excellent results; but, a little later on, the Americans proved apt pupils, and at the Cowpens (January 17, 1781) Morgan signally worsted the master at his own game. The patent of discovery, however, belongs in this case neither to Washington nor to any other American but distinctly to General Sir Banastre Tarleton, K. C. B. (1754–1833).

[1] Sparks's Pulaski, 421.

his advance guard need never have been surprised at Paoli, and even Brandywine might have told another tale." He then adds that Washington during the Valley-Forge winter, gave much of both time and thought to the creation of such a force. The organization of what was subsequently known as "Lee's Legion" resulted.[1] Though doubtless, as Trevelyan says, Washington gave closest attention to everything which concerned the enlistment, the equipment, and, above all, the mounting of the troopers composing this body, yet that very corps, famous as it subsequently became in Revolutionary annals, and brilliant and effective as the work done by it unquestionably was, emphasizes forcibly Washington's limitations as a cavalry leader, and his failure to grasp in a large way the part which a sufficient and effective mounted service both might and should have played in the general field of the operations which it devolved on him to conduct. Trevelyan says truly enough, "The American cavalry had small beginnings and never attained very large dimensions; but it was a serviceable instrument of war from the first moment, and ultimately it played a memorable part in deciding the campaign which preserved Georgia and the Carolinas to the Union." But, while this is undeniable so far as it goes, it is suggestive of more — a good deal more — to be said on the same topic.

Why was all this thus? "Lee's Legion," modelled, by the way, apparently on Pulaski's ill-conceived idea of an effective American cavalry service, consisted of some three hundred men, one half only of whom were mounted. Instead of organizing a cavalry command of such wholly inadequate proportions, why was King's Mountain not anticipated, and a call sent out for the frontiersmen and rangers of Virginia and Pennsylvania to come riding in on their own horses? Why were not Morgan's riflemen jerked into the saddle, where they would have felt far more at home than on their feet?[2]

[1] Journals, XI. 545.

[2] In the paper laid before the Committee of Congress, in camp, January, 1778, Washington said:

"The benefits arising from a superiority of horse are obvious to those who have experienced them. Independent of such as you may derive from it in the field of battle, it enables you very materially to control the inferior and subordinate motions of an enemy, to impede their knowledge of what you are doing, while it gives you every advantage of superior intelligence, and consequently facilitates your enterprise against them and obstructs theirs against you. In a

In view of what subsequently took place during the War of Secession in this country,[1] and what took place in South Africa more recently, under conditions strikingly similar to those which obtained here during our Revolution, it is useless to say that this was impracticable; and the question next naturally presents itself — Who was responsible for this strategic and military shortcoming? The unavoidable answer suggests itself. And yet Trevelyan, in a footnote to the very page in his narrative from which I have just quoted, says that when Stuart was taking Washington's portrait, wishing to interest his sitter, he wrote, "I began on the Revolution, the battles of Monmouth and Princeton, but he was absolutely dumb. After a while I got on horses. I had touched the right chord." Washington was then (*circa* 1794) President, and living in Philadelphia. Trevelyan adds he had twenty-six horses in his stable.

defensive war, as in our case, it is peculiarly desirable, because it affords great protection to the country, and is a barrier to those inroads and depredations upon the inhabitants, which are inevitable when the superiority lies on the side of the invaders. The enemy, fully sensible of the advantages, are taking all the pains in their power to acquire an ascendancy in this respect, to defeat which, I would propose an augmentation of the cavalry." It was at this very time Washington was discussing, in the way described by Trevelyan, the formation of Lee's Legion, and he would still have only four regiments of cavalry. — Works of Alexander Hamilton (1850), II. 144.

That the experience was not entirely wasted on Hamilton is shown by his opinion given to Pickering in 1797: "I am much attached to the idea of a large corps of *efficient* cavalry, and I can not allow this character to militia. It is all important to an undisciplined against a disciplined army. It is a species of force not easy to be brought by an invader, by which his supplies may be cut off, and his activity extremely checked. Were I to command an undisciplined army, I should prefer half the force with a good corps of cavalry to twice the force without one." — Ib. VI. 249.

1 The most recent (1910) foreign critic on the American Civil War and its results thus expresses himself on this point: —

"Perhaps the principal military lesson [to be derived from a study of that war] is in the use of Cavalry. The problem of getting Cavalry to fight well on foot, without losing its Cavalry Spirit, is often spoken of now-a-days as a sort of ideal to be approached rather than attained; but Sheridan, Stuart and Forrest all solved it to perfection, using mounted and dismounted action indifferently, though the two latter had few real cavalry in proportion to the size of their commands." —J. Formby, The American Civil War, 484.

It should be unnecessary to point out that the above conclusion applies only to American conditions and to conditions elsewhere prevailing similar to those which in 1861 to 1865 prevailed in America; South Africa, for example. If applied to continental conditions in western Europe, the "lesson" would probably prove fallacious. It is this distinction between American and other conditions that the historians of the Revolution have failed to grasp; in that respect, however, only following the precedent of Washington.

The explanation seems obvious. Washington began his military career as a backwoods Indian fighter, and never forgot the lessons then learned, nor outgrew the experience. In the wooded wildernesses of the Alleghanies cavalry could not operate. All he knew of it was from hearsay, and reading the news-letter accounts of the campaigns and battles of Frederick. And so, Virginian though he was, there is from the beginning to the end of his military life, so far as I can discover, no indication of any adequate conception of the value and importance of the mounted man in military operations, and more especially in that particular form of military operation which it devolved upon him to conduct. Yet it is the first business of any great soldier both to appreciate and study the nature of the weapons at his command, and then to make full and effective use of them.

In the employment of the several recognized arms of the service in the Revolutionary struggle, the British enjoyed a great, and for the patriots an insuperable, advantage as respects infantry and artillery — what is known as the line-of-battle organization. On the other hand, the Americans, from the outset, found compensation in their superior marksmanship, individuality and mobility. Recourse should, accordingly, have been had to the rifle and the horse. From Lexington to King's Mountain, with Bennington by the way, the opponent the British officer most dreaded the sight of, was the leather-clad ranger;[1] and, of all descriptions of rangers, the organized mounted ranger was the most potentially formidable.

It is useless to object that in 1777 the use made of mounted men and irregular cavalry in modern warfare had not yet been developed. In the first place the fact is otherwise. It had

[1] Trevelyan, Pt. III. 259, 375. While the rifle as an implement in warfare seems to have been wholly unknown in the British service of the Revolutionary period, marksmanship was neither taught nor practised; and, as early as during the siege of Boston, Sir William Howe wrote home telling of the "terrible guns of the rebels." Finally he succeeded in capturing a ranger, and "sent him to England, rifle and all, and the marksman was made to perform there and exhibited as a curiosity." Some six hundred of the Germans sent to America were riflemen, known as "Jägers"; and, in the negotiations with the landgraves, it was stipulated that as many of the recruits as possible should be riflemen. — Sawyer, Firearms in American History, 81–83, 140. Referring to the so-called "massacre" at Paoli, Trevelyan justly observes (Pt. III. 236): "Men always attach the idea of cruelty to modes of warfare in which they themselves are not proficient; and Americans liked the bayonet as little as Englishmen approved of taking deliberate aim at individual officers."

been developed even in Roman times and, as already pointed out, Parthian tactics were quite as proverbially familiar as Fabian; while the name of Rupert was one to conjure with in Virginia. In the next place, if the use that could be made of mounted men in American open country warfare had not previously been developed, it was the province of Washington then to develop it. That is what he was there for; and a little later, at King's Mountain and Cowpens, the instinct of his people developed it for him.

The obvious objection will, of course, next be advanced that the keep of horses is costly, and Washington was always kept short of funds. This hardly merits attention. The Connecticut cavalry were dismissed and sent home on the specific ground that horses were thought to be of no use in the operations then in hand. The riders were invited to serve on foot. Yet only a month later, because of the lack of a suitable mounted service, Washington's advanced line was flanked, and the very flower of his army needlessly sacrificed. A thousand men were there lost. They represented the price of the keep of a few hundred horses for one month; while, at that very time, the majority of the dwellers on Long Island were Tories, whose fields were heavy with forage. In the next place, Washington did not then, nor afterwards, cry aloud for eyes and ears for his army, and have them denied him on the score of cost. On the contrary, until Valley Forge he does not seem to have been conscious of the absence from it of eyes and ears; at least, no allusion to the want is found in his writings. Finally, later on, the item of cost did not, in 1780 to 1782, prove an insuperable obstacle in the way of the development of a most effective mounted service in the Southern Department; though, compared with Greene's, Washington's camp chest was a purse of Fortunatus.

As respects the argument from cost, however, once for all it should be premised that war, effectively conducted, is a grim reality and in no way a dilettante, delicately handled pastime. In it men must be armed and equipped, somehow; horses must be had and fed, somewhence. The Confederates had no great supply of money between 1862 and 1865, but they had a most effective mounted service; likewise, the South-African Boers in a more recent struggle. In practical warfare the existence of a cavalry force is not so much a question of

money as of the existence of an adequate supply of horses, of forage and of men accustomed to the saddle. Of all these, and of the best, the America of the Revolutionary period possessed abundance. At King's Mountain, the prospective cost of horse-keep was, so far as appears, not taken into consideration.

If this limitation of Washington's military capacity was obvious in the two campaigns of 1776 and 1777, that of 1778 emphasized the deficiency. The campaign opened, inauspiciously enough, with the somewhat inexplicable Barren-Hill performance, under the leadership of a boy of twenty, for Lafayette at that time still lacked six months of attaining his majority. Though May was well advanced, active operations had not yet begun. The British army, still under the command of Sir William Howe (though, being superseded by Clinton, he was about to sail for England) occupied Philadelphia; while the patriots, just again gathering strength after their terrible winter experience, remained at Valley Forge. Washington determined to feel the enemy; and, with that end in view, sent out (May 18) a detachment, some fifteen hundred strong, of his best troops, with Lafayette in command. It was, in fact, a reconnoissance in force; and, as such, should have been composed in the main of cavalry, with a strong infantry support and artillery contingent. The patriot army, however, had no cavalry to speak of, so Lafayette marched off with a command composed almost exclusively of foot. Crossing the Schuylkill by a ford some two hours' march only from Valley Forge, he advanced to Barren Hill, within twelve miles of Philadelphia, and there went into camp. What ensued, illustrates several things: among them, more especially, the extreme danger of attempting without cavalry a close reconnoissance of an enemy of superior force; and, next, the utter impossibility of effecting an intelligible agreement between any two accounts of an outpost affair.

Fully informed as to the movement, the British arranged to bag Lafayette and his command. By merest chance, combined with the dull incompetence of Major-General Grant, who commanded one of the British columns, the bagging plan failed by the narrowest of margins; but it is instructive to read of the affair in the accounts of Tower,[1] of Fisher[2] and of Stedman.[3]

[1] Lafayette in the American Revolution (1895), I. 326–338.

[2] The Struggle for American Independence (1908), II. 146–148.

[3] History of the American War (1794), I. 376–379.

They agree in hardly any detail; and Stedman only of the three, the one participant and military writer, gives a map of the field of operations and makes mention of the "confused galloping of some of the enemy's horsemen" through whose panicky performances Lafayette probably received his first intimation of impending danger; while "a corps of [British] cavalry took possession of a hill" which was not defended, instead of being thrown forward to seize the ford by which alone could Lafayette's frightened foot effect an escape. The whole episode afforded an interesting example both of the absence and misuse of the weapons essential to success in warfare. According to Fisher, however, Washington did profit by the experience, for he "was careful to risk no more valuable detachments to watch for the evacuation of Philadelphia." In other words, having no cavalry to send, he sent out no more infantry to do cavalry work.

All this was preliminary; and it was not until a month later (June 18) that the campaign really opened. During that month Washington was observing Clinton closely, knowing well that the British army must move, but in natural doubt as to the direction of movement. It would seem that the utmost degree of mobility on his own part should then have been present to his mind as the great necessity of the hour. If such was the case, the thought took no outward form and remained unexpressed in correspondence. June, 1778, witnessed at last the withdrawal of the British army from Philadelphia, and its somewhat inglorious, but successful, transfer across New Jersey to New York. Its escape from total destruction was then largely due to the absence of cavalry, as a factor of efficiency in the patriot army.

Why, at this advanced stage of the war, it should have been thus lacking is not apparent. For Trevelyan also tells us that when Clinton set out on his march from Philadelphia to New York, his army had at its disposition no less than five thousand horses, "almost all of which had been collected by requisition or purchase, during Sir William Howe's occupation of Pennsylvania" (Pt. III. 367).

To a like effect, the same excellent authority asserts (Ib. 323) that General Greene, Washington's quartermaster, had during the same period "secured a vast quantity of horses for the artillery and transport" of the patriot army. Penn-

sylvania, as well as Virginia, it would seem, was well supplied with mounts; and, with Virginia only the other side of the Potomac, troopers would naturally not have been far to seek.

Sir Henry Clinton had now succeeded Sir William Howe. For good and sufficient reasons, when his position at Philadelphia had become difficult as well as objectless, he decided to transfer himself to New York. It was in fact a withdrawal from a position no longer tenable. For equally satisfying reasons, practical as well as strategic, it was determined to make the transfer by a land march. When the British army started on its return, the movement was not unanticipated on the part of Washington; and it is curious in reading the narratives to note through incidental mentionings how very gradually it was that the use of mounted men in the kind of warfare they were then engaged in dawned on the patriot leaders. While, for instance, Clinton's troops passed out of Philadelphia and crossed the river at dawn, six hours later, Trevelyan tells us, a part of Major Lee's dragoons galloped down to the quay in time to see the English rear guard off, as it ferried the Delaware (Pt. III. 371). To the same effect, Fisher says (II. 198) that Allan McLane with his "rough riders" was the first who entered the town. Fisher further notes (II. 131) that during the Valley Forge winter this Allan McLane, "a rough rider and freebooter of the most gallant type had scouted between the Delaware and the Schuylkill, making dashes up to the gates of the redoubts," which had been thrown up for the protection of Philadelphia. He further says that Washington during the season had troops between the Delaware and the Schuylkill, who, being rough riders and acting in small bands, obtained information and watched the movements of the British. Presumably there were thus attached to the patriot army the initial germs of such a mounted organization as the situation called for. It is obvious, however, it had not been organized on any large scale or comprehensive plan, and was not in such force as enabled it materially to affect subsequent strategic operations.

One thing, however, stands plainly out, — undeniable. No military movement could possibly have been much more open to fatal disaster through an application of Parthian tactics than that march of the British army from Philadelphia to

Sandy Hook, in June, 1778. "When the British reached their second halting-place, the rain poured down for fourteen consecutive hours, ruining the highways, soaking the baggage, spoiling the ammunition and provisions, and drenching the soldiers to the skin" (Trevelyan, Pt. III. 371). Under such conditions Clinton's progress was inordinately slow, and he "consumed a full week over the first forty miles of his journey" (Ib. 375). The heat then became intense, and Trevelyan says that the British infantry, "burdened like pack horses," were preceded by a train of carts "a dozen miles in length and frequently compelled to travel on a single causeway" (Ib. 372). The whole country-side was up in arms, bent on impeding his progress; and Sir Henry Clinton had no cavalry. All the bridges over which the column had to pass were broken down; the road, such as it was, "was execrable, and the heat like the desert of Sahara." When the retreating army got in motion, on the torrid morning of the eleventh day, Trevelyan adds, "innumerable carriages gradually wound themselves out of the meadows where they had been parked, and covered in unbroken file the whole of the eleven miles of highway which led westward from Monmouth Court House to the village of Middletown." It was here that the American infantry, under General Charles Lee, struck the retreating column. It is curious to consider what would under such circumstances have been the result had the American recourse been Parthian instead of Fabian. The military as well as historic truth is that, on this as on other occasions, Washington measured himself and his army up against his adversary at the point where they were strongest and he was least so. He opposed infantry to infantry; oblivious of the fact that the British infantry were of the most perfectly organized kind, while his own was at best an extemporized force. The natural result followed. Whatever the mounted force under Harry Lee or Allan McLane may have been, it is apparent that it was not sufficient to cut any figure during the momentous movement culminating at Monmouth Court House. To a wagon train, eleven miles in length, the American cavalry offered no obstacle. To have stopped that train's forward movement, and, in so doing, to have thrown the whole column into confusion, would in our day have been a simple

matter. But the weapon was not at command. It was by a margin of only five days that Clinton's army and possibly the British fleet escaped heavy disaster, if not total destruction (Fisher, II. 187). Drawing inferences from this record, would it be unfair to conclude that two thousand of the King's Mountain rangers led, we will say, by Daniel Morgan,[1] might, during those momentous ten days of transfer, have very potently contributed towards then and there ending the War of Independence? (Stedman, II. 23). If so, might not the historian, at once expert and judicious, find cause to suspect that a Fabian policy, combined with economy in horse-keep, came somewhat high at that juncture of Revolutionary experiences?

"No more pitched battles were fought in the North. Washington never met Clinton in the field. The two commanders, one impregnably intrenched in the Highlands, and the other impregnably intrenched in the town of New York, simply watched each other, from July, 1778, until September, 1781, when Washington made his sudden move to Yorktown, Virginia."

The period of active operations which has now been passed in review covered almost exactly two years, from July, 1776, to July, 1778. During nearly the whole of that period the British operations were directed by Sir William Howe. Howe belonged to a class of military commanders by no means uncommon, especially in British annals. With a certain degree of initiative, he appears to have been a man of essentially indolent, sluggish temperament, self-indulgent and disposed to be satisfied with incomplete or partial results. But this "enough-for-one-day" inclination on the part of commanders was by no means peculiar to Howe; on the contrary, it is much in evidence in the annals of all warfare. Wellington's career once supplied a dramatic illustration of it, eliciting from him a highly characteristic ejaculation. It was in Portugal, at Vimeiro, August 20, 1808, where Sir Arthur Wellesley, as he then was, in temporary command of the British expeditionary force, met the French army of occupation under Junot. That day the future Duke found himself pitted for the first time against the soldiers of the Empire. He scored a decided success; and then, a born fighter with victory in his grasp, he was replaced in command by Sir Harry Burrard, his

[1] Fisher, II. 207. Morgan, at this time, wrote to Washington, "You know the cavalry are the eyes of the infantry."

senior in commission, who had put in his appearance while the battle was still on. Junot was in exactly the position of Washington after the Brandywine. By a vigorous forward movement Junot could be cut off from Lisbon, as Washington from Philadelphia. Wellesley saw his opportunity. The French were in full retreat, and the English advance along the Torres Vedras road had begun; when, suddenly, Burrard, assuming command, ordered all pursuit to stop. In vain Wellesley expostulated, saying: "Sir Harry, now is your time to advance. The enemy are completely beaten. We shall be in Lisbon in three days." Like Howe at Flatbush and again at the Brandywine, Burrard held that "enough had been done for one day"; and it only remained for the disgusted Wellesley to turn away, remarking characteristically to his aid as he did so, "Well, then, there is nothing for us soldiers to do here except to go and shoot red-legged partridges!" Judging by his own masterly disposition and energetic pursuit of a routed enemy three years later at Camden (August 16, 1780), Cornwallis, at the Brandywine (September 11, 1777), must have been in much the same mood towards his commander as was Wellington, long afterwards, at Vimeiro. The flank movement conducted by him had been wholly successful; taken unawares and beaten, the American army was in full retreat, while Philadelphia, the British objective eighteen miles only from them, was three and twenty from the main body of the Americans, driven into a *cul-de-sac*. And, under such circumstances, Cornwallis heard Howe order his army to discontinue pursuit; as on Long Island a year before, "enough had been done for that day." In narrating the course of British operations about New York under Howe, Lord Mahon exclaims (VI. 194), "Thus was some respite obtained for the harassed and dispirited remnant of the American army. — Oh! for one hour of Clive!" Lord Clive was four years only the senior of Sir William Howe, as he was four years Gage's junior. It is well known historically that when, in November, 1774, Clive died by his own hand, the British Ministry, in view of that appeal to the sword towards which the disputes with the American colonists were then plainly tending, planned to avail themselves of his services. In the outcome of either Flatbush or the Brandywine, Cornwallis in command would probably have sufficed wholly to change the course of events; but it con-

founds the imagination to try even to conceive what history might have had to record had it been fated for Washington, in place of Major-General Thomas Gage, or Lieutenant-Generals Sir William Howe and Sir Henry Clinton, to confront Robert Clive at Boston in 1775, at New York in 1776, on the Brandywine in 1777, or at Monmouth in 1778.

"When Sylla, after all his victories, styled himself a happy, rather than a great, general, he discovered his profound knowledge of the military art. Experience taught him that the speed of one legion, the inactivity of another, the obstinacy, the ignorance, or the treachery of a subordinate officer, was sufficient to mar the best concerted plan, — that the intervention of a shower of rain, an unexpected ditch, or any apparently trivial accident, might determine the fate of a whole army. It taught him that the vicissitudes of war are so many, disappointment will attend the wisest combinations; that a ruinous defeat, the work of chance, often closes the career of the boldest and most sagacious of generals; and that to judge of a commander's conduct by the event alone is equally unjust and unphilosophical, a refuge for vanity and ignorance." [1]

In penning these reflections, while writing of the tragic outcome of Sir John Moore's Corunna campaign, Napier might well have added to his vicissitudes of warfare the good fortune of a commander who finds himself confronted with a succession of dull and beefy incompetents, or conventional and unenterprising professional strategists. When the calibre and temperaments of those opposed in command to him, and with whom only he was fated to measure himself, are taken into account, there may possibly be grounds for concluding that Washington, even more than Sylla, might have had cause to style "himself a happy, rather than a great, general." The imagination is, however, not greatly tasked to conceive the result, when Gage or Howe or Clinton is thought of as by any possibility of warfare pitted against Frederick or Napoleon. To be so pitted was, before and after, the ill fortune of many forgotten military nobodies in figure, weight and size not unlike those named.

After Monmouth, the seat of active Revolutionary warfare was transferred from the vicinity of New York and the Jerseys to the Carolinas, and General Nathanael Greene, in place of Washington, directed operations. Trevelyan's narrative has

[1] Napier, War in the Peninsula, Bk. IV., chap. vi.

not reached this stage of the conflict. It practically ends, so far as military movements are concerned, with the withdrawal of the British from Philadelphia, and the concentration of their army at New York, safe under the protection of the fleet.

This paper has already extended far beyond the limits originally proposed; and I shall not attempt to enter in detail into the operations conducted in the Carolinas between the fall of Charleston in May, 1780, and the final evacuation of South Carolina by the British in September, 1782. It is sufficient to say that, as a military study from the cavalry point of view, those operations afford a striking contrast to what had previously taken place during an almost exactly similar space of time in the Northern Department.

There was, it is true, a large royalist faction in the Carolinas; but the same element was found in almost equal proportion in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. The horse was equally at hand in each region; while forage was more plentiful in the Northern than in the Southern States: but it seemed as though both sides, simultaneously and as if from instinct, "caught on" in the Carolinas.[1] For instance, Savan-

[1] Describing the expedition to Savannah under Clinton, Tarleton, then a Lieutenant-Colonel, says (Campaigns of 1780 and 1781, 4–6) it included "a powerful detachment of artillery" and "two hundred and fifty cavalry." It left New York on the 26th of December, 1779; but, encountering a succession of storms, the fleet was dispersed, and "most of the artillery and all the cavalry horses perished." On landing in Tybee harbor Tarleton "found the condition of his corps mortifying and distressing; the horses of both officers and men, which had been embarked in excellent order, were destroyed owing to the badness of the vessels employed to transport them, and, unfortunately, there was no substitute found in Georgia to remedy such a catastrophe." Transporting his "men and furniture" by boat to Port Royal Island, Tarleton proceeded "to collect at that place, from friends and enemies, by money or by force, all the horses belonging to the islands in that neighborhood." This was towards the end of February; but "about the middle of March" Tarleton received orders to join the main command, "if he had assembled a sufficient number of horses to re-mount the dragoons; the number was complete, but the quality was inferior to those embarked at New York." Less than a month later (April 12) Tarleton, with his command thus re-mounted, surprised General Huger at the Cooper River crossing; and "four hundred horses belonging to officers and dragoons, with their arms and equipments (a valuable acquisition for the British cavalry in their present state), fell into the hands of the victors. . . . This signal instance of military advantage may be partly attributed . . . to the injudicious conduct of the American commander; who, besides making a false disposition of his corps, by placing his cavalry in front of the bridge during the night, and his infantry in the rear, neglected sending patrols in front of his videttes" (Ib. 16, 17). Exactly one month later Charleston was surrendered, and Tarleton led his com-

nah surrendered on the 11th of May, 1780, and, on the 29th of the same month, only eighteen days later, Tarleton had behind him seven hundred mounted men when he surprised Colonel Buford at the Waxhaws, and destroyed nearly his entire command. The British officer had covered one hundred and fifty-four miles in fifty-four hours (McCrady, III. 619). This was great cavalry work. Nothing like it was attempted, much less accomplished, by any of Washington's command in the Monmouth campaign.

The warfare which then developed itself in the Southern Department is, moreover, strikingly suggestive of that in South Africa a century and a quarter later. The tactics employed on both sides in the Carolina struggle were the same. Irregular bodies of partizans, the men mounted on their own horses, called together at a moment's notice and separating at the will of those composing the band, harried the land, cut off detached parties, showed small mercy to prisoners, and, withal, did little in the way of effective work towards bringing warfare to an end. It was a process of exhaustion. Made up chiefly of eccentric partizan operations, as it is studied in the somewhat voluminous detail of McCrady's two bulky volumes, the narrative conveys no lesson. The one cause for wonder is, how Greene, without arms, munitions, clothing, commissariat or camp-chest, contrived to keep the field at all.

As to Greene, also, it is impossible now to say whether he possessed in any marked degree the elements of an officer of cavalry. He, however, fully realized, as a result of experience, the immense importance of that arm of the service, causing him to write to Lafayette, when the latter was conducting operations in Virginia, the enemy "are increasing their cavalry by every means in their power, and have a greater number than we have, though not of equal goodness. We are trying to increase ours. Enlarge your cavalry or you are inevitably ruined."[1]

It is a curious and very noticeable fact, also, that as respects both the employment of cavalry and its effective use, the British not only seem to have taken the initiative, but they

mand, remounted in the way described, on the raid referred to in the text. No similar showing of energy and enterprise in the cavalry arm of the service had up to this time been seen on either side.

[1] G. W. Greene, Life of General Greene, III. 320.

held their advantage up to the close of the struggle;[1] that is, cavalry in the campaigns of Cornwallis and Lord Rawdon acted as an adjunct in military operations, and was used effectively in this way. This was the case to a very limited extent only on the patriot side. All the cavalry Greene ever could depend upon as an effective weapon in his immediate central command, were the comparatively insignificant organizations commanded by Harry Lee and Lieutenant-Colonel Washington. On the other hand, judging by McCrady's statements, Pickens, Marion, Sumter and the rest gave Greene almost as much trouble as they rendered him assistance. He was continually making futile attempts to draw them under his personal control for some concentrated movement; while they, much older men and natives of the country, plainly more or less jealous of his, the Rhode Islander's, authority, acted on their own responsibility, obeying or neglecting to obey his orders much as they saw fit.

Two conflicts, however, which occurred in the Carolinas, the one at King's Mountain on the 6th of October, 1780, the other at the Cowpens on January 17, 1781, are especially noticeable; and King's Mountain offered a fine example of irregular mounted warfare. The whole patriot force engaged was less than fourteen hundred strong, "over-mountain men," as they were called. Their mode of operation was almost exactly that of the Boers. Suddenly concentrated, and covering a considerable distance with great rapidity, "as soon as they arrived near the base of the spur [on which the conflict occurred] the riflemen all dismounted and, leaving their coats and blankets strapped to the saddles, tied their horses in the woods and with scarcely a moment's delay started on foot up the three easy sides of the spur" (Fisher, II. 353). Stedman's account (II. 221) of this episode is curiously suggestive of similar operations conducted in South Africa nearly a century and a quarter later: "These men . . . the wild and fierce inhabit-

[1] Immediately after the battle of Brandywine, a provincial corps raised in New York under the name of the Queen's Rangers was adopted by the English commander, and placed under the direction of Major-commandant J. G. Simcoe. What it accomplished is related in "Simcoe's Military Journal"; it need only be said here that the corps obtained as wide a fame as Tarleton's, and was taken at Gloucester Point when Cornwallis gave up his army at Yorktown. Sir Henry Clinton told Germain that since October, 1777, when Simcoe's corps was first adopted, it "had been the perpetual advance of the army," one of the most serviceable function of light-horse.

ants of Kentucky, and other settlements west of the Alleganey Mountains . . . were all well mounted on horseback and armed with rifles: each carried his own provisions in a wallet, so that no incumbrance of waggons, nor delays of public departments, impeded their movements. . . . When the different divisions of mountaineers reached Gilbert-town, which was nearly about the same time, they amounted to upwards of three thousand men. From these fifteen hundred of the best were selected, who, mounted on fleet horses, were sent in pursuit." [1]

So, three months later, at Cowpens (January 17, 1781), Daniel Morgan there gave evidence of the possession of all the attributes of a born military commander and cavalry leader. Making his dispositions without any regard for military rules, he availed himself in the best way possible of the weapons at his command. He had a small force of cavalry only, amounting perhaps to one hundred and fifty troopers. They were under the command of Harry Lee; and these he flung upon Tarleton's flank at the crisis of the action, in a manner so effective that defeat became at once a rout. He hurled his little band of horsemen on his opponent when, to use Napoleon's expression, "the battle was ripe," much as a stone is flung by a slinger. One of the very few patriot victories of the entire war, Cowpens was altogether the most neatly, though unscientifically, fought battle in it. Both in the commander and in the men the distinctive American attributes were there much in evidence.

So far as Greene's operations were concerned, while most skilfully as well as persistently conducted, they indicated rather the possession by him of the attributes of an excellent commander of infantry than the dashing qualities of one either

[1] Major Patrick Ferguson of the 2d Battalion, 71st Regiment Light Infantry, Highlanders, an excellent and enterprising officer, commanded the loyalists at King's Mountain and there lost his life. It is a curious and most interesting historical fact in connection with the subjects of the present paper that Ferguson was the inventor of the first serviceable and practical breech-loading rifled weapon ever adopted into any service. Patented in England in 1776, by it "four aimed shots a minute could be fired, as against an average of one shot in fifteen minutes with a European muzzle-loading rifle after it had become foul." — Sawyer, Firearms in American History, 137–139.

The only difficulty with the Ferguson breech-loader seems to have been that it was, as a weapon in practical European warfare, a full half century before its time. Even as late as our own War of Secession the West Point martinets and ordnance officers were wholly opposed to the adoption of the breech-loading weapons for use by infantry. Breech-loading cavalry carbines were in use.

accustomed to the handling of cavalry or naturally inclined to it. Both Guilford Court-House and Eutaw Springs could have been turned from defeats, or at best indecisive actions, into complete victories, had he then had attached to his command an effective force of cavalry and, like Morgan, known exactly when and how to make use of it. Even as it was, his small body of mounted men, under command of Lee and Washington, rendered on more than one occasion effective service. As to Tarleton, he proved the right arm, such as it was, of Cornwallis, and the raids led by him, both in the Carolinas and in Virginia, seem extraordinary in dash and daring.

But when it is borne in mind that the active military operations of the Revolutionary period extended from the affairs at Lexington and Concord in April, 1775, to the fall of Yorktown, in October, 1781, or through more than six years of incessant field work, while, on the other hand, the war in South Africa lasted but two years, and our own War of Secession covered practically but four years, the slowness with which the patriot side realized the nature of the situation, and learned to make the most effective use of the weapons at its command, is indisputably, to say the least, suggestive. It even gives rise to a doubt whether, after all, there was not some ground for the impatience at times felt in the Congress over the Fabian policy of Washington, and whether recourse might not well earlier have been had to a different, and much more effective, system of tactics. But in any event, this phase, as yet undeveloped, of an interesting historical situation merits careful study on the part of some future investigator; for my present examination leads me to think that the military history of the War of American Independence needs to be rewritten to a very considerable extent and in quite a new spirit.

And, first of all, in the light of our Civil-War record, Union and Confederate, does not the accepted and traditional American estimate of Washington, the Soldier and General, call for thoughtful revision? Nor would such revision necessarily result in any diminution of his fame; for Washington was much more than a mere military man of any sort, even the highest. He was essentially and conspicuously a man of Character. It was his Character which carried him, and with him the country, through the trials of the War of Independence; and his fame stands in no need of the excessive and undiscrim-

inating adulation with which it had been oppressed. On the other hand, judged by the record, can he be fairly classed among great soldiers? Even Sir William Howe, a commander of "monotonous mediocrity" (Stedman, I. 398), so low in grade as not to be classed at all, time and again out-generalled as well as out-fought him. He did so on Long Island; and again on Manhattan Island; and again both on the Brandywine and on the Schuylkill. Washington twice surprised outlying detachments, those in command having neglected precautions against attack; and, as the result of a well-conceived strategic movement and combination, he compelled the surrender of Cornwallis. But he never stood victor on a field of pitched battle; and it is indisputable that repeatedly he owed his salvation to the incompetence or procrastination of his opponent. It was so on Long Island; it was so on the Brandywine. Again, with any but a slothful, self-indulgent voluptuary opposed to him, his command would have been wholly dispersed, and its stores captured during the early months of either 1777 or 1778. He could have been easily manœuvred out of either Morristown, in the former year, or out of Valley Forge, in the latter. But he was sustained, and carried through every ordeal by a combination of horse common-sense, great fortitude, good judgment and military ability, immense luck and, above all and most of all, commanding Character. He thus had his limitations; and to one of these, heretofore, so far as I know, unnoticed, attention is here called. Nor, possibly, is it in any way speaking beyond bounds to suggest that the existence of this limitation in its military head may have prolonged the War of Independence by a third if not by a half.

The story of the Connecticut troop of Light-Horse[1] is told in the following letters in the Trumbull Papers:

COLONEL SEYMOUR TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

NEW YORK, July 11th, 1776.

HON'D SIR, — Notwithstanding the singular Circumstances of my Family, I could not possibly avoid coming with the Light Horse to this place in the Cause of our Country; we got in on Monday, and make a Body of about 500, as fine Men, and as well Spirited as any on the Ground. The General was much rejoiced at the measure, and appears disposed to Shew us every mark of Respect. He is something

[1] See 552, *ante*.

perplexed about the Expence of forageing the Horses ; fears he can't be justified in it without Consent of Congress. He will write Congress upon the Subject and use his endeavor (he assured me) to have their approbation. If not, the men must rely upon the Colony for it. How long we shall stay is uncertain ; this depends much upon the Arrival of our new Levies, and as the Men are principally Farmers, have left their Grass, their Grain, and other Affairs much unprovided for, they hope every method will be taken for their speedy Relief, and in this respect, they rely much upon your Honor's Influence. . . .

T. Seymour.

Brigadier-General Wadsworth to Governor Trumbull.

New York, July 18th, 1776.

Hon'd Sir, — As I have the honor to command a Brigade of Militia from the Colony of Connecticutt, think it my Duty, to give such information from time to time as may relate to the interest or honor of the Colony ; am therefore to inform your Honor, that on the 8th Instant Col. Seymour arived here, and inform'd the General that a body of about 500 of the troop of horse from Connecticutt had arived near this City, and also shewed him his instructions. The evening following at a meeting of the Gen'l Officers, the matter was under consideration, when it was unanimously agreed, that the men were much wanted here, but as *troopers,* could be of no service in case of an attack, and that those men who were not armed with Carbines, or good fire arms should return to Connecticutt with the horses, as forrage for them could not be had here ; and that the detachment whilst here should do Duty in the Brigade under my command. And thereupon received the General's Command to acquaint Colo. Seymour with said resolution the next morning, which I accordingly did. When he inform'd me he thought it would be disagreeable to his party to leave their horses, but said he would return to them and sound their minds, when a plan of sending their horses at their own expence, (or trust the Colony to reimburse them) so far back as not to prejudice the forrage of the army, was proposed, and as I understood by Colo. Seymour was approved of by the General ; and thereon, upon the 10th instant they march'd into the City, were barack'd, drew provision, ammunition &c. Yet many of the Officers objected to their being subjected to fatigue Duty on account of their cloathing, but were answered, a partial treatment of the several parts of the army would create jealousy, animosity, and strife ; and would produce great mischeif in the army ; little duty was required of them till the 10th instant, when a number were warned out to mount guard who complyed ; a number [of] others being ordered on fatigue did not go. The same Day I received a writing address'd to me, signed by Colo. Seymour and some of the principal Officers of the

troop, representing that by the laws of the Colony of Connecticutt the troop were not obliged to do garrison Duty or on foot, yet were willing to mount guard but could not consent to do fatigue Duty, and unless exempted therefrom should presume they were at liberty to return home. Which writing by reason of the General's absence and my tour of Duty that Day was not communicated to the General till done by Colo. Seymour in the Evening, when the General, as Colo. Seymour informed me, said he could make no distinction in favor of any one part of the army on this ground, but offered Colo. Seymour's Regiment Liberty of going to Bergen point in the Jersey, to relieve Colo. Bradley's Regiment which is there at present. To this it was objected many of them had no blankets. The General reply'd if they had not blanketts they could not go, and farther added if they would not submit to the Duty in camp in common with others in the army, He did not care how soon they returned home. Being advised of what had passed I suggested every argument I was able to Colo. Seymour, and those of his Officers I saw, to induce them to tarry, but if they were determined to return, not to do it without the General's permission in writing. In consequence of which application was made to the General who wrote a letter to Colo. Seymour which I have not seen, but have it from the Colo. that it contained in substance the declaration made to him the night before, and that he had used his utmost endeavours to persuade his men to stay, notwithstanding which they have almost all left the City. The troops are almost daily arriving from Connecticutt in small parties, which makes it difficult to ascertain the number every day, hope they will soon be compleat; an Event much to be wish'd under our present circumstances. Last Fryday two Ships past all our batteries up the N. River under a heavy fire from our guns, which they return'd without any loss on our side, except 6 men by an accident in firing one of our cannon. What Damage the ships sustain'd cannot learn, or how far they are gone up the river. Two flags have come from the Fleet, but the letters not being properly address'd were not received. The Officers in one of them were very polite, and one of them said Lord Howe was very unhappy that he did not arrive a few Days sooner. I am with great truth and respect, Your Honors most obedient Humble Servant

James Wadsworth.

Colonel Seymour to Governor Trumbull.

Hartford, July 22d, 1776.

Hon'd Sir, — As the Troops of Light Horse returned yesterday from New York, thot it my Duty, to give your Honor the earliest account of our Conduct and proceedings, with every attending Circum-

stance. I before mentioned the immediate forwarding of your Honor's orders to the Majors of the several Regiments named therein, as soon as came to my hand. The Companies made so great dispatch in their March, that most of them came on, (tho' well spirited) without the precaution of a Blankett, or even a Change of Cloathing; they had conceived the Idea, from the Suddeness and Urgency of the Orders, that they were immediately to be called to Action, and soon to return, which made them too Incautious; I must however in Justice say, that a better Body of substantial Yeomen, never appeared on such an Occasion. They were admired and applauded for their Spirit and Zeal. We no sooner arrived at Kings Brige, Monday Morning, than the General's Letter mett us. Copy of which now inclose. This at once seemed to check and mortify. We had no Idea of sending back our Horses, especially as the Men had left their Farms and Crops in the most Critical Situation, and must return as soon as possible. I ordered them however to halt at the Brige, and with Majors Starr and Sheldon, waited upon General Washington. He soon told us, "Forage could not be had on the Island, (the drougth being extreme that way) and that he could by no means be justified to pay for it, if it could be found." This again flung us into some perplexity, for we thot at least, if there was so great need of the Men, from the danger of a sudden Attack, as the General often expressed it, that the Continent ought to undergo the burthen of detaining us. There was however, no reasoning upon the Subject. We then proposed finding pastures for our Horses at and this side the Brige, and depend upon the Colony, and so tarry a Short time, rather than be turn'd directly back, which might throw a discouragment upon the honest Intentions and wishes of Men, forward to serve their Country on any Immergency. To this the General *graciously* consented, and after much difficulty to obtain Pastures, for a small space, we marchd into the City, thro' dust and Sweat. Our numbers were soon trebled, and the Sound of it rung thro' the Enemys Camp. The same day our Horses were sent out and the men put into Houses with nothing but the Cloaths on their Backs for lodging. As soon as a return of our Men could be made, a number were ordered upon Guard. This was some thing unexpected, but Chearfully Submited to. Soon after a further Order came for mounting Guard, and for eight of our men to goe to King's Brige upon Fatigue, there to remain One week. The first of these requisitions were complied with, but the last declined as unreasonable for men under our Circumstances. Col. Silliman as well as others advised against Submiting to Fatigue, that it was counter to the Law of the Colony; and what your Honor had no Idea of Subjecting us to. Major Hart with me of Course (by direction of General Wadsworth) waited upon General Washington and Stated the Case, mentioned the Exemptions of our Law etc. at

same time suggested that the men would freely furnish Guard of every kind and man the Lines, as they had done, if they might only be excused from working Partys, for which they were in no measure prepared. We were answered, "that no distinction could be made between our men and the rest, and if they would not Submit to these Terms they might be dismissed." This Reply, after we had come so far, left every thing at home in the most suffering Condition, had made such dispatch, placed out our Horses at so much Expence and Risque, and had done every other Duty in the Time of the Alarm, and at all other Times (except that of the Pick Axe, the Shovel and Wheelbarrow) was indeed very humiliating. We could not account for such Treatment, unless it was from the quarter of such, who allways viewed, the Existence of a Body of Light Horse, with a *Jaundiced* Eye. It was the Opinion of several General Officers, that we ought to be excused; that it might be done consistently, and that we deserved Thanks and applause, instead of the Reverse. And in Short, if so large and respectable a Body of Men, scattered thro' the Colony, are to be blamed, under their particular Circumstances, for not Complying with every formal Round of Duty in Camp, from which they knew themselves excused, it must rather create Disaffection than otherwise. We are however willing if we have done amiss, to stand amenable at your Honor's Barr.

We left the City on Thursday noon last when the most, if not all, our Inlisted Levies had arrived, about Seven Thousand of the flying Camp had also reachd the Jersey Shore, these at least must treble our number to that of the Enemy. Lord Howe also arrived the Fryday before without Fleet or Army (save a Ship or two) under these Circumstances, no prospect of any sudden attack, our Horses not to be kept any longer, the pressing Circumstances of our affairs at home, and the general Opinion, that we could not be needed soon, (even General Putnam said we were not wanted) together with the sudden and unexpected Reply from the General, all induced us to return. I have troubled your Honor too long with a Relation of Facts, but tho't it necessary that no mistake might arise from differing accounts. I ought to mention one Circumstance further, that is, just before I left New York after the Men were all gone, Generals Spencer and Heath, called upon me, and said, there was a misunderstanding in the matter, and that they had just come from the General, and he meant to excuse us from Fatigue. The matter was now over, the Men gone and irrecoverable, and besides the General had otherwise expressd it the Evening before, when Major Hart with me waited upon him for the purpose. I can't help remarking to your Honor that it may be with truth said, General Washington is a Gentleman of extreme Care and Caution, that his requisitions for men are full equal to the necessity of the Case, that if more attention was had to the Northern department; it would be as

well. It is much to be lamented that our numbers of Volunteers are so slow and deficient; am perswaded that detachments must after all take place as our only remedy. I should have stopd here, but am this moment informd by Capt. Hooker, that Mr. Webb,[1] General Washington's *Aid De Cong* had wrote your Honor something dishonorable to the Light Horse. Whatever it may be, know not; but this I do know, that it is a general observation both in Camp and Country, if less Butterflys and fewer Coxcombs were away from the Army, we should not be put to so much difficulty in obtaining Men of Comon sense, to engage in the defence of their Country. Your Honor will excuse my freedom and prolixity in this, as it proceeds from no other motive than a Sacred Regard for the Comunity of which I have the favor to be a member. I am, with every Sentiment of Esteem and Regard, Your Honors most Obt. hble. Sert.

THOS. SEYMOUR.

Colonel W. R. LIVERMORE read the following paper:

COMPARATIVE HISTORY OF WESTERN NATIONS.

The object of this paper is to suggest a scheme of classification and comparison for the history of western nations which will aid in the study of the laws that have regulated their development. To find these laws we must apply the same process of induction that we apply to other sciences. If we classify the events of history as we classify objects in natural history, we can compare like with like, and the greater the likeness, the more significant will be the difference. Any general rule that we can find will point to the cause of the rule and to the cause of the exceptions.

The classification I propose is based upon political history in the broadest sense. Western history begins with the fragmentary records of Crete and the shores and islands of the Ægean, which appear to show that here, two or three thousand years before Christ, the Mediterranean or Iberian race developed a civilization of its own. One or two thousand years before Christ the barbarous Aryans came from the region about the Black Sea and spread over central and southern Europe and western Asia. The Greeks and Illyrians came to Greece. The Italians and Etruscans to Italy. The old Ægean civilization was for a while suppressed, but after the movement subsided, it revived and spread in every direction. Small

[1] Samuel Blachley Webb. No such letter is in the Trumbull Papers.

ROMAN EMPIRE
ROME
MACEDONIA
GREECE
ÆGEAN CIVILIZATION

states were formed in Greece and in Italy, which grew into the Roman Empire. Two or three hundred years after Christ, another barbarous migration came from the north and east. The Teutons and Slavs, who were also Aryans, spread over all Europe. The Roman Empire was broken up. Civilization was again suppressed, but after the movement subsided, it revived and continued to expand. New states were formed in Europe. America was colonized and states were formed there also. Western history has passed through similar phases in ancient and modern times. In relation to the great migrations the ancient history of Greece and Rome corresponds to the modern history of Europe and America.

A general outline of western history will perhaps make this resemblance clearer, and show how the growth of western nations has been favored by civilization, suppressed by barbarism and modified by the shape of the land.

When the barbarous Aryan Greeks first came to the shores of the Ægean, they found the old Iberian civilization there.[1] The kings of Crete and of Mycenæ were powerful, but how far their dominion or even their influence extended is unknown. After the migration of the Aryans, civilization was for a while suppressed, but when the movement had subsided, it revived and expanded. The irregular shape of the Grecian peninsula, broken by mountain ranges and indentations of the sea, did not favor the formation of a large state. Accordingly the region was divided up among a number of small communities, in most of which the Greek invaders formed the governing class. In the northern part of the peninsula the flux of population kept on longer, and civilization was slower in penetrating, but the land is less broken, and when the movement subsided, Macedonia, an Aryan state half Greek and half Illyrian and Thracian, united all this land into one kingdom. When the barbarous Italian Aryans came to Italy, they found no civilization. No permanent states were formed until civilization was brought there by the Etruscans and the Greeks. On the Italian peninsula, unlike the Grecian, the land is united and favorable to political union. Strong federations were formed by the Italian invaders that grew into the Roman republic.

The Greeks fought each other until the balance of power

[1] See map following page 593.

was destroyed and then, under the leadership of Macedonia, they conquered the Persian empire and divided it up. Then all Italy was united under the Romans, and Greece, western Asia, northern Africa and western Europe were added to it to form a great empire, and Greek and Roman civilization spread over all this area.[1]

The history of modern Europe begins with the migration of the barbarous Teutons and Slavs, as that of ancient Greece had begun with that of the Greeks and Illyrians.[2] Here, as in ancient Greece, civilization was at first suppressed, but after the movement had subsided, it revived and continued to expand. The irregular shape of the European continent did not favor the formation of a large state. Accordingly the region was divided up among a number of kingdoms, dukedoms, etc., in most of which the Teutonic invaders formed the governing class. In the eastern part of the European continent the flux of population kept on longer and civilization was slower in penetrating, but the land is unbroken, and when the movement subsided, Russia, a Slavonic state, the modern Macedonia, united all this land under one empire.

When the Europeans came to America, they brought their civilization with them. On the American continent, as on the Italian peninsula, the land is united, and favorable to political union. Confederations were formed by the northern Europeans which have grown into the republic of the United States.

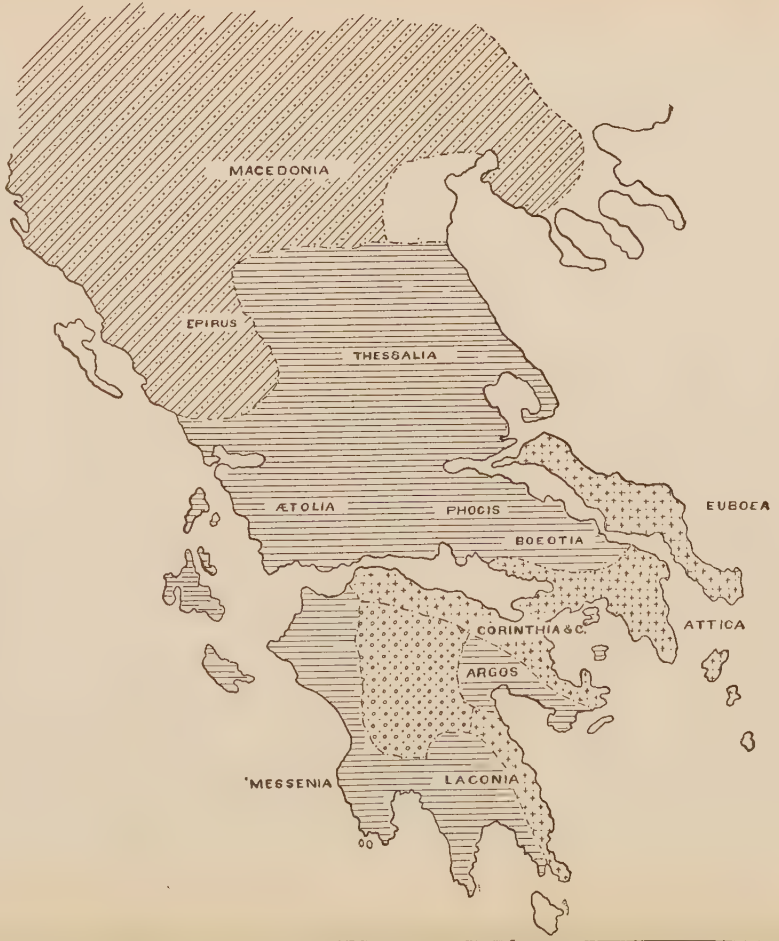
The next step is so to classify the histories of Greece and Europe that we can compare them more in detail. The maps show how the people were distributed after the migrations.[3] The regions are differently marked, as the old inhabitants or the invaders of the first or second wave preponderated in numbers.

The Greeks came from the North. The old inhabitants preponderated on the shores and islands of the Ægean and in the land around the Isthmus of Corinth. The dialect of most of this region was Ionic. The Greeks preponderated in Thessaly, central Greece, and most of the Peloponnesus. The

[1] See second map following page 593.

[2] The causes of these migrations and their relation to climatic changes will be discussed in a paper on the Comparative History of Eastern Nations.

[3] See maps following page 597.


MACEDONIA
EPIRUS
THESSALIA
ÆTOLIA
PHOCIS
EUBOEA
BOEOTIA
ATTICA
CORINTHIA &C.
ARGOS
MESSENIA
LACONIA

EPIRUS
THESSALIA
MESSENIA
LACONIA
MACEDONIA
BOEOTIA
ÆTOLIA
ATTICA
PHOCIS
EUBOEA
CORINTHIA &C.
IONIA &C.
CRETA

prevailing dialects were Æolic and Doric. The Illyrians followed the Greeks, mixing with them in the border-lands, and occupied most of northern and north-western Greece. The Illyrian language was Aryan, like the Greek.

The Teutons came from the North and East. The old inhabitants preponderated on the shores and islands of the Mediterranean and of the Bay of Biscay, etc. The prevailing languages are Romanic. The Teutons preponderated in central Europe, Scandinavia and most of the British Islands. The prevailing languages are Teutonic. The Slavs followed the Teutons, mixing with them in the border-lands, and occupied a large part of eastern Europe. The prevailing languages are Slavonic.

Of the lands in which the old inhabitants preponderated, Attica, next to central Greece, corresponds to France next to central Europe. Eubœa, Creta and other islands in the Ægean to Italy and the islands in the Mediterranean. Corinthia, Sicyonia, Megaris, etc., between the Ægean Sea and the Gulf of Corinth to Spain and Portugal between the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean. Messenia corresponds in position to Ireland. Of the lands in which the invaders preponderated, Laconia, from its isolated position, corresponds to England and central Greece to Germany and central Europe, Thessalia and Epirus to Scandinavia, and Macedonia to Russia. The eastern shores of the Ægean formed the borderland of the Old World as the Balkan peninsula forms that of the New.

Although the shape of Europe is like that of Greece in general outline, it is very different in detail. Scandinavia is like Thessalia in some respects and like Epirus in others. The cities around the Isthmus of Corinth are, like Spain, between two seas, but not, like Spain, in contact with Asia or Africa. The topography of corresponding regions is not alike in every case. Laconia, although it is isolated like England, has no such sea-coast. If we can find how the history of each region differs from that of Greece and Europe in general, we may perhaps learn how much is due to such environment.

The next step is to compare the general sequence of events in Greek and European history so as to classify them chronologically.

GREECE	EUROPE
PEOPLES	
Ionians	Romanic Nations
Æolians or Achæans	Germans, &c
Dorians, &c	Scandinavians
Illyrians, &c	Slavonians
REGIONS	
Attica	France
Eubœa, Creta, &c	Italy
Corinth, Sicyon, Megara, &c	Spain
Messenia	Ireland
Laconia or Sparta	England
Bœotia, Phocia, &c	Germany
Thessalia, Epirus	Scandinavia
Macedonia	Russia
Æolis, Ionia, Doris	Turkey & Greece

HISTORY

B. C.		A. D.	
1000	Dorian Migrations	1000	Scandinavian Migrations
	Amphictyonic League		Holy Roman Empire
	Phœnicians		Saracens
	Kingdoms		Kingdoms, Dukedoms, &c
850	Scythians & Cimmerians	1200	Mongols & Tartars
	Colonies on Ægean Sea		Colonies on Baltic Sea
	Sparta in Peloponnesus		Engl. in Wales, Irl. & France
	Oligarchies		Feudal Power
700	Lydians in Ionia	1400	Turks in Constantinople
	Attica united		France united
	First Sacred War		Wars of Reformation
	Col. in Mediter. & Black Seas		Col. in Atlant. & Ind. Ocean
	Despotisms		Monarchies
550	Persians in Central Greece	1600	Turks in Cent. Europe
	Macedonia expands		Russia expands
	Democracies		Commonwealth & Republics
	Peloponnesian War		Wars of Rev. & Empire
400	Athens recovers	1815	France recovers
	Thebes powerful		Germany powerful
350		1910	

GALLIA
ISTRIA
280
270
UMBRIA
ETRURIA
ROMA
LATIUM
450
380
SAMNIUM
CAMPANIA
530
APULIA
260
270
CALABRIA
LUCANIA
290
BRUTIUM
270
SICILIA
ITALIA

ISTRIA
1867
GALLIA
UMBRIA
1846
ETRURIA
ROMA
1776
1805
1783
SAMNIUM
1848
LATIUM
APULIA
CAMPANIA
LUCANIA
1819
1845
BRUTIUM
CALABRIA
1898?
1898
SICILIA

About one thousand years before Christ, the Dorians, the last of the Greeks, came from the north of Greece to the Peloponnesus and then to Creta and Asia Minor. In Laconia they reduced the old Achæan inhabitants to a dependent condition and formed a strong state with Sparta as its capital.

About one thousand years after Christ, the Scandinavians, the last of the Teutons, came from the north to the British Islands, to southern Italy and to Constantinople. In England they reduced the old Anglo-Saxon inhabitants to a state of dependence and formed a strong state there.

Both in Greece and in Europe, the invaders at first held sway throughout and were ruled by the kings, who led them into their new homes; but in general, as they settled down, the power passed into the hands of the nobles, and the government became an aristocracy. Where the old population was more numerous it gradually recovered some of its power. The monarchy in some states become in turn an oligarchy, a despotism and a democracy. Sparta and England, where the first invaders were subjected by later immigrants, became the leaders of the conservative party, and Athens and France, where the old population predominated, the leaders of the liberal party. Then came the great collisions in which all Greece and all Europe took part. The Doric and Scandinavian conquests mark the first definite points of Greek and European history, and the Peloponnesian War and the wars of the French Revolution and Empire mark the culminating points. If we divide this period into four epochs, we shall have in round numbers one hundred and fifty years for each epoch in Greece and two hundred in Europe. We shall then find by comparison that similar events in the history of Greece and Europe, Sparta and England, Athens and France, central Greece and central Europe, Macedonia and Russia, generally fall in corresponding epochs.[1]

There are, however, important exceptions to the rule. The large states of Europe were slower to adopt the democratic form of government than the small states of Greece. Sparta had no good harbors. Athens was for a long time mistress of the sea. Arts and sciences flourished in Athens as they do in France, but not in Sparta as they do in England.

[1] For a fuller synopsis of the comparative history of the several epochs see tables in my article on "America's Place in History," in the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1908; second series, XIX. 77–99.

Ninety-five years have passed since the battle of Waterloo. To find the point of time in Greek history corresponding to the year 1910 A. D., we must compare the events that followed the Peloponnesian War with those of modern Europe since the wars of the French Revolution and Empire.

Sparta and England were victorious in the great wars, but soon lost their supremacy. Athens and France again became powerful, but had been exhausted by their long struggle, and Thebes or Bœotia became the most powerful state in Greece. Germany is now perhaps the most powerful state in Europe. Europe has now advanced as far as Greece between the time of Epaminondas and that of Philip of Macedon, or about 350 B. C.

The maps of Italy and North America show how the land was distributed among the early settlers.[1] Civilization came to the western coast of Italy and to the eastern coast of America. These maps show the regions of settlement, differently marked, as follows: 1. The region settled by the Greeks in Italy and by the Spaniards and other southern Europeans in America. In each case the immigrants came in small numbers, settled only on the sea-coast, and mixed with the old inhabitants. 2. The region settled by the Italians in Italy, and by the English and other northern Europeans in America. In each case the immigrants came in large numbers and drove out most of the inhabitants. 3. The territory of the Romans before the expulsion of the kings and that of the United States before the Declaration of Independence. 4. The region settled by the Etruscans in Italy and by the French in America. Both came in small numbers.

Of the regions settled by the southern people, Campania corresponds to Florida and Louisiana, Lucania to Texas, Apulia to California, the southern peninsulas to Mexico and the West Indies, Sicily, Marseilles, etc., to South America. Of the regions settled by the northern people, Rome corresponds to the northern of the original colonies and Latium to the southern. Samnium to the interior of the Continent; Umbria to the mountain region, Gallia to British America, and Etruria to Canada.

The next step is to compare the general sequence of events in the history of Rome and of the United States of America so as to classify them chronologically.

[1] See maps following page 601.

ITALY	AMERICA
PEOPLES	
Greeks	South Europeans
Etruscans	French
Italians	North Europeans
Illyrians	Russians
REGIONS	
Campania	Florida & Louisiana
Lucania	Texas
Apulia	California, &c.
Calabria, Bruttium, &c.	Mexico & Cent. Amer.
Sicilia, Massilia, &c.	W. Indies & S. Amer.
Etruria	Canada
Rome	Northern Colonies
Latium, &c.	Southern Colonies
Samnium, &c.	Central U. S.
Umbria, &c.	Northwestern U. S.
Istria	

HISTORY

B.C.		A.D.	
	Aryan Migrations		European Colonization
	Etruscan & Sabine Wars		French & Indian Wars
450	Abolition of Royalty	1776	Declaration of Independ.
	Conquest of Veii, &c		Louisiana Purchase
	Gallic Invasion		War of 1812
	Agrarian Disputes		Agrarian Disputes
			Texas & California annex
343	Latin & Samnite Wars	1861	Civil War
	Lucania & Apulia Conquered		Trans-Miss. settled
	Pyrrhic War		Spanish War
270		1910	

Before their national history began, the Romans were subject to the Etruscan and Sabine kings and the Americans to the kings of England. The Romans and other Latins expelled the Tarquins, or, strictly speaking, abolished royalty about 450 B. C. The Americans declared their independence in 1776 after Christ. By conquest or purchase both soon acquired new lands on their borders. The government was republican. The population of the Roman domain and of the northern United States was urban and commercial as well as agricultural. That of the other Latin towns and of the southern states was almost entirely agricultural. The distribution of the new lands became a subject of contention between the opposing parties. Then came the collision. The Latins and Samnites in turn seceded from the Romans, the southern states from the northern. The abolition of royalty and the Declaration of Independence mark the first definite points of contact between Roman and American history. The Latin and Samnite Wars and the Civil War and the reconstruction, the second. Taking the dates at 450 B. C. and 1776 A. D., for the first, and 343 B. C. and 1861 A. D., for the second, we have an epoch of one hundred and seven years for Roman history and eighty-five years for American.

To find a point of time in Roman history corresponding to the year 1910 in American history, we must compare the events which followed the Samnite Wars with those in America since the Civil War. The Samnites rebelled and were conquered. The Romans conquered Lucania and Apulia immediately after the war and extended their possessions to the Adriatic. The Americans had already conquered Texas and California and extended their bounds to the Pacific, but the settlement of this territory mostly took place after the war. By the year 290 B. C. the Romans had acquired the territory that corresponds to that now held by the United States. The next prominent event in Roman history was the war with the Tarentines, who were aided by other Greek cities and by Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. The Romans were victorious, and by 270 B. C. had conquered all the Greek colonies in southern Italy. In American history the next event is the Spanish War in 1898–99, after which the Americans deprived Spain of all her Island possessions. The resemblance is not close enough to regard them as corresponding events. If we had

taken Mexico instead of the Philippines, our history would have corresponded to that of the Romans. In taking the Philippines we advanced the dial about sixty years according to the Roman standard. The Carthaginian Wars followed the Pyrrhic War; we have had no such experience. We can only say that 1910 corresponds to some point in Roman history about 270 B. C.

This comparison appears to show that the ancient history of Greece corresponds to the modern history of Europe and the ancient history of Rome to the modern history of America. The peninsula of Greece and the continent of Europe, broken by mountain ranges and indentations of the sea, are not favorable to the formation of a large state, but the peninsula of Italy and the continent of America are favorable to political union. Rival states were formed in Greece and a strong confederation in Italy, rival states in Europe and a strong confederation in America: but the states of modern Europe and America are much more highly developed than those of Greece and Italy at the same stages of their growth. With railroads, steamboats and telegraphs, states are in general much larger than before. Europe has moved a little slower than Greece, America a little faster than Rome.

To infer from this resemblance that the history of the future will follow precisely the same course as the history of the past, would defeat the purpose of the comparison. If its course were due to subjective causes alone, this might be more or less true, but so far as it is due to environment, it is impossible; for all continents have not the same shape. Moreover, the world is round and the streams of empire moving to the East and to the West will soon come into contact. The object in comparing the history of one nation with that of another is to ascertain the laws which control its development. When the laws are discovered, they will throw some light on the future.

Western history has moved in a cycle or rather in a spiral. Nations have grown up under the influence of civilization and have been broken up by the influx of barbarism; then the fragments have grown and formed still greater nations than before. Just as we may fancy a solar system to form around a central nucleus until shattered by collision with another system and then to combine with it to form another and still greater system. This spiral or periodic course of western

history affords a convenient basis for the classification of its data as the periodic law of atomic weights does for the classification of the chemical elements.

The accidental resemblance of Greece and Italy on one hand, to Europe and America on the other, have given us a means of subdividing our periods, and of comparing every group of events in the modern history of the West with a corresponding group in its ancient history. The fact that this resemblance is accidental is no reason that we should not make use of the valuable coincidence, which serves, as the parallel columns of the Rosetta stone, to help us to read the past in the light of the present, and which will also help us to read the present and future in the light of the past.

Mr. Norcross communicated a series of letters addressed to Joseph Willard, president of Harvard College (1781–1804), from Thomas Brand Hollis, Richard Price and Joseph Priestley. Some of these letters were shown to the Society by President Willard's son, in October, 1853,[1] and were then referred to the Publishing Committee, but no action appears to have been taken. The originals recently came under the hammer, and were purchased by Mr. Norcross for the University and by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Where the location of the letter is not noted, it is in the Library of Harvard University. They have been annotated by Mr. Lane, who added a letter of Professor Waterhouse on Dr. Lettsom, found in a volume of Lettsom's writings. It is not known to whom the letter was addressed.

From Richard Price.[2]

Newington-Green, July 21st, 1781.

Dear Sir, — I think myself much honoured by the favour of your letter dated the 28th of Feb'y last which I received about a month ago. I am made very happy by the information it contains, that in the midst of war and the most important struggle that a people were ever engaged in, a new Academy for promoting arts and Sciences has been established at Boston. In compliance with your desire, I have communicated the incorporating Act and list of members to the President

[1] Proc., II. 541.

[2] A number of letters to and from Richard Price are printed in 2 Proc., XVII. 263.

[3] Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, I. IV, XX.

and Secretaries of the Royal Society, attended with a letter of my own stating the contents of your letter to me, and the hopes which the American Academy entertain that the Royal Society, governed by the neutrality of Philosophy, will favour it with its encouragemt. I do not yet know certainly what notice will be taken of these communications. The reply that has been reported to me from the President is, that it has not been customary to lay before the Royal Society notices of the institution of any Societies whatever.

I am obliged to be cautious in communicating the inaugural oration of your honourable and worthy President on account of Some political passages in it. For my own part, I approve and admire these passages; and I request the favour of you to deliver my best respects to the Author.[1] I have delivered your letters to Dr. Morell[2] and Mr. Maskelyne.[3] I have likewise got a Friend to communicate to the Society of Arts and Commerce the copy of the incorporating Act which you intended for them.

I am at present very busy in preparing for the Press a fourth edition of my Treatise on Life-annuities and Reversionary payments. I shall enlarge it to two volumes, and when out of the Press (which I am afraid will not be till the beginning of next Summer,) I shall endeavour to get it convey'd to you in hopes of the honour of its being accepted as a testimony of my respect for the American Academy. This work having been of some use I am anxious about making it as complete as possible. With this view I am collecting all the Observations I can get on population, the increase of mankind, and the duration of human life in different situations. All that can be worth communicating to you in the Philosophical and Astronomical way is published in the numbers of the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society which come out every half year. What has lately most engaged attention is the new star discovered near Auriga by Mr. Herschel, a gentleman at Bath, who has for sometime been very curious and diligent in watching the Heavens. This Star was at first taken for a comet; and the Astronomer Royal once expected that it would have passed over the disk of the Sun at the beginning of last month. But he has since told me, that it is doubted whether it may not be a planet never before discovered moving at a much greater distance from the Sun than *Saturn*. It has for Sometime been hid by the Sun's rays. Should it appear again, Something more certain will probably be determined concerning it.

Dr. Priestly never went farther in his History of Philosophy than electricity and Optics. He has been for Some time wholly employ'd in making experiments on the different Sorts of air. In this branch

[1] James Bowdoin. The address is in the Memoirs, I. 1.
[2] Thomas Morell (1703–1784), a classical scholar.
[3] Nevil Maskelyne (1732–1811), astronomer royal.

of Philosophy he has made Several very important discoveries, an account of which he has given in five Octavo Volumes, the last published this Summer.[1] One of the most important facts which he has discovered is the effect of vegetation, aided by the action (not of *heat* but) of *light*, in purifying, preserving and restoring common air constantly injured and diminished by the breathing of animals, the burning of fires, putrefaction and other causes. In the day time and particularly in Sun-Shine, the purest kind of air is emitted by the leaves of trees and all vegetables; and this emission is more or less copious in proportion to the vigour of the vegetation and the force of the Sun's light. In the night and in the dark it ceases entirely. Dr. Priestley is going on with these experiments, and very probably another volume will be published in a little time.

If you think that my best respects and wishes will be acceptable to the members of your Academy, I beg you would deliver them. No one can observe with a more earnest attention than I do all that now passes in America. With much gratitude and the greatest regard I am, Sir, your most obedient and humble Servant

RICH'D: PRICE

Deliver my very respectful compliments to the venerable Dr. Chauncy.[2] Dr. Winthrop[3] *was* my correspondent. With pain I reflect, that he is no more in this world to promote virtue, liberty and Science. But we are all following him. God grant that we may leave the world wiser and better for us.

A copy of this letter was sent by another conveyance.[4]

NEWINGTON-GREEN, May 15th, 1783.

DEAR SIR, — I take the liberty to convey to you the two volumes which accompany this; and I request the favour of you to present them to the American Society of Arts and Sciences as a testimony of my respect and best wishes. The Bearer is Mr. Mullet, a merchant of the best character who has always been distinguished by his zeal for the principles of Liberty and the cause of America; and any notice which you may be pleased to take of him will, I am persuaded, be bestowed on a worthy man and gratefully received. I have set my name to a recommendation of him, which, probably, he will show you.

I congratulate you heartily on the termination of a cruel and detestable war, and the establishment of the Independence of America. The

[1] Experiments and Observations on Different Kinds of Air, 1774-1780. A sixth volume was issued in 1786.

[2] Charles Chauncy.

[3] John Winthrop, who died in May, 1779.

[4] Original is in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

contest has issued in that very event which as a friend to mankind, I have been long ardently wishing for.

When you see Mr. Foster or Dr. Chauncy deliver my respectful complimts. to them. I hope Mr. Foster has had a prosperous voyage from this country to his family and friends at Boston. I am, Sir, with great regard, Your most obedient and humble Servt.

Rich'd: Price[1]

From T. B. Hollis.

The Hide, Aug 15, 1783.

Sir, — I received your obliging letter on the ninth of August acquainting me with the honour the American Academy of Arts and Sciences have confer'd upon me in electing me a member of their learned body. I am most sensible of that distinguished mark of their approbation and desire my acknowledgements may be returned in the strongest terms.

This ingenuous and new institution gives me uncommon satisfaction as it will contribute greatly to reinstate your country from the injuries of a wicked and cruel war, and realize an Idea my excellent Friend Thomas Hollis threw out in the year 1760, and pressed much to be put in execution, but it was thought that America was then not ripe enough. Happily time has proved that a magnanimous and free people even in the midst of calamity and oppression are equal to any just enterprise. and I have no doubt but your ingenuous endeavours and researches will add to the Fame and Happiness of your noble and generous commonwealth as is my earnest wish. I shall always be desirous of rendering what services may be in my power to promote the designs of your Society. and I beg you will accept my best thanks for the polite manner in which you have communicated this act of your Academy.

I have the Honour to be, with the greatest esteem and regard, Sir, your most obliged Humble Servant,

T. Brand Hollis[1]

The Hide, Septem. 3, 1783.

Sir, — I take the first opportunity of conveying the memoirs of my noble Friend Thomas Hollis, a citizen of the world, being desirous that his memory should live in your new Academy of Arts and Sciences, and therefore beg that these books may have the honour of being preserved in your Society. He long wished and proposed that such an Institution should be established in America for he held it as a Maxim, that societies and nations florish more by the wisdom and magnanimity

[1] Original in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

of individuals, the leaders of them, than by their numbers. an opinion of his which the Americans to their immortal honour have proved true. May they long enjoy that peace and happiness which they have so nobly obtained and may the arts and sciences under the influence of your society spread universally, and increase the Joys and comforts of life, for which they were designed by providence.

The Genius of the Americans is equal to the world which is now before them, and where there will be no want of subjects to exercise their talents, nor will Europe be disappointed in their expectations.

The European societies are too much contracted, but the liberal minds of the Americans will see things in a more extensive view, and their societies like their governments be generous commonwealths, under which only, true science can florish. Your Academy of Arts and Sciences has my earnest wishes for their prosperity and success in all their enterprises and to become illustrious for their discoveries of truth and knowledge. I have the honour to be, with the greatest esteem and regard, Sir, your most obed^{t} humble Serv^{t}

T. Brand Hollis.[1]

The Hide, Septem 3d, 1783.

Sir, — I beg leave to commit to your protection the Memoirs of my late excellent Friend Thomas Hollis,[2] that they may be honoured by being deposited in the Library of Harvard College The Interest and Prosperity of which he was always desirous to promote, well knowing that knowledge and science tend to produce the welfare and happiness of mankind.

As he was a declared and generous friend to the civil and religious liberties of America in particular, how would he now have rejoiced to have known that his opinions of the Americans were well founded, and that their efforts have been gloriously crowned with success.

This would have amply recompensed him for the anxious hours he had passed, in suspence and fear of the reverse, which, also, would have involved his own country in ruin.

The welfare of Harvard College, nobly instituted for magnanimous purposes, will always give me the greatest satisfaction. Much remains to be done, for "Peace has her Victories as well as war," by instilling manly and generous principles into the minds of your youth, the calamities of an unjust war will soon be repaired, among those the loss of

[1] Original in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

[2] Some characteristic opinions were drawn from Dr. Franklin on receiving a copy of this book, in which he learned that he was "a doubtful character," to Hollis. — Writings of Benjamin Franklin (Smyth), IX, 103.

education is not the least, but America profiting by experience of former ages and by generous plans of education will rise superior and show the world what men should be.

The danger and difficulty of conveyance have prevented these books coming long since. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect and esteem, Sir, your most obedient humble Sert.

T. BRAND HOLLIS.

Honest Andrew Marvell accompanies my worthy Friend Thomas Hollis. A place in your college for so excellent a republican will be a proper honour to his worth and memory, and no doubt agreable to the curators of your Library to give.[1]

FROM RICHARD PRICE.

NEWINGTON-GREEN, near LONDON, Oct: 6th, 1783.

DEAR SIR, — I think myself much obliged to you for the letter with which you favoured me Some time ago informing me that I had been unanimously chosen a member of the American Academy of arts and Sciences. I reckon this a great honour, and I beg you would deliver to the members of the Academy my best acknowledgmts. The approbation of me which it implies cannot but give me particular Satisfaction, because it gives me reason to hope that my attempts to Serve the cause of truth and liberty have been favourably received and may therefore be of Some use. May the American Academy prosper, and

[1] An extract of this letter is printed in Sidney Willard's Memories of Youth and Manhood, I. 150. This work will be quoted in these notes as Willard's Memories.

"At a Meeting of the President and Fellows of Harvard College, April 5, 1784:

"8. Voted, that the thanks of this board be given to Thomas Brand Hollis of London Esqr, for his very acceptable present to the Library of this University, of the Memoirs of the late excellent Thomas Hollis Esqr; — the Works of Andrew Marvell Esqr, and Remarks upon Johnson's Life of Milton. The Memoirs of Mr. Hollis, a Gentleman whose memory must ever be endeared to this Board, by his warm attachment to the liberties of mankind, and by his exertions to secure the privileges and promote the civil and religious freedom of the Inhabitants of the American States in particular, as well as by his great bounty and friendship to the University, are peculiarly pleasing to them; and they shall, with gratitude, add these Memoirs to the literary monuments of his munificence, which adorn and enrich the public Library."

The Works of Andrew Marvell, Esq., Poetical, Controversial, and Political, containing many Original Letters, Poems, and Tracts, never before printed, with a New Life of the Author, by Capt. Edward Thompson. London, 1776. 3 vols. 4°. In a characteristic Hollis binding of crimson calf, decorated with his favorite emblems, the owl, and the caduceus, and figures of Britannia both seated and standing. — *Lane.*

become as distinguished by its improvements in the arts and Sciences as the united States are by the blessings of civil and religious liberty. Several months ago I committed to the care of Mr. Mullet, a Bristol merchant, and directed to you, the new Edition (enlarg'd to two volumes) of my Treatise on Life-annuities, reversionary payments, population, public credit, etc. I hope it has been Safely convey'd and received, and that the American Academy will accept it, as a Small testimony of my respect and good wishes. I am very glad that it happens to be in my power to answer your enquires about the new planet, and to give you and the Academy the following account of it.

The elements of the orbit as determined by Several of the best Astronomers and Mathematicians are

Place of the Node	2S	11^{d}	49′ 30″
Inclination of the orbit			43′ 35″
Place of the Perihelion		172°	13′ 17″
Time of the Perihelion passage	Sept. 7th, 1779		
Excentricity of the Orbit	.82034		
Half of the greater Axis	19.07904 (the earth's 1)		
Revolution	83.3364 Sydereal years		

Mr. Herschel's observations make the *apparent* Diameter not to be less than 4″ nor much greater. Hence its *real* Diameter is found to be to that of the earth as 4.454 to 1. It appears, therefore, to be of a considerable Size; and, except Saturn and Jupiter, by far the largest of the planets. The best method of finding it will be, by some fixed instrument to take the place of the most considerable Small telescopic Stars in the neighbourhood of the 44th. *Geminorum* of Flamstead's catalogue, and to repeat the Same a few days after, when it wil be discover'd that one of them is no longer in its former place; and thus its motion will point it out. For unless a very perfect instrument of a power not less than 200 or 250 be used to view it; there will be great difficulty in distinguishing it from a Star of between the 6th and 7th magnitude; and yet, after it is once pointed out, a telescope of less power may confirm the planetary appearance. This account has been given me by Mr. *Herschel* himself, who, by discovering this planet, has made his name as durable as the Solar System. He has, from a compliment to the King who has taken him under his patronage, christen'd it *Georgium Sidus;* but it will more probably bear his own name. He is a Hessian, and came over here in a Hessian regiment, and for some years directed the musick at Bath. The Telescopes with which he observes are the *Newtonian* reflecting Telescopes made by himself, Some of which magnify the Diameters of objects above 6000 times. A peculiar ability which he has of observing with these high powers, together with his constant attention to the heavens, has enabled him to

make many more discoveries among the Stars. But of these you have an account in the last numbers of the Philosophical Transactions; and, therefore, I need not take any more notice of them. Be so good as to deliver my respectful compliments to Mr. James Winthrop and to communicate to him this account. It contains a full answer to a letter which I have just received from him by Mr. Gorham containing an enquiry about the new planet. I Sensibly feel the expressions of kindness and civility in his letters, which gave me the more pleasure because it came from the Son of the excellent Dr. Winthrop, who was one of my correspondents for whom I had a high respect and whose memory I revere.

I have not time at present to answer Mr. Winthrop's letter; and the Same is true of the letters which Mr. Gorham bro't me from Dr. Chauncy and Mr. Temple, to whom, when they come in your way, I shall be obliged to you for presenting my respects. I writ to both of them not long ago.

I have convey'd your letters to Dr. Priestley and Mr. Brand-Hollis. I can only add, Dear Sir, that I am, with great regard, Your most obedient and Humble Serv:

RICH: PRICE.[1]

NEWINGTON-GREEN near London, M'ch. 14th, 1784.

DEAR SIR, — I take the opportunity of Mr. Eliot's return to Boston to send by him a set of Bishop Hoadly's works, which I hope, the University at Cambridge will accept as a small offering to testify my respect and good wishes. His name as a Divine stands very high; but among the writers on civil and religious liberty it stands next to the names of Sidney and Lock and Milton.[2]

In a former letter I gave you an account of all that has been determined here concerning the new planet. This discovery, together with the American Revolution and the progress made in France in the power of flying by the Aerostatic machines,[3] render the present time a new *epoch* in the affairs of mankind.

[1] Original in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

[2] "At a meeting of the President and Fellows of Harvard College, June 24, 1784.

"Voted, that the thanks of this board be given to the Rev. Doctor Richard Price, of London, for his valuable present, to this University, of a new and elegant Edition, in three volumes Folio, of the Works of the late celebrated Doctor Benjamin Hoadly, Bishop of Winchester, a warm Assertor of liberty & Friend to the rights of mankind; . . . And that the President be desired to improve the first opportunity to transmit a copy of this vote to Doctor Price."

The Works of Benjamin Hoadly, D.D., successively Bishop of Bangor, Hereford, Salisbury and Winchester. Published by his Son John Hoadly, LL.D., Chancellor of the Diocese of Winchester. London, 1773. 3 vols. — *Lane.*

[3] See The Nation, December 30, 1909, 648. — *Lane.*

The Royal Society have this winter disposed of two prize medals, one to Mr. Hutchings for discovering the congelation of Mercury when the Thermometer falls to 40 degrees below nought; and the other to Mr. Goodrick (a Gentleman in Yorkshire) for discovering a variation in the light of the star Algol, which it goes thro' every three days, its light in this time gradually diminishing till from a star of the first magnitude it becomes a star of the 4th or 5th magnitude, and afterwards recovering itself again.[1] Since the disposal of these medals there has been read to the Royal Society two ingenious papers, one by the honourable Mr. Cavendish[2] containing some new facts concerning inflammable and dephlogisticated air, and the other by Dr. Blagden[3] on the meteors of last year, and the nature and causes of meteors in general. But the greatest part of our time this winter has been spent in a manner very unsuitable to the design of our institution; I mean, in violent altercations and disputes occasioned by complaints of misconduct in Sr. Joseph Banks our President and attempts to oblige him to resign. These attempts have not succeeded, and at present he seems to be confirmed in the chair and the Society is returned to its usual business.[4]

I have been for sometime confined by a wound in my leg from a fall. This confinement, together with the very low and sad state of my wife's health, has press'd upon my spirits. But I have great reason to be thankful; for indeed my life has hitherto been a happy life, and my heart is full of gratitude to the giver of it. When you see Mr. Winthrop[5] deliver to him my kind respects. I cannot forget the kind civility of the letter he writ to me. The enquiry in it about the new planet I answer'd in my last letter to you.[6] Wishing you, Dear Sir, all possible happiness I am, with great respect, Your obliged and very obedt servt

RICHARD PRICE.

I hope you have received the new edition of my Treatise on Annuities which I sent by Mr. Barrett, and which I request the favour of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences to accept.[7]

[1] John Goodricke (1764–1786) made this discovery when only eighteen years of age. He received the Copley medal in 1783.

[2] Henry Cavendish (1731–1810). He read the paper on "Experiments on Air" before the Royal Society, January 15, 1784.

[3] Sir Charles Blagden (1748–1820) served as Cavendish's Secretary. His paper was on "Some late fiery Meteors."

[4] Banks had been president of the Society since 1778, and finding the secretaries were usurping the powers of his office, determined to rectify the abuse. The president was vindicated and remained in office till his death. Maty, the secretary, resigned, and Blagden was chosen to succeed him.

[5] James Winthrop, Librarian. — *Lane.*

[6] A planet discovered by Herschel.

[7] Observations on reversionary payments; on schemes for providing annuities

NEWINGTON-GREEN, July 23d, 1784

DEAR SIR, — I am glad to embrace the opportunity offer'd me by Mr. Gorham's return to send you a few lines. I think myself much obliged to you for your letter by Mr. Jackson, and for introducing me to his acquaintance. He is, I find, likely to stay with us some time longer, and I hope to be favoured with more of his company. I have sent by Mr. Eliot a set of Bishop Hoadley's works for Harvard College; and I have by mistake informed you that the two volumes of my Treatise on Reversionary payments which he has also been so good as to convey, were intended for the *American Academy;* but having before by Mr. Mullet desired their acceptance of these volumes, I wish those bro't by Mr. Eliot may be presented with Hoadley's works to *Harvard* College. The vote of thanks which you have transmitted to me from your Academy is more than this present deserved. It was intended as a testimony of respect, and I am made happy by the favourable manner in which the Academy is so good as to receive it.

I am often looking to your country as the part of the world where liberty, science and virtue are likely to flourish to a degree which has been yet unknown. I am however much mortify'd by accounts which have been sent me of the state of manners in some of the United States. There is, I am informed, among them an avarice, a rage for foreign fineries, an excess of jealousy, etc., etc., which are likely to do them the greatest injury, and to disappoint the hopes of the friends of liberty. I have lately employ'd myself in addressing to them some sentiments of caution and advice with which my own mind is greatly impress'd. The pamphlet containing this Address is now almost printed and I shall send the copies to America in a few weeks. The acceptance of a parcel of them by my friends of Boston will be particularly requested. I know I am not qualify'd to advise the united States. The goodness, however, of my intentions, and the warm part I have all along taken in favour of their cause will, I hope, procure for me a candid hearing.[1]

I have writ to Mr. Professor Williams[2] by Mr. Eliot. Deliver to

for widows, and for persons in old age; etc. The fourth edition enlarged into two volumes. By Richard Price. London, 1783. — *Lane.*

Price was elected a member of the American Academy in the year 1783. His acknowledgment is quoted in Willard's Memories, I. 73.

[1] Observations on the importance of the American Revolution, and the means of making it a benefit to the world. By Richard Price, D.D., LL.D., and Fellow of the Royal Society of London, and of the Academy of Arts and Sciences in New-England. London, 1784.

The dedication of the pamphlet reads: "To the free and United States of America, the following Observations are humbly offered, as a last testimony of the good-will of the Author. July 6, 1784."

The Harvard Library has copies of the Boston reprint, but not of the London original. — *Lane.*

[2] Samuel Williams, Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, 1780–1788, Professor John Winthrop's successor. — *Lane.*

him if you please my respectful compliments, and also to Mr. Winthrop. I am sorry Mr. Gorham has not been more encouraged in his collection here. He has met with many difficulties and embarrassments. Indeed I never expected he would be very successful. I wish I could have been of more service to him.

I know of no Philosophical intelligence worth communicating to you at present. Wishing you, sir, every valuable blessing I am with great respect, Your most obedt and humble servt

RICHARD PRICE.

FROM JOSEPH PRIESTLEY.

REV'D. SIR, — I am truly sensible of the honour that has been done me by being elected a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and should have acknowledged it sooner, but that, living at a distance from London, I have not known of proper opportunities of conveying my letter: My friend Mr. Vaughan going to America very soon makes it easy for me to do now what ought to have been done a long time ago.

I rejoice that, after so noble and successful a struggle for your *liberties*, you are now, in time of peace, attending to matters of *science*. I hope you will have the same success in your exertions in this way.

As you are so obliging as to inquire after my *Observations on air* and I shall beg to have the honour of presenting my *five volumes* on that subject to the Academy, and hope that Mr. Vaughan will take care of their conveyance.

I am still engaged in the same pursuits, and two papers of mine on that subject are published in the Philosophical Transactions. I have the honour to be, with great respect, Rev'd Sir, Your obedient humble servant

J. PRIESTLEY.[1]

BIRMINGHAM, 23 June, 1785.

FROM RICHARD PRICE.

NEWINGTON-GREEN, March 18th, 1786

DEAR SIR, — Your letter dated in Sept'r last did not come into my hands till about a month ago, and I now take the first opportunity to acknowledge the reception of it. Your University have done me great honour by the Vote of thanks inclosed in it. I ardently wish its increasing prosperity and credit. I am likewise oblig'd to you for transmitting to me the Catalogue of persons who have received degrees from the University, and the *Massachusetts* Almanack for 1786; but more particularly for your sermon at the ordination of *Mr. McKeen*.[2]

[1] Original in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

[2] A Sermon, preached May 11, 1785, at the ordination of the Reverend Joseph McKeen, to the pastoral office over the First Church of Christ in Beverly.

Happy would the Christian church be were all its ministers such as it describes. The sentiments in it and also in Mr. *Barnard's* Right hand of fellowship are so correspondent to my own, that it is not possible they should not give me pleasure. I differ a little from Mr. Swain in the notion of Ordination and Clerical power on which his charge seems to be founded.

I have consider d carefully Dr. *Wigglesworth* letter.[1] The *data* mention'd in it taken from the number now living of persons admitted to degrees in every period of ten years from 1711 are in my opinion by no means sufficient to give with tolerable correctness the rate of mortality among the ministers in the state; and Dr. *Wigglesworth's* table derived from these *data* has irregularities in the decrements and expectations of life which must be accidental and cannot possibly correspond to the stated course of mortality among any body of men. The rate of mortality among the ministers and Professors in Scotland appears from certain evidence [2] to be less than is common among mankind taken collectively and indiscriminately and I cannot doubt but this is true of the ministers and Professors in the state of *Massachusetts*. This is a circumstance that must favour a scheme for providing annuities for widows; because by lengthening the duration of joint lives it lessens the present value of any sums or annuities not payable till the extinction of the joint lives. I think, therefore, that if the body of ministers and Professors in your state take the Table formed from the *Sweden* observations in p. 165th of the 2d Volume of my Treatise on Annuities for their guide, they will be sufficiently safe. The probability is that the values there given are too high; because they suppose an improvement of money at so low an interest as four per cent whereas probably in your state money may be improved at five or six per cent.

This, however, will only give additional security, and enable the conductors of the scheme some time or other to increase the Annuities. Indeed I am not capable of giving any better assistance or information on this subject than the Table to which I have referr'd contains. Should it be adopted a great deal of trouble will be saved. I will add, tho' a needless caution, that a member of a society governed by this Table, should he become a widower and afterwards marry a second wife, must be required to make a payment suitable to his age *then*, and the age of his second wife, just as if he had never before made any payments. The like is true of 3d marriages.

By Joseph Willard, A. M., President of the University in Cambridge. [The Charge, by the Reverend Joseph Swain, of Wenham. The Right Hand of Fellowship, by the Reverend Thomas Barnard, of Salem.] Salem, 1785. — *Lane.*

[1] Edward Wigglesworth. The letter is printed in 2 Proc., XVII. 330, and a further examination of the subject is on pp. 345, 347 of the same volume.

[2] See the Treatise on Reversionary Payments, Vol. 1st, pp. 90, 96, 366, and the Notes at the end of the 2d Volume, p. 72. — *Price.*

Deliver my very respectful compliments to Professor Wigglesworth. I shall be glad to hear again from him or from you on this subject should I be thought capable of giving any farther information.

Such an English-*Greek* Lexicon as you wish for would undoubtedly be useful, but I am afraid it is not likely to be soon undertaken in this country.

I am not at present sufficiently informed to be able to answer your enquiries relating to Reiske's [1] design to publish all the Greek orators, and *Augustus Ernest's* design to compile a more complete Greek Lexicon than Hedericus's.[2] But probably I may soon have an opportunity of informing myself; and should I succeed in my enquiry I will mention the result in a future letter. I am, Dear Sir, with great respect, your most obedt and humble servt

RICHARD PRICE

When you see Professor Williams Deliver my respectful compliments to him.

I writ not long ago to his Excellency the Governor, Mr. Lathrop and Mr. Clark.

I have recommended the following scheme to some societies in this country

All married men of all ages to pay five guineas *per Ann* during marriage, the first payment to be made at admission; and also half a guinea for every half year of the excess of their ages above the ages of their wives if ten years or less; but if more than ten years to pay one guinea for every half year that their ages exceed the ages of their wives more than ten years.

In consideration of these contributions and Fines the widow of every contributor to be entitled

To an annuity for life of £8 if the husband has lived *one* year after making his first payment and made two annual payments

of 9 if . . . *two* years and made three annual payments

of 10 if . . . three years and made four annual payments etc, etc.

The Annuity to encrease at the rate of £1 for every year that the contributor shall live more than one year after his first payment.

[1] This may refer to Johann Jakob Reiske (1716–1774), who published the Greek Orators in twelve volumes (1770–1775), not living to continue the series.

[2] Benjamin Hederich's "Lexicon manuale graecum," first published in 1722, was for many years a common students' handbook. It has been reëdited again and again by later scholars. The first edition by Johann August Ernesti was in 1754. A fourth edition, "auctior et emendatior," was published in 1796. The Harvard Library has a copy that originally belonged to President Willard and was bought from him in 1800 by Professor John S. Popkin. — *Lane.*

Recommendations of this Plan

First. It is the safest plan because it depends less than any other on the firmness of life.

Secondly. It guards against the danger, arising from fraudulent intrusions into an Annuity society of persons who may be dying by concealed distempers.

Thirdly. It is more *simple* than any other plan because it establishes nearly the same common payment for all ages and all the differences of age between husbands and wives.

Fourthly. It is more *equitable* than any other plan because it makes those the greatest gainers who have contributed most. And it is also more *useful* by providing the largest annuities at the time of life when they will be most wanted.

From T. B. Hollis.

Rev'd Sir, — I had the pleasure to receive from you a packet of papers relating to America and the progress of your University, which were most acceptable to me they came with others to Dr. Price by the inattention of the captain in putting them into the post at Plymouth they cost £2–11s–1, money entirely lost which might have been applied to some good purpose.

I hope the Americans will never raise taxes from the post office, no more than is necessary to defray the expence of carriage of letters, which will be but trifling. Every other charge will operate as a licence upon the press increase the expence of printing and prevent the communication of sentiments which is the life and soul of a republick. Look around you and observe how the press is burden[ed], watched and cramped in the European states!

I shall be obliged to you for your sermon at the ordination of McKeen; there are parts in that pamphlet shall be made use of. The Virginia declaration of Toleration or rather against intolerance,[1] surpasses for spirit and good sense anything of its kind in Europe and gives us an example of what we may expect from men emancipated from subjection, perfectly free with the powers of the human mind, at full liberty to range through the civil and intellectual world, and pursue truth and knowledge and follow their dictates. The world is young and much remains yet to be learnt. From the Americans we expect much, as you have advantages Europe never had. You have our experiences to work with, and our follies and vices, seeing the consequences to avoid.

[1] See Writings of James Madison, i. 213.

I trust we shall not be disappointed if riches do not pour in upon you too fast, before the wisdom of the government direct them to their proper end. Your good friends the English are endeavouring to prevent it as much as possible. In that perhaps they are not your enemies.

There was a good speech by John Gardener, Esqr. on the 4 July 1785 which was published in our papers, but not continued after Queen Ann.[1] I should be glad to have a complete copy.

Having observed in some of your books Greek wrote in Roman characters, I suppose [it is] owing to the loss of the Greek types at the Fire which have not been replaced, and I hear there is no printing office in the University.

The Dissenters are instituting a college for the education of youth upon the most liberal principles, and we meet with great encouragement. We have lost the excellent and good Dr. Jebb, who wore himself out in publick exertions.[2] His own welfare and health were the least of his concern, and he dyed a martyr for the people. There is a large subscription for his works.

The emperor should be better informed about masonry. He has made the Lodges liable to inspection and almost suppressed them. Tyrants are suspicious of all liberal societies; but he is a persecutor. The poor Hussites are now suffering for their principles which seem to be unitarian. The first Toleration is now withdrawn which they depended on. At Vienna there is no free conversation. It is said the Duke of Tuscany is more enlightened.[3] I have this day *4 July*, ever to be celebrated and had in remembrance, made up a Box of Books various and mixed, but all I hope will have their use. The larger Number is for the Library of Harvard University, a smaller Number for the American Academy of Arts and sciences, as more peculiar for their purposes, which I desire you will present and make acceptable to both the societies. I request you will receive a small parcell for your own amusement as directed to you. If among the others there are duplicates they can be exchanged.

My best wishes for the prosperity of both the societies and my esteem regard remains with you, from, Rev'd Sir, your obliged and faithful Sert.

T. Brand Hollis

You shall have the bill of Laden sent you.

[1] An oration, delivered July 4, 1785, at the request of the inhabitants of the Town of Boston, in celebration of the anniversary of American independence. By John Gardiner, Esq. Boston, [1785.]

The oration includes a review of the history of despotic governments from the beginning. Its later pages were naturally not reprinted in England. — *Lane.*

[2] Dr. John Jebb died March 2, 1786. — *Lane.*

[3] Peter Leopold. See Cambridge Modern History, VI. 601.

FROM RICHARD PRICE.

NEWINGTON-GREEN, July 24th, 1786.

DEAR SIR, — I have received with great pleasure the letter with which you favoured me by Dr. Gordon, and also the volume of memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences which he brought me from you. Accept my best thanks for this letter, and for the present that accompany'd it. Astronomical knowledge in the united states is, I observe, particularly indebted to you; and I heartily wish you all possible success in your endeavours to increase this knowledge, and to promote the interest of literature and science. The new world opens a new field for enquiry; and I cannot but indulge the hope that, in consequence of such efforts as you and other liberal men are making, and of the removal of all restraints of free discussion, the American Revolution will in the end prove the means of extending much farther than ever human investigation and improvement.

I writ to you some months ago in answer to a letter of yours containing enquiries relating to a scheme then under the consideration of the ministers in your state for providing annuities for their widows. At the same time I writ to his Excellency the Governor. I have since writ several other letters to different persons at Boston, which I hope have been received.

I have taken care to convey your letter to Dr. Priestley. He has lately publish'd a 6th volume of Observations and Experiments on air, and also a History in four volumes octavo of the *Early opinions concerning Christ compiled from original writers, proving that the Christian church was at first Unitarian.* His abilities and ardor as a Divine and Philosopher are wonderful. In Philosophy and Politics he and I are perfectly agree'd; but in Metaphysics and Theology we differ much.

I rejoyce to find that at last all the states have agree'd to the impost which is to fund and discharge their debts; and that a convention of all the states is to meet in September next in order to consult about enlarging the powers of Congress.[1] At the same time I am grieved for the policy with respect to the united states adopted by this country, and which seems likely to produce alienation and hostility instead of that family union and friendship, which I have been wishing for.

I have been desired to convey the inclosed letter to the Executors of the late very respectable Dr. Winthrop. Will you be so good as to do this for me? I have sent the letter open that you may read it and see that it contains a claim from the Royal Society on Dr. Winthrop's Executors. Who they are I don't know, nor do I much expect that the claim will be recover'd. We have been lately, in the Council of the

[1] This was the Annapolis Convention, which led to the calling of the Federal Convention of 1787.

Royal Society, examining our debts and taking an account of them, and this was found among others. The war prevented the claim being made sooner.

I have been struck with the account, in the volume of Memoirs which you have been so good as to send me, of the births, marriages, deaths at different ages, and number of inhabitants, at Salem and the parish of Hingham.[1] This account proves the probabilities of the duration of human life to be greater in these places than in any part of Europe where observations have been made. I wish much for more such accounts from America. I am, Dear Sir, respectfully and affectionately Yours

RICHARD PRICE

I have been obliged to some friend for sending me a very acceptable present of the Massachusetts Pocket Almanack for 1786.

NEWINGTON-GREEN near London, January 22d, 1787.

DEAR SIR, — I beg your acceptance of the volume of Sermons which accompanies this letter as a testimony of my respect.[2] I cannot hope that you will approve some of the sentiments in the first five of these sermons; but I can safely rely on your candour. You will find that I have taken the middle path between the different sects of christians and declared my charity for them all; but I expect, that the consequence of this will be, that I shall be opposed and censured by them all. My Friend Dr. Priestley (who you know is a zealous Socinian) is now preparing an answer to me. But nothing shall engage me in a Controversy.

Dr. Maskelyne, our Astronomer Royal, having desired me to convey to America a few copies of his Advertisement of the expected return of a comet next year, I have sent one copy to you and another to his excellency the Governor.[3]

The convulsions in your state and in New Hampshire have given me great concern. I hope that by this time they have been quieted. Sufferings are severe teachers; and they seem to be destined by providence to be the teachers of your countrymen. What fatality is it that prevents them from seeing that their true interest consists in frugality and simplicity, in avoiding luxury, in checking a rage for foreign super-

[1] The papers referred to are Dr. E. A. Holyoke's letter entitled A bill of mortality in the town of Salem for the year 1782 (Memoirs of the American Academy, I. 546–550), and Professor Edward Wigglesworth's Observations on the longevity of the inhabitants of Ipswich and Hingham (565–568). — *Lane.*

[2] Sermons on the Christian doctrine as received by the different denominations of Christians, etc. By Richard Price, D.D., LL.D., F.R.S. London, 1787. — *Lane.*

[3] Not found in the College Library. — *Lane.*

fluities, in finding all they want within themselves, in obeying *their own* laws, and strengthening their federal government? But I will not enter into this subject.

I have lately been thrown into a state of the saddest grief by the loss of the companion of my life.[1] This has given a dreadful shock to my spirits; but I consider that the term of my survivorship cannot be long, and I look forward to a resurrection of all the virtuous to a better and endless life. With sincere gratitude to you for all your attention and great respect I am, Dear Sir, ever yours

RICHARD PRICE

HACKNEY near LONDON, Oct. 10th, 1787.

DEAR SIR, — The last letter with which you have favoured me did not reach me till near a year after its date. I have wished much to see Mr. Sparhawk[2] the bearer of it; but in consequence of not being at home when he bro't it and my own negligence, I have lost that pleasure.

I wrote to Professor Wigglesworth in July last a letter in which I endeavoured to satisfy his enquiries with respect to the Plan for providing annuities for the widows of the ministers in your state. I have inclosed in the packet which conveys this letter the Appendix to the Sermons I publish'd last winter, and a new edition of which has been lately published.[3] One of the copies I have directed to Mr. Clark; and I shall be obliged to you for conveying it to him. I have also sent you the third edition which will be published next month of my book on morals.[4] Shall I request the favour of you to present this volume to the University of which you are President? It is more correct than the former editions, and I have added an Appendix containing new notes and a Dissertation on the Being and attributes of God. I therefore wish the University would do me the honour of accepting it, and allowing it to be substituted in their library in the room of the copy which was sent them some time ago.

We are here at present trembling under the apprehensions of another war with *France*. I must suppose that our governors have more rea-

[1] She was Miss Sarah Blundell, originally of Belgrave, in Leicestershire.

[2] Nathaniel Sparhawk.

[3] The Appendix to his Sermons replies to the Letters of Priestley contained in the latter's Defences of Unitarianism for the year 1786. Birmingham, 1788.

The College Library contains no copy of this Appendix, nor of the "new edition" of the Sermons, but it has copies of the edition published in Boston in 1815. — *Lane.*

[4] A review of the principal questions in morals. Particularly those respecting the origin of our ideas of virtue, its nature, relation to the Deity, obligation, subject-matter, and sanctions. The third edition corrected, and enlarged by an appendix, containing additional notes, etc. London, 1787. — *Lane.*

sons than I can see for provoking the French to this war and exposing us to the dreadful danger that will attend it.

Your country has, I find, still many difficulties to conquer, and very important points to settle. For your sake, for the sake of mankind, and particularly for the sake of my own country, I ardently wish its prosperity. Should peace and liberty and science flourish in the united states and a wise and efficient plan of federal government be there established, we shall here know where to go when calamities come, and it will be of less consequence what happens in Europe.

I am waiting impatiently for an account of the result of the deliberations of the convention of Delegates at *Philadelphia*. I admire the wisdom of your state in rejecting the vile expedient of a paper currency; and I am grieved by the disgrace into which Rhode-Island has brought itself. But I must not write a long letter. You may have learnt from the discourse which I desired Professor Wigglesworth to deliver to you,[1] that having undertaken the work of a tutor in our new Academical institution,[2] my engagements are much encreased. This leaves me less time than ever for my correspondence, and obliges me to contract it. It comes upon me indeed unfortunately at a time of life when I am growing less and less fit for all business, and tranquility is becoming more and more an object of my wishes. But the sollicitations of friends, the hope of being more useful, and the desire of contributing

[1] The evidence for a future period of improvement in the state of mankind, with the means and duty of promoting it, represented in a discourse delivered on Wednesday the 25th of April, 1787, at the meeting-house in the Old Jewry, London, to the supporters of a new academical institution among Protestant dissenters. By Richard Price, D.D., F.R.S. London, 1787. — *Lane.*

[2] Our New Academical Institution. This was an institution established with a view of supplying the place of Coward's Academy, long the principal place for the education of the youth of dissenting families about London. Of this, William Morgan, in his Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Richard Price, says: "Accordingly a meeting was held among some of the principal friends of rational religion, and a subscription was set on foot with the view of establishing a college in the neighborhood of London, for the education not only of Clerical but of Lay-students. A very considerable sum was raised in a short time for this purpose. A stately edifice was purchased in Hackney, and tutors were appointed for the different branches of literature and philosophy. In support of an institution formed with such laudable views, Dr. Price not only contributed his share in the subscription, but consented to instruct the students in the higher branches of the mathematics — a work, for which his mildness, patience, and ability, would have rendered him highly qualified, had his time been less occupied, and his habits more accustomed to the mechanical drudgery of education. . . . Of the Hackney institution it will be sufficient to observe that it began its course with splendour, and flattered the hopes of its more sanguine friends and benefactors with the mighty effects it was to produce on the rising generation; but that it soon gradually languished and decayed; and after an inglorious existence of a few years, and the expenditure of more than £20,000, sunk into irretrievable ruin." — *Lane.*

to the success of an important undertaking have determined me in this instance contrary to my inclinations, and, I fear, to prudence.

Under a grateful sense of your civilities and attention I am, Dear Sir, very respectfully and affectionately Yours

RICHD PRICE

After living thirty years at Newington-Green and there losing the partner of my life, I am now removed to Hackney a village near it and at the same distance from London where I have long officiated as minister and our new institution is establish'd.

FROM T. B. HOLLIS.

DEAR SIR, — I received your letter by Mr. Sheafe his stay was so short that I could not show him those attentions which on his own and your account I wish'd to have done.

I am much obligd to you for the federal convention. We have had it printed here in all the papers, and I have done the same in the country. Most people approve of it but some are fearful least the power of the senate should be too great over the president and think the legislative and executive[1] should be distinct and separate.

For my own part it appears to me that the election of the president is admirably guarded. the only point of which I have some doubt is whither it would not have been safer to have render'd it impossible for the president to be reelected or continued. The danger of power is so great and the increase of it so natural, and almost consequential, that too much care cannot be taken and the only security is by rotation.

Tho' I detest Aristocracy yet there is not so much danger in your republicks, as of single Tyranny, as the division of estates by law counteracts it; for tho' elder sons may be made, yet the Law and practice being otherwise it will be thought cruel and unjust.

But a Tiranny in one is not easily got rid of. Look through Europe and how are they connected and leagued to support each other against the rights of mankind; & consider a late revolution how it was brought about and for what purpose against the law of nations. A lesson for America but it will not last as the people are not relieved by it as in 1688.

No one of good principles but must be pleased with the excellent Dr. Jebb's works.[2] Thinking it would be grateful to your University and pleasing to his spirit, I placed Harvard in the illustrious list.

[1] In the original the figure one is written over the word executive, and two over legislative.

[2] The Works, theological, medical, political, and miscellaneous, by John Jebb,

The same person sent a defence of the resolutions of congress wrote by a late unhappy man Northcote.[1] They were sent to me, and I disposed of them accordingly. With respect to the organ[2] I only thought it necessary for my own honor, as it conveyed a reflection, & I took that manner to vindicate myself.

The memory of Dr Chauncy I have a regard for and shall think no more about it.

> Yet what is musick, and the blended power
> Of voice with instruments of wind and string?
> What but an empty pageant of sweet noise?
> 'T is past and all that it has left behind
> Is but an echo dwelling in the ear
> Of the Joy-taken fancy, and beside
> A void and countless hour in life's brief day.

I am much obliged to you for the expressions of regard to me which I return with interest.

Your former packet which I rec'd from Mr. Adams was most acceptable. The speeches and publick acts are noble and well intended. I hope they will not drop but be continued annually. Gardeners was printed here all but the latter part and I had preserved it. Wishing to have the others which you have supplied me with, and in future if you will be so good as to send me your annual almanack, and some of your interesting papers and tracts, I shall esteem myself much obliged to you, and will return all the expences attending them. Our papers mention that there is an intention of having the Olympic Games revived in America. All her friends wish it and say they are capable of it, and having acted on Greek principles should have Greek exercises. Our college goes on very well and we have begun our exercises, having taken in students, and the building is much advanced. The publick is agitated about the slave trade. I wish also they would reduce to reason the Barbary Corsairs instead of encouraging and protecting them.

I request the favor of you to deliver to the members of Harvard University the inclosed letter of acknowledgement for the honor conferr'd upon me unexpected and unmerited. In my own country I have declined all distinguished honors by which the publick could reap no advantage, and this in particular, which was offer'd me; but I shall

M.D., F.R.S. With memoirs of the life of the author; by John Disney, D.D. F.S.A. 3 vols. London, 1787.

Hollis's name appears among the list of subscribers, but not that of the College. — *Lane.*

[1] Thomas Northcote, who wrote Tracts on constitutional subjects; with a discourse on the Powers that be, London, 1786.

[2] See Ellis, History of the First Church in Boston, 216.

esteem this mark of regard as an approbation of my intentions to serve the interest of virtue freedom and learning.

I have sent a few tracts and papers for your amusement and intend you shall hear from me again soon.

In the mean time I am with great esteem and respect Dr Sir your obliged

T. BRAND HOLLIS

Jan. 30. 1788. Chesterfeild street

GENTLEMEN, — I had the honor to receive from his Excellency John Adams a Diploma from the University of Harvard conferring on me the honor of Doctor of Laws.

I receive it with the greatest respect, and esteem it as a great honor given to me by so illustrious a University. My inclinations to promote the purposes of so learned a body must stand in place of abilities, and I shall preserve this instrument among my choicest papers as a testimonial of your partiality to him, who wishing success to all your intentions, is with all due respect and esteem, Gentlemen, your most obliged Humble Sert

T. BRAND HOLLIS

Chesterfeild street. 30 Jan. 1788.

DEAR SIR, — Last June 1789 three cases of Books were sent by me for Harvard College by Captn Bernard, who obligingly took the care of them, and would receive nothing for the freight, which favor by a messuage I acknowledge to him, but of these cases I have received no account.[1]

I fear your letter has miscarried, it is so long since, for which am sorry, being kept in suspence ; but hope they were agreeable, tho' very mixed, as I think every book not a real Duplicate is fit for a library.

I take this opportunity by Mr. Lutridge to send a small parcell for the college and a few tracts for your amusement.

We are agitated about the Spanish war. The friends of liberty hope it will be composed, least the revolution in France should be affected by it, tho' they have declared they will not be bound by the family compact

How ought we to rejoice in Europe at the astonishing revolution. The American led the way triumphantly, but the French have great difficulties to struggle with, the opulent Aristocracy, the Tyrannical feudal system, the superstition and power of the church, the prejudice in favor of the Lord's anointed, yet all these were annulled by a divine

[1] They were received and a vote of thanks recorded September 30, 1789. — *Lane.*

afflatus. For nothing else could have effected it, and it will not stop there. Truth is abroad and light will follow. What think you of one chamber? The effects are great in this instance, nor would they have bore with two; but have tore one another to peices.

The calonnades which are published are numerous; most of the papers are hired. It requires the same constancy and resolution which were exerted in the american contest to bare up against the infamous aspercion continually propagated.

The accidents which have happen'd bear no proportion to the Prussian Massacre, and perhaps attended with the least blood of any revolution we know of Mr. De La faett has sent the Key of the Bastile to Mr. Payne to be remitted to President Washington.[1] What a trophe for the Deliverer of Nations. Paine sent it to me obligingly. Dr. Disney sent the memoirs for the college,[2] and a copy for you I have sent a few tracts for your library and desire your acceptance of those directed for you.

The church has taken the alarm and thrown out the Dissenter's motion; but it will return with greater force next time being better understood.

I have only to add my best wishes for the prosperity of your university, and the continuance of your health. I am Dear Sir With great regard and esteem yr most obliged humble sert

T Brand Hollis

Excuse my pen

Chesterfeild May 28. 1790.

From J. C. Lettsom.[3]

Dear Doctor, — By the return of Dr. Winship to Boston, I embrace the opportunity of renewing a correspondence, which has always afforded me pleasure and improvement: though personally strangers, I see in my distant friend, that urbanity of manners, that discernment and precision of judgment, which beget ambition to cultivate so honourable an intercourse.

Dr. Winship during his residence here, has not been inattentive to medical improvement; he has seen much hospital practice, and applied to other sources of medical improvement, so that I am perswaded his Time has been well husbanded, and his friendly and social manners

[1] It is now at Mt. Vernon.

[2] The Harvard Library has two copies of Dr. Disney's Memoirs of the life and writings of Arthur Ashley Sykes, 1785, which are marked as the gift of Hollis. — *Lane.* See also note 2 on page 628.

[3] John Coakley Lettsom (1744–1815) was one of Dr. Waterhouse's constant correspondents and a frequent contributor of mineralogical specimens. — *Lane.*

have acquired him much and deserved esteem; and I with others regret that we have not had more of his company. Of my pursuits; and of all my sources of information as to domestic and foreign politics, he is so fully acquainted, that little remains for me to add.

With respect to the French Revolution, as it seems to have been first suggested by sound policy, aided by a philosophy that has triumphed over the bayonet, it proceeds towards an establishment, by a firm undeviating step. Many of the resolutions of the National assembly when first decreed, appeared to me impolitic, but it is obvious, that this august assembly, has acted wisely; not like the late emperor Joseph, to compel innovation faster than the minds of the people would bear, but it has proceeded synchronous with the gradual conviction of popular sentiment. a reflected light may be born, when the full blaze of the meridian sun would dazzle and confound. It was a saying of Fontenelle "If my hands were full of Truths, I would not open both at once." It is certainly a good political axiom. I see clearly the Leaders of the French revolution, had all the subsequent decrees, in embryo at its commencement; but prudently waited for popular sentiment, to put into action the *punctum vitæ*. This consideration determines me to think, that the Revolution will be permanent, because it is not the overbearing voice of a Junto; it is the voice of the people, not excited by heat or haste, but modified by the light of science, and a just sense of the spirit of freedom. I think thou objects to some of the Decrees of this Assembly, and particularly that, which levels Titles. Why? It does not level rank; is there nothing to decorate man but ribbons and stars? Man cannot be equal, but ought not the powers of the mind to take precedence of the decorations of the body? Of their predecessors, let them be proud to say, *vix ea nostra voco*. But putting the reasoning of philosophy aside; the nobility of France has become so enormously multiplied, by recent upstarts, that Titles themselves, had already lost much of their dignity, and I even suspect, that some of the ancient nobility acquiesced in the present annihilation, that at some future period, if nobility should be revived, the ancient nobility alone, would be reinstated. Independent even of this suggestion; it was a rule that none but nobility could command either in the army or navy. If so, this prejudice could not be too soon eradicated, and an equal road opened to glory and honour, if these form the path to glory and honour.

I ought to have began this letter with offering my grateful and sincere acknowledgments, for the honour conferred upon me, by the University of Cambridge, in accepting me as an Associate among so many distinguished characters. I feel a Gratitude, and sense of your kindness, in enrolling me of the Academy of Arts, and now of M. D. of the University, that I cannot express. These favours and honours, if possible make me respect America, and her children; with encreased regard,

and enjoy with encreased ardour her prosperity and happiness. I have sent, as an humble addition to your Library Professor Burmann's works, which you have not in your Catalogue.[1]

For thyself, I have sent a little packet, and conclude with the hope of thy future correspondence, and with the assurance of the sincere respect of thy friend,

J. C. Lettsom.

London, Febr. 23, 1791.

From T. B. Hollis.

Dear Sir, — I received your letter of the 14 of April, and rejoice to hear your state is happy and go on well they have my sincerest wishes for their prosperity.

The renovation of France is an event which has surprised all the world, allowing the most consummate wisdom to guide and direct their councils, yet I cannot but think the hand of heaven is with them, as it exceeds all the transactions in the History of mankind, and will produce such an equal government which the world has never seen, and show what human nature is capable of. the extent of which we are yet ignorant

The opposition formed against it only serves to purify and strengthen it. Popery seems to hide its diminished head and the Pope will soon be reduced to a simple Bishop.

It is confidently asserted that there is a Unitarian chapel erected at Dunkirk, if not probably there will be one soon and then possibly the French Deists will declare themselves Unitarians and it may have a great effect as to religion amongest them.

Am much obliged to you for your tracts and catalogue, which rejoice to see is so large.[2]

We have had some great French sales of splendid and rare books, which sold very high. The great price preserves them, so far it has its use, but the high value from the manner of printing is an essential inconvenience and prevents the circulation of knowledge. Burke and Paine have amused the town, which is obliged to the former "for the discussions he has provoked." The answers are innumerable, but the French discourses on religion and government are capital. The amaz-

[1] The Harvard Library possesses two volumes by Professor Jan Burmann of Amsterdam, the gift of Dr. Lettsom, Thesaurus Zeylanicus exhibens plantas in insula Zeylana nascentes, Amstelædami, 1737; and Rariorum africanarum plantarum partes I.—XII. Amst. 1738–39. These are without doubt the volumes referred to. — *Lane.*

[2] A catalogue of the College Library was printed in 1790, covering 358 pages. At this time the Library contained about 13,000 volumes. — *Lane.*

ing change in that people is astonishing, they seem just the reverse of what they were. I have no doubt all will tend to good, and they will come out into light and freedom which none in Europe but themselves can bear.

The anniversary of the French revolution will be celebrated here as usual rejoicing at the emancipation of such a number of our fellow citizens.

I have sent a number of prints to Mr. Pearson, correspondent secretary to the American Academy of Arts and sciences, for the use of that society to induce them to think of the art of engraving.

I have inclosed a few tracts for your own entertainment.

We shall not soon repair the loss of the excellent Dr Price![1]

I am Dear Sir with great regard and esteem your obliged humble Sert,

T. BRAND HOLLIS.

LONDON, June 18. 1791.

DEAR SIR, — I recd your favour of 14 April, and am glad to hear that Dr. Manship [Winship?] is returned safe and well, to whom I desire my compliments. The revolution of France engages the attention of good men the French assembly has acted with the most consummate wisdom, and there is no fear of any antirevolution. The King's flight and return with acceptance of the constitution, has confirmed every thing. The new Legislative assembly is much approved of by the people, and will follow the plan of the constituent assembly. Every thing is quiet and peaceable in France. The French Flag is respected by the Emperor and by Holland, and will be by all. What a Lesson in Politicks is this revolution of which the world never saw its equal.

You Americans nobly begun the glorious race of universal freedom and amidst difficulties distress and danger brought into practice some of the doctrines principles and Laws of Plato. The French have imbibed his spirit, his hatred of Dominion, and his love of equal Laws. Near 3000 years since this doctrine of equality has been divulged for the benefit of mankind, but so enslaved and oppressed that they knew not they had rights nor the means of vindicating them. Such are the effects of superstition, enthusiasm and oppression; but now there is no fear of knowledge ever being destroyed. The liberty of the Press [has] been preserved, Priests and Despots will be no more.

How ought we to rejoice that we live in these times when the human powers are called into action. The excellent Dr. Price was thankful he had lived to see these days, tho' not permitted to enjoy the Issue; another excellent man, Dr. J. Jebb hoped he should live to see a general hunt of Kings. How near the time. Dr. P. praised God for his goodness, and was contented, as was the other, knowing no effort of his

[1] Died April 19, 1791. — *Lane.*

would be lost. The world has had great losses of valuable members, but others will arise I have no doubt, to carry on the work of the perfection of the human species. Mr. Bowdoin was a valuable member of society and of extensive views.

Will not the committies answer all most all the purposes of an upper house, which distinction the times will not at present bare, if ever necessary; every new assembly is a jealous enemy to the publick good. Unity in will and representation should be one and all distinctions annulled.

The spirit of the Church has discover'd it self at Birmingham by the most abominable riots and destruction of the property of good and distinguished men. Dr. Priestley's Library apparatus and manuscripts, and his great work just ready for the press all destroyed and lost, and never can be recover'd, having been made and procured at a great expence. His life was also in great Danger, nor can he return; he supports this persecution with dignity and magnanimity, becoming one of the first Philosophers. Has just published a letter to the members of Baron Swedenbourg's church. Tho' sensibly chagrined and mortified at the disgrace of my country and which the church ought to declare its detestation of such principles I hope it will work for good and bring on the releif which has been so often applied for, and which is so just and easy to be done. This oppression does not exist in other countries. Take away the test and there will be no persecution.

Burke's book has occasioned many interesting disquisitions and all against his principles so that his reputation is much lower'd in the publick esteem for besides his despotic principles he has been shown to be very inconsistent with himself.[1]

Payne's book has done much good but given great offence to Aristocrats. Burke being so violent against the English and French revolution prevented prosecution of Payne; his life is published.[2] Some parts true and many false. Every article regarding me is notoriously so, having never seen the book till printed, etc. The Spaniard is convulsed but his edicts will not prevent the French books circulating. In short this is a period full of astonishing events and more to come equally great. I never thought much of life but confess should be happy now to be permitted to see the denoûment of this great Revolution in religion and government. The French will soon take the lead in literature, for as Voltaire said of the English, their wings not being clip'd they will fly Jusque au ciel Baron Trenk, for writing about rights, has been in durance vile, but the Emperor has recover'd himself and released him.

[1] Burke's "Reflections on the Revolution in France" appeared in the last months of 1790; Paine's "Rights of Man" began to appear in February following. Hollis was connected with its publication.

[2] By Francis Oldys, a name used by George Chalmers.

Tiranny while yet it lasts must be moderate The English will be last to profit of the general principles now esteemed.

Mrs. Macaulay departed the night before the King, but left behind her a spirited answer to Burke.[1] No authors have been more reviled and abused than this writer. They took advantage of an indiscretion which to the publick they made almost criminal, tho' she was induced to it by art and infamous design. Her defence of liberty dignified her stile, which certainly has been appropriated by others to noble purposes, and we are obliged to her for painting Tyrants and Priests in their true colours, and giving just notions of Liberty. Many thanks for the papers you sent me, and the catalogue of your Library which has given me great satisfaction that you are so rich in books, and I like the many [ways] of arranging them all regarding together each author, but know not how to arrange them in the library to appear well which is very difficult.

your pocket almanack is most entertaining.

I see you have many duplicates. In that case, if among those I have sent to the college there should be *real* Duplicates, I should wish they might be exchanged for others. Some time agoe the B[ritish] Museum parted with their duplicates, but did not attend that no book is a duplicate, but a fact simil, and they parted with different editions, and you know that some times a different edition may prove some point. Besides that, a publick library should have every book existing if possible.

In June 18, I sent a large Port Folio of Prints to Mr. Pearson, secretary of the academy of Arts and sciences, which hope he has long since received for that Academy, and if I do not mistake some pamphlet for you. Of this I have not yet heard. Let me have the pleasure of hearing from you as often as convenient, since no one is a more sincere and faithful friend to your country, and not more interested in the prosperity of your University than him who is with the greatest regard, Dear Sir, your faithfull humble Sert

T Brand Hollis

The Hide. Novem. 4, 1791.

Feb. 20, 1792.

Dear Sir, — I have only time to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 15 and 22 of Octo., with some tracts and your almanac which are most acceptable to me.

By Dr. Winship I take the opportunity to send a complet microscope of Nairne's, for Harvard University, thinking it will be of use and entertainment to the young students. I have inclosed a Book or two for

[1] Observations on the Reflections of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke on the Revolution in France, in a Letter to the Earl of Stanhope, — issued anonymously. The author was Catherine Macaulay.

your use, which hope will be agreeable. The French go on well and are safe. We hope no amity by agreement without including them, and then the Liberties of the world would be safe and Despots reign no more. Let not filthy Lucre deceive you. Without a firm treaty of Amity with Americans, French and English, the same game will be played over again. The spoils are great; ruin and devastation please the conquerors

I have returnd thanks for you to the Society of Arts. I had very short notice; otherwise could have said more.

Mr. Barlow has published an excellent book, advice to priveledged orders.[1] Farewell and be happy

T Brand Hollis

From J. C. Lettsom.

Esteemed Friend, — I regret that Dr. Winship's sudden departure from London, prevented me the pleasure of writing by him as I had intended.

I mention'd, I believe, that I had applied to Sir Joseph Banks for thy admission into the Royal Society; and the only obstacle he intimated, was, that the limited number of Foreign members was full. I have since applied to Professor Blumenbach, of the University of Göttingen, who had the care of the King's sons, and who has promised to propose thee as a member of the Royal Society of Göttingen, which I doubt not will be successful.

Upon the death of Dr. Franklin, the only honorary member of the Medical Society of London, in America, I proposed thee as his Successor, and in consequence of thy election, our Secretary informed thee of the same. The reason I proposed thee, was, that I thought thy name would be an honour to our Institution.

I am very happy to hear of the growing prosperity of your University, and particularly of every department of Medicine.

The violence committed against the Dissenters of Birmingham, soon subsided, after the misguided mob had destroyed property to the amount of about $40,000. It evinces, however, the popular spirit of persecution in matters of religion, which ultimately like every other persecution against Truth and Justice, defeats its own purposes, by confirming the minds of some, and opening those of others. It is surprising that people should be so long lost to propriety and reason, as to be angry, that individuals should chuse another course to arrive at the

[1] The College Library has the American edition, "Advice to the privileged orders, in the several states of Europe, resulting from the necessity and propriety of a general revolution in the principle of government. By Joel Barlow." 2 Pts. New York, 1792-94. — *Lane.*

same haven. There seems to me, to be as much reason to quarrel with another, for a difference of feature of body, as of mind. I never saw two things alike, no two leaves, no two faces, nay, it is impossible to make with a pen two dots alike, and I question whether there are in the world two persons alike in religious doctrines; Perhaps the Creator designed this wonderful diversity, in Nature, as an object of admiration, humility and gratitude. Of Persecution it could not be, unless we were designed, each to destroy his nearest neighbour.

It would seem in the eye of Reason, equally easy to live without political persecution; yet in Europe, every potentate is preparing for some storm, or to stem the current which has sprung up in France, and which seems likely to extend political freedom through the Continent. The emperor of Germany is at the head of the Despots, who are endeavouring to oppose the Rights of Man by the point of the Bayonet, aided by the Kings of Prussia[1] and Sweden[2] and the Empress of Russia. The first is an artful hypocrite, who in spite of every deception, cannot even lull to quietude, his own subjects, as well in Bohemia, as the Netherlands, and while he threatens France at the instigation of the minor despots under his Banner, with one hand, the other trembles for the event. He has seen science triumph over the sword in the troops of his Brother in Law, and he fears the infection of freedom, more than he dreads the effusion of blood. The Empress[3] is too distant to do much, and since Potemkin's death,[4] she has more to fear from the Grand Duke and her own Court, than from France or French principles. The king of Prussia, will reluctantly aid the emperor, betwixt whom a jealousy still must subsist, and I see no motive sufficient to induce his warm interference. As to the Don Quixote king of Sweden, tottering on his own throne, and involved in debt, he has enough to do at home to establish his own revolution — and more especially when his subjects have in view the amiable character of the Crown prince of Denmark, who is the most distinguished youth in Europe.[5] Holland appears busy about nothing, but if the Stadt holder deeply interferes in the French revolution, he may expect a counter part in Holland, where the flame is scarcely smothered, of revolution principles.

Spain is poor and weak, and Italy still weaker; Besides the king of Naples is too much of a Democrat himself to interfere even for his abandoned Son D'Artois.

Under these views I still hope France will escape the rage of these Despots. They seem all afraid to commence hostilities, and hope to

[1] Frederick William II.

[2] Gustavus III., who was shot at a midnight masquerade at the Stockholm Opera House on March 16, 1792.

[3] Catherine.

[4] Died at Jassy, 1792.

[5] Frederick, son of Queen Juliana Maria.

weary the French by distant Threats, and that time will divide their patriots, and occasion intestine quarrels; and then and not before to strike the Blow. May Frenchmen by union acquire strength, and by perseverance establish the rights of man! I do not think the present national Assembly exhibit the same firmness and solid sense, as the former; but there are, however, very great characters in the present, and where a Condorcet presides vigour must result.

I ought not thus to have branched into European politics as Dr. Winship is well acquainted with the recent transactions in Europe, to whom I must refer; and when a subject is opened, we may pursue it to too great an extent, especially when the person we address, is competent to the writer; but however trivially I have extended this letter, I shall be satisfied in its affording a proof, that I am sincerely thy friend, with which I am &c

J C Lettsom

London, March 12, 1792.

From T. B. Hollis.

Dear Sir, — I have only time to acquaint you that I have sent a Box of Books to your care for Harvard College Library they are mixed and various, but what you have not; indeed I could wish, if at any time you have recd Duplicates provided they are fac similis that they may be disposed of for others. I sent by Dr. Windship a microscope with hope you have rec'd safe. There were some tracts tied up loosely for him and Mr. Guild, which by the servant was put in carelesly. If they are distinct, please to give them to those persons with my compliments.

France will succeed and establish a free and equal government in spight of the Aristocrats, all owing to America.

Health and happiness attend you. I am, Dr Sir, yours most sincerely

T. Brand Hollis

June 25, 1792.

From J. Priestley.

Rev'd Sir, — I take the liberty to introduce to you the Rev'd. Mr. Toulmin, late of Chowbent in Lancashire, who, with many others, is under a kind of necessity of leaving a country in which Dissenters, and especially those of a more liberal cast, are exposed to continual insults, and even outrages of the worst kind. He will best explain his own views and wishes, and, from the knowledge I have long had of him, I am confident you will have no reason to repent of any kind office it may be

convenient to you to render him. He is equally intelligent, serious, and modest.[1]

Inclosed is a recommendation of his father for the degree of Doctor in Divinity.[2] Dr. Price a little before his death wrote one to the same purpose, signed by Mr. Lindsey and myself. What became of it we cannot learn, and therefore we take the liberty to transmit another. We are confident that the University of Cambridge will suffer no disgrace by conferring honour on such a person as Mr. Toulmin, and therefore we request your concurrence.

It is not improbable but that some time hence the father may follow the fortunes of the son. This I also think will be my own case. All my three sons will, I hope, be in America soon, and if they get settled to advantage, I shall wish to join them, tho not immediately, if I can be permitted to remain here in quiet.[3] But such is the bigotry and violence of the High church party, favoured by the Court, that I begin to doubt it, and I shall think myself happy if, in my old age, I can find an asylum with you. In this case I shall greatly prefer a situation near your university. My eldest son,[4] who will either accompany, or soon follow, Mr Toulmin, will inquire how far this is practicable. Should this take place, I promise myself much satisfaction from your society. As my youngest son has not finished his studies,[5] I intend, if he do not prefer Agriculture or Commerce, to put him under your care. He will accompany his brother. My second son[6] is to meet them [ ] France as soon as he can leave that country, and it is possible that he may be with you before them. With the greatest respect, I am, Rev'd Sir, yours sincerely

J PRIESTLEY.

CLAPTON Ap'l 10, 1793.

FROM J. C. LETTSOM.

ESTEEMED FRIEND, — I have duly received, with thy letter of the 14th of November last, various packets which I have forwarded respec-

[1] Harry Toulmin, son of Rev. Joshua Toulmin of Taunton, born in 1766 and educated at Hoxton Academy, was minister at Monton, Lancashire (1786–88), and Chowbent, Lancashire (1788–92), emigrated (1793) to America, and became successively president of the Transylvania College, Lexington, Kentucky, secretary to the State of Kentucky, judge of the Mississippi territory, and member of the state assembly of Alabama. He died on 11 Nov., 1823, having been twice married. — Dictionary of National Biography, LVII. 82. — *Lane.*

[2] Joshua Toulmin. The degree was conferred at Commencement, 1794.

[3] His three sons migrated to America in 1793, and he himself reached New York June 4, 1794, and not receiving any call to preach, went to Northumberland, Penn., where he settled.

[4] Joseph Priestley.

[5] Henry, who died at Northumberland, in 1795, aged eighteen.

[6] William.

tively. Once a month, a messenger usually travels between London and Hanover, so that I can forward with ease a packet to Göttingen. Monsr. le Luc, who resides at the palace of Windsor, kindly undertakes any thing of this kind for me; though it probably will not be long before Hanover will be in other hands; an event, which would prove a singular happiness to this Country, as I conceive it to be a mill stone to our neck, which has brought us into numberless German connexions, and expences, no way conducive to our political consequence, but peculiarly so, to generate wars, and a vacuum in our Treasury. I rather suspect that Prussia will join France to secure Hanover, and it is not unlikely but Austria will be of the party; tho' I think more probable, that Austria will unite with Russia, and guarantee Poland to Russia, if this will guarantee, the recapture of Silesia to Austria. The king of Prussia, the infamous Illuminé, has been injuring himself, by the most unnatural politics. He ought to have supported Poland, as a barrier to Russia, and France, as a barrier to Austria, instead of which, he has been attempting to ruin his only friends. I imagine by this time he has been so alarmed by the imposing despotism of Russia, as to have made terms with France; after his resources and character, are equally ruined.

I am very glad to find that my collection of ores have been acceptable — humble as it is, it may form the embrio of a Giant in mineralogy. I enclose for thy acceptance a packet, and am sincerely Thy friend,

J. C. Lettsom

London, Mar. 26, 1795.

From T. B. Hollis.

Rev'd Sir, — The Bearer of this Mr. Pledger is a substantial and reputable Farmer. I am desired to give him letters to some persons in America that he may not be a total stranger he having intention to settle in your country and several others with him.

I have no doubt but you will assist him as much as is in your power tho out of your line but he will be a gain to your country which is a sufficient reason for my applying to you.

In the month of march I sent a parcel of Books some for the College, and some for particulars as directed, and some tracts to you. A chemist in Bishop gate street undertoke to send them. I hope you have by this time received them. I could not at that time write being indisposed but am now recoverd.

I acknowledge the receipt of your letter with some tracts for which am much obliged to you, but it being mislaid cannot answer it only remember you thankd me for some vols. of the Political state of Europe which I am not entitled too as they came from another person.

I desire your acceptance of 4 tracts regarding a very sensible man and of uncommon abilities yet they could not secure him from the severeties of a scotch Judicature and unpresidented punishment to Botany Bay among rogues and Felons, the Disgrace of human Nature!!! but we are not the people who used to govern this country. Look into Davenant who wrote near 100 years agoe regarding the Duty of Private men in the administration of Public affairs and points out what will be the consequence of a house of Parliament become corrupt and devoted to the will of the minister — the total destruction of the constitution itself. The Question is whither we are or are not in such a situation.

But this is not a country for free conversation or communication of just and true sentiments.

may you always enjoy the liberties you have acquired for yourselves, and deserve them by a proper use of them is my earnest wish; and that you in particular may be blessed with health and good spirits to the end of life. I am, Dear Sir, with great regard yours most sincerely

T Brand Hollis.

Chesterfeild Street, May 26, 1795.

From J. C. Lettsom.

The last letter I received from my respected Friend was dated so long ago, as Novemb. 1794. An interruption of correspondence much to my regret, and which I will endeavour to obviate by attention on my part. One thing discouraged me from writing, no longer remains. It was the chagrin I experienced in not succeeding so early as I wished, in procuring a Diploma, in thy favour, from the Royal Society of Göttingen, which, at length however, is come to my hands, and I transmit it with singular pleasure, as a tribute due to thy moral character, and eminent abilities. I dare say Professor Blumenbach acted with true friendship to me, as well as under a just sense of thy merits, but great bodies moved slowly, and the luminaries at Göttingen, imitate those in the heavens — I will not say with equal utility.

The revd. Mr. Toulmin, paid me a visit at Grove-hill, soon after I received your Diploma for him; and this respectable Divine received this mark of your esteem, with a proper sense of its obligation.

I continue so closely in my professional routine of business, as to prevent me from finishing some performances yet in embrio. What little I do write, is currente calamo super strata viarum: I have, however, brought out a small brat or two, in the pamphlet size, which I enclose for thy acceptance. My large work, on the diseases of great towns, and the means of preventing them, I believe will die with me, as age must follow leisure; the access of the first, is as discouraging as

the want of the latter; for work I must, in medicine, whilst I have powers.[1]

As our newspapers continually arrive with you, I can communicate no political news, as all I know, is from nearly the same sources you possess. Peace seems still distant, tho' distress of every kind stares Europe in the face; but nothing will stare it out of folly and pseudo-politics, but the dread of famine and bankruptcy, both of which, are so far advanced, as to call aloud, to sheathe the sword. You, in America, by pocketing a few affronts, are securing political and moral benefits, which we are forfeiting by false honour, and kingly pride; May the aliena pericula cauta, be realized by the people of America, is the wish of thy friend.

J. C. Lettsom

London, Febr. 20, 1796.

My esteemed Friend, — After some lapse of time, I renew our correspondence by the medium of one of your citizens,[2] who has occasionally favored me with his company, and which has afforded me much satisfaction. I trouble him with the delivery of a packet for thy acceptance, most of which, however, has been previously in thy possession. I wish I may have time to collect another volume or two upon similar subjects. Thou wilt see, by the publick prints, in a more copious manner than I can communicate by letter, the various approaches towards peace, and the present unhappy prospect of the renewal of hostilities, between France, and Germany and England. The preparations of the French, present such a formidable front to the emperor, and the ruin of his Italian influence so prominent, that I still think, he will submit to give up Mantua to the Cisalpine Republic, rather than venture another doubtful campaign; especially as a new Republic, has just started up called the Cis Rhenine Republic, in which Cologne, Aix la Chapelle and Treves have already entered; and this must eventually lessen, if not totally destroy his influence as head of the Germanic empire. This

[1] The pamphlets referred to may well have been his Hints respecting human dissections, London, 1795, and his Hints for promoting a bee society, London, 1796, both published anonymously. The College Library possesses copies of both, but derived from another source.

The larger work referred to, Dr. Lettsom apparently never finished. The subject was proposed as a prize question in 1791 by the Medical Society of London, and Dr. Lettsom's essay received the medal. Pettigrew's Memoirs of Lettsom (I. 138) states that "the manuscript, to which many additions have since been made, is now in the possession of the writer of this Memoir." Entertaining letters from Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse to Dr. Lettsom, and from other American correspondents, are printed in these Memoirs, but nothing either from or to President Willard. — *Lane.*

[2] A Mr. Avery, whose initials are not given in the superscription.

republic will probably be supported by the king of Prussia, who probably will be rewarded with Nuremburgh and Franconia.

The French without much exertion, except acting as pirates on our commerce, and alarming us with invasions, may ruin us by our debt, which is now four hundred millions of pounds, and our expences are at least one million of pounds a week; expences which no nation can long support. Peace we must have, and this the French know, and I presume have demanded such lofty terms, as our Ministry did not chuse to accept, and Lord Malmesbury is again returned from France. After all, I cannot avoid thinking that before winter peace will be concluded. Negociation draws nearer together contending nations — nations mutually exhausted by war, and the people at large equally courting peace. I sincerely wish you may long be preserved from entering upon the horrors of war, and from entailing upon your posterity debt and disgrace, both of which we [ ] fully. I am sincerely, &c

J. C LETTSOM

LONDON, Sept. 27, 1797.

FROM B. WATERHOUSE

CAMBRIDGE, 20th August, 1822.

DEAR SIR, — You expressed a desire to see some letters of mine, in Dr. Lettsom's printed correspondence. I therefore send you the volume, which contains them. There are a few others in the 3d Vol, but they are all on medical subjects. The letters commence at page 457. They were published without my knowledge. They contain more nonsense than treason, yet a little of the latter, the English party being judges.

Dr. Lettsome was a very benevolent, most indefatigable, good natured, vain man; obstinately bent from early life to become a great one, and he was so, in the eyes of a great many. He tried to imitate the inimitable Fothergill, but head and heart failed him. Fothergill was too great a man to be vain, and too religious to be proud. Your friend Rush knew the difference of the two men, and so did I. Lettsom obtained the esteem and gratitude of the community he incessantly benefitted; Fothergill merited the applause of the world. When he died Dr. Franklin wrote to me his high opinion of him. I lived with him three years, and can hardly conceive a better man, yet had he a temper as quick as gun powder. Fothergill was contented to be good in secret, while his imitator, did much good, by sound of trumpet. Religion was twisted around every fibre in the *heart* of one, while it was playing pranks now and then around the *head* of the other. If Rush almost worshiped Fothergill, I can conceive it and forgive it. He often spoke to me of yonng Benjamin Rush with approbation; for he only knew

him when a student. He said he sometimes attempted to moderate the sanguine temperament of the young American, but too ardent a politician. But he never ceased to esteem him. Whereas Lettsom never had the unqualified approbation of Fothergill, and Lettsom never appeared to be quite easy in his company. It is remarkable that among the numerous letters published in three 8vo. volumes, there is not one from Dr. *John* Fothergill; yet did he write him many; but they were generally too monitory for publication. Lettsome was under the patronage of Samuel Fothergill, the brother of the Doctor and a famous preacher among the Friends. On this account the Dr. never ceased to do him all the good in his power. He laboured thirty years to make John Coakley Lettsom really the man he pretended to be. But alas! he knew that Lettsom's professional life was little more than a drama. When Fothergill died, he lost his Mentor, and he found it rather difficult to act the quaker. The mask would now and then slip off; and the consequence was he had but little business among the opulent of that society. Fothergill was a profoundly religious man without talking about it; while Lettsom's conduct, in different parts of his life, shewed that he considered it not so much a ladder to Heaven, as to fame, influence, and wealth. I never associated with him while in England. He considered me as standing between him and Fothergill. As soon as I got back to my own country, Lettsom commenced an endearing correspondence with me, and bound me to him by gratitude, and finally by esteem. His friendship, at 3,000 miles distance was truly valuable.

The more I reflect on it, the more I am convinced that it was wisdom in Mr. Jefferson not to allow his letters to be published. The orthodox would at once couple him with Tom Paine, and say — "*behold a pair of Unitarians!*" Dr. [David] Osgood is seriously ill, and will hardly ever enter his pulpit again.[1] Mrs. W. desires her respects.

BENJN. WATERHOUSE

P. S. I cannot say that I am not an advocate of Captain Porter, against the Editors of our abusive papers. That such men as Ben R[ussell] and such as resemble him, should stand at the avenue of public opinion, and be the arbiters of morals, and sound politics, is more than ridiculous. Socrates, and Plato, and Zeno and Epictetus gave lessons of truth and wisdom to the people in ancient days; but now the task has devolved on the Editors of newspapers!

When you have sufficiently amused yourself with the volume of letters, I should like to have it, as I have promised the loan of it to another friend.

B. W.

[1] He died in 1822.

P. P. S. I see by the paper of this day — that Mr. Adams has made a very valuable donation to the town of Quincy for literary and *religious* purposes, etc. I can, however tell that gentleman that unless he give a good slice to Andover — and to foreign missionaries, and to bible societies, who are democratizing the world, he will have no masses said for his soul.

August 21st. 1822.

Mr. FORD submitted four pieces from the Samuel Phillips Savage papers, the gift of Mr. SHAW. With the letter of Chubb was also given a copy of his "Collection of Tracts on Various Subjects," printed in London, in 1730, containing thirty-five treatises, chiefly of a controversial character.

FROM JEDEDIAH ANDREWS.

PHILADELPHIA 9br. the 19th, 1703,

SIR, — Observing of late, by your Carriage and Discourse, those things which do give me Reason to fear you have Thoughts of forsaking the way of worshipping God in which you were educated, and joyning with the Church of England, I thought it my Duty to lay before you my Sense of your Proceedings, and to endeavour to stop you to the uttermost of my Power. And because I have seldome the Opportunity of a vocal Conference, your Multitude of Business, or other Reasons obstructing your obliging me with frequent Visits, as also because many things might be forgot and passed over unthought of in such a Conference, I thought a literal Representation of my thoughts, and the Concern I have at the Deviation might be well taken and most serviceable. Sir, I can say without Vanity that ever since it hath pleased God to cast your Lot in this Place, I have taken a singular Delight in you, and had a particular Respect for you, and did so far confide in your fidelity and Constancy as to rejoice in your Company, expecting no small Assistance, Encouragement and Comfort from you, in the weighty matters I am concerned in. But now I find, or at least I fear, I was deceived and trusted too much in that which I am like to fail of; which hath cost me no small grief and exercise, and given our Enemies Cause of Triumph. I am sorry to find you ready to listen to and heed the frivolous Arguments and Reasons which they give for their unscriptural Ceremonies and Orders, which they have without any sufficient Warrant introduced into the Worship of God. Religion is a serious thing, and tho' Worship of God ought to be carried on with the highest Fear and Reverence of God who is a jealous God, as well as a

wise God, and knows best what way and manner of Service will tend most to his Glory, and our Good, without being beholden to us for our Inventions; neither are we to charge our glorious Lord Jesus Christ with Injustice or Folly by imagining his Word is not a sufficient Guide for us in Matters of Religion, but that in Justice or Wisdome he ought to have set up more Rites for us to practice, which because he hath not we will mend his work. It is well known that the things in which we differ from them are unscriptural and barely humane Institutions; and the sinfullness of worshiping God with men's Inventions the renowned Mr. Willard hath by irrefragable Arguments evidenced; showing that it is not only a sin but a great sin so to do. And I know you will allow him to be a man of admirable Judgment, sincere piety and great integrity. And as for the Reasons that they give for their Ceremonies, they are no other than may be given for many more, if they should see cause to enjoyne 'em. For they do affirm that the Church hath Authority to institute as many as she pleases, or to take in all them that are used in the Church of Room. And the Reason (they say) why they have retained so few and left the rest, is not for want of Authority to have kept them, but only because they were troublesome. Thus you see where Men will run when they will not be content modestly to submit to scripture Rule. You know that our fathers, who were many of them Men of celebrated Piety and Learning, and of unstained Integrity, left a pleasant Land, in which they enjoyed many comfortable things for this Life, did choose rather to undergoe the difficulty of subduing an howling Wilderness in which they might serve God according to the Pattern of his word, than to be obliged against their Consciences to comply with unscriptural Impositions. Which thing they did not do without serious Consideration, fervent Prayer, and consulting the mind of God in it. And after all they found themselves in the way of their Duty in doing what they did. Now, would it not be a scandalous thing for us that are their Offspring, practically to charge them with folly in all this, and tack about and comply (without most serious weighing the matter, and best Advice) with those things which they in Conscience to God, suffered so much merely to avoid. I pray you seriously to consider of it I believe the very [*torn*] pious father and the late Pastor Mr. Willard would conceive much grief, if they should be advised of this your leaving your first Love. And for my own Part I must needs say, the Defection of no Person hath troubled me so much, as yours; because of the especial Love I bear to you, and singular Contentment I have taken in you, having had great Expectation that you would greatly strengthen my hands. And I must observe to you also, that your Example will be no small Detriment, if you persist in what you seem to incline unto; so that you had better never came near us. Sir, I hope you will oblige me with an Opportunity of Conference

afore you go off, that I may reason with you about these things, here so amicably laid before you, and know what your mind is about them. It is observed in Mr. Baxter's Life, that he said when he was under Temptation, he grew more indifferent in Religion than afore: That then he was inclined to Conformity in those Points which he had taken to be sinfull, and was ready to think, why should he be singular and offend the Bishops and make himself contemptible in the world, and expose himself to Censures, scorns, and sufferings, and all for such little things. But when faith revived, then none of the Parts or Concernments of Religion seemed small to him, and man seemed nothing to him, and the world a shadow and God all. I add no more, but that I am (Sir) your affectionate friend and servant

JEDEDIAH ANDREWS.[1]

THOMAS CHUBB TO WILLIAM BOWDOIN.[2]

SIR, — I am apprehensive you must have been misinformed as to Salisbury being remarkable for cutlery ware in general; because it is noted only for making Scizars of a better or perhaps finer sort than is made in other places, some of which are of a very high price, and the cheapest are 1*s.* 6*d.* per pair in a retale, and 14*s.* per doz. in a wholesale way, which I am doubtfull is to high a price for your sale. The noted places for cutlery ware, are Birmingham in Warwickshire, and Sheffield in Yorkshire. I have applied to a maker in this town in the woollen way, and he has sent you the patterns and prices of such woollen goods as is made here. As to your query, I observe, suppose an universal deluge to have taken place, according to the Scripture account; and that it was introduced by the too near approach of a commet to this earth, as Mr. Whiston supposes;[3] then if the deity had interposed, and so far altered the natural course of the commet, as to have prevented the deluge, the question is, would the divine wisdom have been impeached thereby? And my answer is, it would not. For as a universal deluge was an event that was productive of the greatest evil that has

[1] A sketch of the life of Jedediah Andrews (1674–1747) will be found in Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, III. 10. He was of Hingham, Mass., a graduate of Harvard College in 1695, and ordained in Philadelphia in 1701. Franklin refers to his preaching in his Autobiography, Writings (Smyth edition), I. 325.

[2] A merchant of Boston (1713–1773), a son of James by his first wife, Sarah Campbell. He is one of Prince's subscribers. — N. E. H. Gen. Reg., VIII. 247.

[3] William Whiston, who wrote a "New Theory of the Earth," in which he confirmed the narrative in Genesis on Newtonian grounds, explaining the deluge by collision with a comet. It was first published in 1696, and an appendix was added to the fifth edition in 1736. Whiston lived until 1752.

befallen the inhabitants of this globe, at least that has come to our knowleg; so had the Deity
by a special application of his power prevented this evil, it would surely have been consonant
to the most perfect wisdom and goodness; provided such special interposition to have been likewise
consonant to that method of providence by which God governs and directs the affairs of the solar
system, in other extraordinary and like cases, at least such an interposition does not appear to
be repugnant to wisdom and goodness. You suppose the Deity could not but foresee all events that
would naturally follow his own operations; and that he could easily have so constituted this system,
as to have thereby produced or prevented at first, whatever might appear in after times necessary
to be produced or prevented in an extraordinary way; but then this supposition may possibly be
carryed too far. That God could have so constituted the solar system at first, as to have prevented
the deluge, I readily grant; but that he could have done this without the introduction of some
equall or greater evil, may perhaps admit of some doubt; because if that could have been done,
then there is the greatest reason to presume it would have been so. And as the Deity did not
interpose in an extraordinary way to prevent that universal deluge, which is supposed to
have taken place; so this renders it greatly probable that such interposition is not consonant to that
method of providence by which the solar system is governed; and consequently, that he does not interpose
in matters of much less importance; I say, it yields this probability, but then it does not give us
proof he does not, and therefore I do not take upon me to aver he does not. I am sir, yours &c
Lond. Tho: Chubb. Salisbury, march 28. 1745.

befallen the inhabitants of this globe, at least, that has come to our knoledge; so had the Deity by a special application of his power prevented this evil, it would, surely, have been consonant to the most perfect wisdom and goodness; provided such special interposition to have been likwise consonant to that method of providence by which God governs and directs the affairs of the solar systim, in other extraordinary and like cases of whom it may fairly be presumed he conducts it in the best manner; at least such an interposition does not appear to be repugnant to wisdom and goodness. You suppose the Deity could not but foresee all events that would naturally follow his own productions; and that he could easily have so constituted this system, as to have thereby produced or prevented at first, whatever might appear in after times necessary to be produced or prevented in an extraordinary way; but then this supposition may possibly be carryed too far. That God could have so constituted the solar system at first, as to have prevented the deluge, I readily grant; but that he could have done this without the introduction of some equall or greater evil, may, perhaps, admit of some doubt; because if that could have been done, then there is the greatest reason to presume it would have been so. And as the Deity did not interpose in an extraordinary way, to prevent that universal deluge, which is supposed to have taken place; so this renders it greatly probable that such interposition is not consonant to that method of providence by which the solar system is governed; and consequently that he does not interpose in affairs of much less importance; I say it yields this probability, but then it does not give certain proof he does not, and therefore, I do not take upon me to aver he does not. I am sir, yours to serve

THO: CHUBB [1]

SALISBURY, March 28, 1745.

[1] The interest of this letter lies in the writer. He was born in 1679, served an apprenticeship to a glove-maker, but was obliged to give up his work on account of a weakness of the eyes. Passing his spare time in studies, he was inspired by Whiston's "Primitive Christianity revived" to prepare a tract, entitled "The Supremacy of the Father asserted." This gave him an introduction to the public, and he wrote many tracts on religion, arriving at no little reputation. He died in 1747. "Chubb could not surmount the disadvantages of his education. His teaching was inconsistent and ill-defined. Though frequently mentioned in contemporary controversy, he is generally noticed with the contempt naturally provoked by his want of scholarship or philosophical knowledge. He did not make such an impression as Toland or Tindal, and his writings fall chiefly after 1730, when the deist controversy culminated with Tindal's 'Christianity as old as the Creation.' He is however entitled to respect for his sincerity, modesty, his general moderation of tone, and moral elevation. His most formidable critic was Jonathan Edwards, who attacks Chubb's free will theory in his great 'Treatise on the Freedom of the Will' (Pt. I. sec. x). He appears to have been a good deal read in America." — Leslie Stephen, in Dictionary of National Biography, x. 298.

Jonathan Edwards to Gideon Hawley.[1]

Stockbridge, Octob. 9. 1756

Rev. and dear Sir, — I thank you for yours of Sept. 20. which contains very affecting accounts. God indeed is remarkably frowning upon us every where: our enemies get up above us very high, and we are brought down very low: They are the Head, and we are the Tail. God is making us, with all our superiority in numbers, to become the Object of our Enemies almost continual Triumphs and Insults. Many things that have happened doubtless make us very contemptible in their Eyes, and in the Eyes of almost all nations of Indians on the Continent. And in Europe things don't go much better, that I can understand. I think it is now put out of all doubt, after many contradictory accounts, that Minorca was surrendered to the French on the 29 Day of last June; principally through the wretched Cowardice or Treachery of Admiral Byng. This with the taking of Oswego with its Circumstances, will tend mightily to animate and encourage the French Nation, and give 'em vast Advantages, and weaken and dishearten the English, and make 'em contemptible in the Eyes of the Nations of Europe. I see very little good Effect of the awful Frowns of Heaven upon us. I am just now returned from a Journey to Windsor and Northampton: and by what I observe instead of a spirit of Humiliation and penitent supplication to Heaven, a spirit of discontent, murmuring and mutual Jealousy prevails, finding fault with Rulers, officers, etc. together with great degrees of discouragement. This Province on a motion from Lord Loudon have ordered 1000 men to be ready to march on my Lord's call from this County and the County of Worcester to join the army. The last Sabbath a Post was sent from my Lord to the Colonels in these Counties, informing that He had received advice from Gen. Winslow, that all the French Regulars and the whole Power of Canada were in motion to attack our Camps; ordering them forthwith to send the 1000 men; and I suppose they are now just ready to march. Some of our Captives who escaped from Canada are very lately come into them, 4 on Connecticut River that say thirteen Thousand are coming against you, to inform of which a Post was sent to Lord Loudon this week. What will become of us God only knows. It looks as if something great, and perhaps almost decisive, were to happen before Winter. Let us unite in earnest and humble love to the God of armies and the God of sovereign and infinite mercy, which alone can be our hope. My Family thro' mercy are well and give their service to you. . . .

Jonath. Edwards

[1] At this time chaplain to Colonel Richard Gridley's regiment at Lake George.

RICHARD SYKES TO SAMUEL PHILLIPS SAVAGE.

CAMPS AT LAKE GEORGE, July 9, 1759.

SIR, — May these Lines find you in health and prosperity, as I am at present, and further to acquaint you that I have not had the opportunity to send to you before the present Juncture, by the Bearer Mr. Hascall, which is Colo. Willard's setler, and am in hopes these Lines will come safer to hand than what I wrote Last year. So Sir having nothing to relate Extraordinary nor news to Inform you, no further than we are making all Preparations Imaginable to advance further towards our Enemy's Land and Expect to Embark daily and am no wayes Timerous, but what we will meet with success and come of with honour. So Sir having no more to add at present but my best Respects to Mr. Scolly Mr. Gilman and all Gentlemen who enquire after my wellfare. So Sir I take the Liberty to subscribe myself your humble servant to command

RICH'D SYKES.

P. S. This is to inform you of my misfortune. On the road I accidentally met with a person that was willing to Enlist under me and accordingly I Enlisted him and Paid him his Bounty, but he took the Opportunity to Desert and I missed him Instantly and advertised him and twenty shillings sterling for the Taking of him before a magistrate, besides other Expenses. Accordingly he was taken and carried before Colo. Dewight in Springfield, and I was obliged to pay the money. At that Present time he was taken very ill in Springfield and our Company was oblidged to march and leave him. So I left a man to care of him and bring him along, and as soon as he got to the Green woods he gave the second slip and I have not heard of him since. I Reported him to the Adjutant General and had him mustered by Regular muster master. I Received out of the Treasury bounty for 34 men. Out of that number one Deserted another I left at home sick of the mezzles and a serjeant to take care of him. He got in to Hampshire province, and the serjeant could not get him out of it, but he Brought me the bounty to Fort Edward. I Reported the same to Colo. Willard at Fort Edward, and gave him the bounty that belong'd to the Province to acquit miself of the charge of it, and took his receipt at the same time Mr Savage I should be very glad if you would be so kind as to take up my bonds till I come to Boston.

CIRCULAR LETTER FROM MASSACHUSETTS DELEGATES IN CONGRESS.[1]

PHILAD., 31 January, 1800.

SIR, — We take the liberty to address you on a subject which appears to us very important to the interests of our Country. The communica-

[1] From the James Murray Robbins collection.

tion however is not designed for the use of the legislature at large, but we submit it to your discretion to show it to any individual members confidentially.

The present plan of the opposers of the General Government clearly is to bend their power to democratize the character of the State Legislatures, and among other objects to affect the choice of electors of President and Vice President so as to secure an antifederal President. The danger that they may succeed at the next election we think greater than is generally supposed. The Virginia Legislature have provided for a general ticket; in this way they get a unanimous suffrage for an antifederalist, and annihilate the federalists of Virginia, they being the Minority.[1]

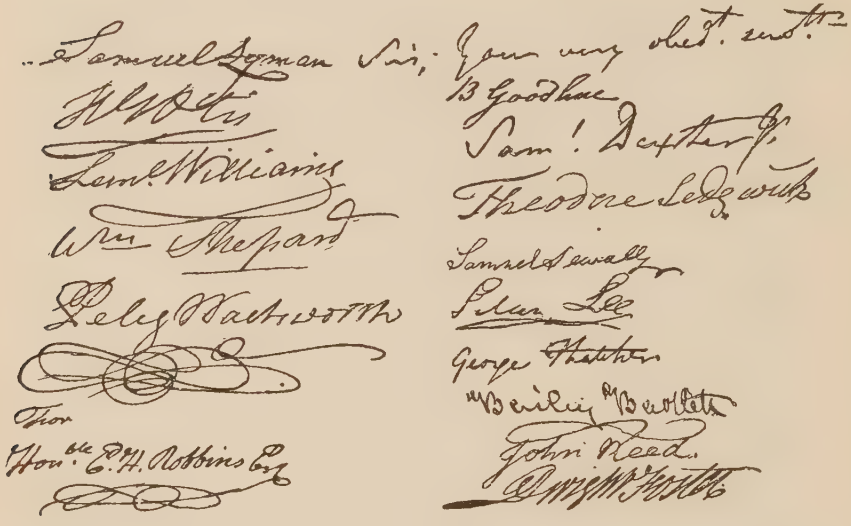
In Pennsylvania the antifederalists will probably either produce a similar event, or prevent any electors from being appointed. In N. York, where the Legislature choose electors, a great effort is making to obtain a democratic majority in that legislature, and they express confidence in their success.[2] N. Jersey is also mentioned by them as a subject to be practised on. In this critical state of things we feel that it is very important to guard against *one* antifederal vote from Massachusetts; for one vote may turn the election.

Whether this is to be done by choosing at large thro' the Committees, or by choosing by the Legislature, or by uniting two or more districts for choosing, or in some other mode the wisdom of the Legislature will determine. We presume not to point out the mode, but only to suggest the danger which we apprehend and which we in this place, and in our present employment, are perhaps better circumstanced to observe than our friends in Massachusetts can be. Excuse us for suggesting these ideas; our anxiety for the event of the election must be our apology.

[1] "Our Legislature yesterday passed an act concerning the electors for our next election of President, etc., which seems to give considerable alarm to the people. From this act it appears that our electors are to be elected by a general ticket, and that I, as a citizen, must vote for twenty one electors, whether I have any real knowledge of them or not. We have ever admired the privilege of election heretofore practiced in this country [Virginia], but the violence of [John] Taylor [of Caroline] and his party has untimely arrested this privilege from the people. Even under our State Legislature it appears that the judiciary cannot administer justice to none but those who are composed of the hardy veterans, or Directorial procelites. This, Sir, is the unhappy state of our country, and I pray that the hand of justice and equal liberty will reach them before it be too late." — John B. Walton to Timothy Pickering, January 19, 1800. Pickering Papers, xxvi. 16.

[2] In Pennsylvania the Senate was federal, and threw out the bill prepared and passed by the lower House providing for a general ticket. The spring elections in New York went against the Federalists. While the Jefferson party was seeking to democratize the States, Hamilton was seeking to defeat the possibility of Jefferson as President, and was conducting his well-known intrigue against John Adams, which hastened the downfall of the Federalist party.

We have the honour to be, with great respect and Esteem, Sir, your very obedient servant.



A similar letter to this is sent to Mr. Phillips with whom you will communicate.[1]

[1] This postscript is in another hand. The body of the letter is in the writing of Samuel Dexter, Jr.

JUNE MEETING

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the PRESIDENT in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian read the list of donors to the Library during the last month.

Mr. NORCROSS for the Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Henry M. Lovering, of Taunton, accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the gift by the National Battlefields Commission, of Canada, of a bronze medal struck to commemorate the tercentenary of the founding of Quebec by Champlain.

The Treasurer reported the receipt of a check for five thousand dollars from Mr. HUNNEWELL, and it was

Voted, That the Society gratefully acknowledge the generous gift of Mr. James F. Hunnewell, a Resident Member, of five thousand dollars, and the same be accepted and established as the "Hunnewell Fund," the income, in accordance with the provisions of the gift, to be used in the purchase of the "rarer books needed for the Society's Library," and that if at a future date some of Mr. Hunnewell's books come to the Society, the income of the Fund can be used for binding or repair of the same, or obtaining books to supply deficiencies.

The PRESIDENT announced the death of Goldwin Smith, an Honorary Member of the Society, and stated that at the October meeting notice will be taken of his important influence on public opinion in England with reference to the American Civil War.

Edward Waldo Emerson of Concord, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

Mr. DAVIS presented to the Society copies of photographs taken at the laying of the corner-stone of the building of the American Antiquarian Society, on October 20, 1909.

In submitting a paper on the situation in Washington before

the first inauguration of Lincoln, written at the time by Henry Adams, the PRESIDENT said:

My brother, Henry Adams, an Honorary Member of the Society, sailed for Europe on the first day of May, 1861, accompanying my father, then recently appointed our representative at the Court of St. James. Three days before sailing, he sent me the manuscript I now submit.

Its history is, briefly, as follows: Immediately after being graduated from Harvard, in the Class of 1858, Mr. Adams went to Europe, there to pursue certain studies. Coming home in the autumn of 1860, he had passed the following winter (1860–61) in Washington, acting as secretary to his father, then a Representative in Congress from Massachusetts. This, it will be remembered, was the second session of the Thirty-sixth Congress, — that Congress the term of which expired March 4, 1861, the day of the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln. While in Washington, Mr. Adams naturally was a close observer of events which, leading, as they did, to the outbreak of the Civil War, were, as every one knows, of intense interest. This paper when sent to me was accompanied by a note in which Mr. Adams expressed himself as dissatisfied with it. He wrote: "As you will see on reading it over, it is not worth printing. If it had been I should have given it to you before. But finding that it was not going to be a success, I just finished it and laid it by, thinking that though as a whole it is a failure, there are still parts of it which might be put to some use. If you ever feel like taking the labor necessary to rewriting it at more length and in a better form, you are welcome to all the honor you can get from the result."

Mr. Adams was in Europe, acting as his father's private secretary, during the whole period of the latter's residence in London. He returned to America in May, 1868, three years after the close of the War of Secession. I somewhat question whether he then remembered ever having written such a paper, much less the disposition at the time made of it. For myself, I cannot now recall whether I then even read it. It was a period of great excitement, and I seem to have put the manuscript away among my papers; indeed, it is now in some degree matter of fair surprise that it

was preserved at all; for a few months later, toward the close of 1861, I went into the army, and during the next five years was away from Boston. What became of my papers during that period I do not now know. They took their chance.

Some years since, when preparing the Memoir of my father published in the American Statesmen series, I came across this ante-bellum effort of my brother's, and then read it; but made no use of it. It subsequently disappeared; and, a year or so back when I again wanted it, because of a vague recollection of certain statements in it, the most careful search revealed no trace of it. I gave it up for lost; but, some ten days or two weeks ago, when looking for a cover to hold copy, I took one down, apparently empty, from a shelf, and, to my surprise, in it I found the missing manuscript. Reading it over, I was much struck both by its interest and its historical value. Written by a man then just entering on his twenty-third year, and now read, after an interval of close upon half a century, by a man who had just closed his seventy-fifth year, the paper impressed me in an altogether different way from that in which it seems to have impressed the writer at the time of its composition. Seen through the vista of half a century, it revealed a maturity and an insight which I had not at all appreciated on the previous reading. I, therefore, taking advantage of the free hand given me in the extract from Mr. Adams's letter of transmission, from which I have quoted, now propose to incorporate this paper in the Proceedings of the Society.

Before doing so, however, I have something further to say. Mr. Adams has since, in a privately printed volume entitled "The Education of Henry Adams," expressed his more mature conclusions as to what he heard and saw in Washington during the memorable winter described in this paper. Before submitting his earlier account of what then occurred, I give the following extracts from his later narrative, printed in 1907. As respects the sequence of events, it is merely necessary for me further to premise that Mr. Adams had reached Boston in October, 1860; and that he went to Washington, in company with other members of his father's family, arriving there December 1 of the same year, only three weeks after the election of President Lincoln. Congress met two days later,

December 3. His father was nominated to the English Mission by President Lincoln March 18 following, and sailed from Boston on the Cunard steamer, *Canada*, on the 1st of the following May.

Writing forty-seven years later of the educational experience he then went through, Mr. Adams says:

> The government had an air of social instability and incompleteness that went far to support the right of secession in theory as in fact; but right or wrong, secession was likely to be easy where there was so little to secede from. The Union was a sentiment, but not much more, and in December, 1860, the sentiment about the Capitol was chiefly hostile, so far as it made itself felt. . . .
>
> Patriotism ended by throwing a halo over the Continental Congress, but over the close of the Thirty-sixth Congress in 1860–61, no halo could be thrown by any one who saw it. . . .
>
> The southern secessionists were certainly unbalanced in mind, — fit for medical treatment, like other victims of hallucination, — haunted by suspicion, by *idées fixes*, by violent morbid excitement; but this was not all. They were stupendously ignorant of the world. As a class, the cotton-planters were mentally one-sided, ill-balanced and provincial to a degree rarely known. They were a close society on whom the new fountains of power had poured a stream of wealth and slaves that acted like oil on flame. . . .
>
> This might be a commonplace of 1900, but in 1860 it was paradox. The southern statesmen were regarded as standards of statesmanship, and such standards barred education. Charles Sumner's chief offence was his insistence on southern ignorance, and he stood a living proof of it. . . .
>
> The southern type was one to be avoided; the New England type was oneself. It had nothing to show except one's own features. Setting aside Charles Sumner, who stood quite alone, all the New Englanders were sane and steady men, well-balanced, educated and free from meanness or intrigue, — men whom one liked to act with, and who, whether graduates or not, bore the stamp of Harvard College. Anson Burlingame was one exception, and perhaps Israel Washburn another; but as a rule the New Englander's strength was his poise which almost amounted to a defect. He offered no more target for love than for hate; he attracted as little as he repelled; even as a machine, his motion seemed never accelerated. . . .
>
> Study it as one might, the hope of education, till the arrival of the President-elect, narrowed itself to the possible influence of only two men — Sumner and Seward.
>
> Sumner was then fifty years old. Since his election as senator in

1851 he had passed beyond the reach of his boy friend, and, after his Brooks injuries, his nervous system never quite recovered its tone; but perhaps eight or ten years of solitary existence as senator had most to do with his development. No man, however strong, can serve ten years as school-master, priest or senator, and remain fit for anything else. All the dogmatic stations in life have the effect of fixing a certain stiffness of attitude forever, as though they mesmerized the subject. Yet even among senators there were degrees in dogmatism, from the frank South Carolinian brutality, to that of Webster, Benton, Clay or Sumner himself, until in extreme cases, like Conkling, it became Shakespearian and *bouffe* — as Godkin used to call it, — like Malvolio. Sumner had become dogmatic like the rest, but he had at least the merit of qualities that warranted dogmatism. He justly thought, as Webster had thought before him, that his great services and sacrifices, his superiority in education, his oratorical power, his political experience, his representative character at the head of the whole New England contingent, and, above all, his knowledge of the world, made him the most important member of the Senate; and no senator had ever saturated himself more thoroughly with the spirit and temper of the body.

Although the Senate is much given to admiring in its members a superiority less obvious or quite invisible to outsiders, one senator seldom proclaims his own inferiority to another, and still more seldom likes to be told of it. Even the greatest senators seemed to inspire little personal affection in each other, and betrayed none at all. Sumner had a number of rivals who held his judgment in no high esteem, and one of these was Senator Seward. The two men would have disliked each other by instinct had they lived in different planets. Each was created only for exasperating the other; the virtues of one were the faults of his rival, until no good quality seemed to remain of either. . . .

A slouching, slender figure; a head like a wise macaw; a beaked nose; shaggy eyebrows; unorderly hair and clothes; hoarse voice; off-hand manner; free talk, and perpetual cigar, offered a new type, — of western New York, — to fathom; a type in one way simple because it was only double; — political and personal; but complex because the political had become nature, and no one could tell which was the mask and which the features. At table, among friends, Mr. Seward threw off restraint, or seemed to throw it off, in reality, while in the world he threw it off, like a politician, for effect. In both cases he chose to appear as a free talker, who loathed pomposity and enjoyed a joke; but how much was nature and how much was mask, he was himself too simple a nature to know. Underneath the surface he was conventional after the conventions of western New York and Albany. . . .

Rightly or wrongly the new President and his chief advisers in

Washington decided that, before they could administer the government, they must make sure of a government to administer, and that this chance depended on the action of Virginia. The whole ascendency of the winter wavered between the effort of the cotton States to drag Virginia out, and the effort of the new President to keep Virginia in. Governor Seward representing the administration in the Senate took the lead; Mr. Adams took the lead in the House; and as far as a private secretary knew, the party united on its tactics. In offering concessions to the border States, they had to run the risk, or incur the certainty of dividing their own party, and they took this risk with open eyes. As Seward himself, in his gruff way, said at dinner, after Mr. Adams and he had made their speeches: — "If there 's no secession now, you and I are ruined." . . .

The sudden arrival of Mr. Lincoln in Washington on February 23, and the language of his inaugural address, were the final term of the winter's tactics.

Thus premising, I now submit the following on the same topics, written contemporaneously with the events referred to:

The Great Secession Winter of 1860–61.

When Congress met at the beginning of December the country was in a condition of utter disorganization. A new question had been sprung upon it before men had had time to discover where they stood, or what the danger really was, or indeed whether any real danger in fact existed. In the extreme North the belief was general that the whole trouble was only sheer panic, which would be short-lived as it was violent, and it is no fair reproach to any good Republican that he should not have believed it possible for any body of reasoning men to take so wild and suicidal a course as that of the southern secessionists. In the middle States, however, there was great alarm. They knew their neighbors better. And as one passed southward, there could be no longer any doubt that the danger was real. The whole country was frantic in its coarse and drunken way with what it called its wrongs, and intoxicated with the prospect of the new Confederacy which was to be founded on slave labor and to draw its wealth from its harvests of cotton. In the city of Washington there was a strange and bewildering chaos, the fragments of broken parties and a tottering Government.

Between the quiet New Englanders with their staid and Puritanical ideas of duty and right, of law and religion, and the rough representatives of the Northwest, who swore by everything in the Heavens above and the Earth beneath that they would turn the rebel States into a wilderness, the difference of manner and idea was great enough. But the southerners were beyond all imagination demented. The more moderate, or the more astute, who followed the footsteps of the Virginia leaders, men like Senator Mason[1] and his colleague,[2] and Mr. Breckinridge, were all agog with the idea of a dissolution and a reconstruction of the Union with the anti-slavery element left out. But those from the cotton States abandoned at once all thought of uniting themselves again with the cold and repulsive North, and turned their minds from the recollection of their temporary alliance with barren New England, and degrading free labor, to the contemplation of fancies which were oriental in their magnificence. They talked enthusiastically of the new nation which was to be formed about the Gulf of Mexico, which should excel in its splendor and gorgeousness all those which had in old times made the Mediterranean the light of the world. In comparison with this the northern States would remain in a gloomy insignificance. Syria and Egypt, Carthage and Rome, Athens and Constantinople were to come to life again around the shores of the western Mediterranean; the commerce and wealth of Asia and Europe were to flow without an effort into this, their natural harbor; and the delights of the highest civilization were to be added to the luxuries of their tropical climate. It was useless to argue with men mad with such ideas; but so confident were they of their success, that they even met with open arms their old enemies, the Republicans, as men from whom they wished to part in kindness now that the time of separation had come.

Full of these various elements, mixed up in strange confusion, Congress came together. The crowds that for the first few days came up to the Capitol expecting to see some violent and probably bloody explosion, were disappointed and soon became thinner. The business of the country was taken up and continued with more than the usual quiet and industry, and except for the vagaries of some southern Senator there

[1] James M. Mason. [2] Robert M. T. Hunter.

was little to see or hear. The field of action was at that time not in Congress but in the Cabinet. There the Union and Disunion parties were struggling for the control, and until that battle was decided, Congress could only look on. No party was disposed to hurry matters, for in spite of all their preparation, the explosion found the South unprepared for it as well as the North, and both sections stood in need of organization. Accordingly, instead of the theatrical and violent scenes and debates that had been expected, the House contented itself with referring the whole question of the national troubles to a large Committee,[1] and until the appropriation bills were passed and the session nearly half over, no general debate was permitted. In the Senate, where there is seldom life enough to stir up the languid atmosphere, the debate which could not be suppressed had little effect. Other events threw for a time the proceedings of Congress into the shade.

Meanwhile the whole nation was clamoring that something must be done; but at least in the city of Washington it seemed fairly agreed that nothing could be done at all. Through the whole month of December the panic there was terrible and always increasing. The rumors from the southern States were enough alone to create very great alarm, but that was not the greatest trouble. The greatest danger was in the Government itself, and so long as the disunionists had the control there, everything was to be feared. It was well known that three of the Cabinet officers were disunionists, and that the President was under their influence. It was known to be their policy to keep him so, and it was said that they had placed him under a system of actual surveillance, so that he never was out of their sight. Visitors at the White House found him regularly hemmed in by these men, who poured into his ear all sorts of prayers and threats. On one side they besought him as a patriot and a Christian to avert the danger of civil war, and on the other warned him that a single step would bring on the most horrible calamities and blast his name as well as the country's happiness forever. He was threatened with assassination till he was said actually to believe that it would come if he moved a step from his position. But no sooner had the South by these means wrung

[1] December 4, 1860. — Congressional Globe, 36th Congress, 2d session, 6, 22. Charles Francis Adams was a member of this Committee.

from him some concession, than the North howled itself hoarse with execrations, and seized on the vacillating old man with a bitterness that made him aghast. Men high in station made no scruple of remonstrating in a most outspoken way, and with gestures that looked very like shaking their fists in his face. They held impeachment over him, and even went so far as to initiate the first steps toward it. Under these threats the President again wavered toward the northern side and allowed his former concessions to be wrung out of his hands. In this way he remained for months in a position that would have been ludicrous if it had not been tragical. It was a battle after the Homeric style. Mr. Cass and the North dragged him by the foot; Mr. Cobb and the South by the head, and between impeachment and assassination, the feeble object of the furious contest could only weep with his ancient friends, and call upon the people to fast and pray.

While the result was as yet doubtful, and the disunionists still had practically the control of the Government, the news came of the action of Major Anderson. This cut the knot of the difficulty, and gave the whole contest another aspect. Unable longer to resist the pressure, the President threw himself with all the energy of which he was capable, on the side of the Government, and the disunionists one after another were forced out of the Cabinet. To make their departure still more disgraceful, the discovery of a fraud in the Interior Department was made, and it was said at the time, that when the President received the new blow, he broke out into ejaculations much more energetic than they were polite. Little by little the new hands, to whom the country was now entrusted, patched up the rents that their predecessors had so skilfully made, and with extreme difficulty succeeded in weathering the immediate dangers. But the panic had already risen to fever heat. On the 1st of January the belief was universal in Washington that there would be fighting in the city within the month. The talk in the hotels, in Congress, and in private society, everywhere men met, was, that a collision was inevitable. Stories flew about and were generally believed, which to a stranger seemed the wildest absurdity. The most flagrant treason was openly proclaimed, accompanied by threats that reminded one of the days of Catiline. Clerks in the Government Departments mounted the disunion badge and talked openly of oaths

they had taken never to permit the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln. Before that should happen Washington would be a heap of ashes. Some of them appeared in costumes of homespun, and announced that it was the uniform of a corps of five hundred who were bound by solemn oaths never to allow the election to be declared or the inauguration to be consummated. Persons whose business led them to keep late hours were alarmed by meeting bodies of men drilling at midnight in the environs of the city. Anonymous letters, and warnings not anonymous, came in numbers to persons in power all dwelling on designs of violence to be used against the Capitol. If this could have been made light of as a mere passing effect of accidental and unorganized influences, the alarm might not have risen to such a height; but the more closely the matter was examined, the more formidable it appeared. The disunionists, either confident temperamentally or extremely mendacious, asserted loudly and with one voice that they were certain of obtaining possession of Washington before the 4th of March. The War Department, the only power which could control them, was in the hands of their most unscrupulous tool, whose long course of dishonest administration, flagrant even compared with the general corruption under the last two Presidents, led naturally to the belief that he would scruple at no violence if by it he could cover his tracks and obtain a claim on the consideration of the new Confederacy. Some of his measures were known. In spite of the universal alarm, no means of defence were taken by him. All the Federal troops were kept as far as possible from Washington. Large quantities of Federal arms were transferred by his orders from the loyal States to the extreme South. Still larger quantities, it was said, had been sold by him at merely nominal prices to the southern States, and it was also said that he had received a commission on such sales. When the investigation into the matter of the abstracted bonds took place, it became still more evident why he should have wished at all hazards to destroy the record of his administration. Long known to be dishonest, and long suspected of being a traitor, his course during this winter would, in any other country or time, have cost him his life. With this man at the head of the War Department, pledged to effect by every means, honest or dishonest, the destruction of the Government, and conscious that on his success depended, not only his name

and honor, which were already held in small esteem, but his power and future prospects and perhaps still more; with him and his confederates in power, it was no wonder that the people of Washington believed themselves lost.

A wide-spread and intricate conspiracy existed against the Government; so much was undoubted. Mr. Douglas and his friends denounced it openly, and traced it up to its source. For many years past there has been, it is true, a class of men in the southern States, as in the northern, who have wished for disunion as a thing good in itself. But this class was always small and could never have obtained the control of a single State as long as the slave power ruled the country. But, according to Mr. Douglas, when it became evident, at the dissolution of the Baltimore Convention in the spring of 1860, that the Democratic party were to lose their omnipotent voice in the affairs of the nation, the leading statesmen in the southern States framed a plan for the dissolution of the Union. They nominated Mr. Breckinridge for the Presidency, under the idea that they could combine on him the votes of every slave State, and having in this way carried Maryland and Virginia, they intended, or at least hoped, so to arrange the course of events that they might refuse to acknowledge the validity of the election, if the Republican candidate should be chosen, or in case of no choice by the people, that they might declare Mr. Breckinridge their President, obtain possession of Washington by means of their control of the Cabinet, and call upon all foreign Governments to recognize them as the Government *de facto*.

To defeat this conspiracy had been the object of Mr. Douglas's journey to Virginia and through the South. No one even at that time was wild enough to suppose that he expected to carry those States himself. Mr. Douglas was not so young nor so sanguine a politician as to expect a result like that. His object was to break up this southern combination and to throw the State of Virginia, on which great weight would evidently be laid, into the hands of the southern Whigs. His manœuvre was only partially successful. His influence did, it is true, defeat and just defeat the Democrats in Virginia, but Maryland and North Carolina, both old Whig States, were carried by the Breckinridge party. Still the main object was gained, and the southern line broken so that it was impossible to carry out the original plan of the disunionist leaders. The large ma-

jority of Mr. Lincoln and the hasty action of South Carolina disconcerted their plans and prevented that appearance of unity and combination that was necessary to make the explosion severe enough to overthrow the existing Government.

This was the conspiracy according to Mr. Douglas's views, openly declared in Washington and elsewhere. This coarse politician, whose animal features and bull-like voice make the admiration of the Senate galleries, revenged the insults that his old friends had heaped upon him, by striking at them in their own stronghold. How far mere patriotism led him to make this move, those who knew him best can judge. No man in the whole nation has done so much as he to degrade the standard of political morality and to further the efforts of the slave power. No man has suffered more from their resentment, and the harm he has done them during the last year may be some consolation to him for the bitterness of their persecution at that time when the President himself was not ashamed to lend the weight of his official position to shut the doors of his friends' houses in his face.

With all these facts and statements staring them in the face, it was reasonable enough that the people of Washington should be alarmed. They saw no way of escape, for both parties were at a deadlock and neither showed any sign of giving way. But with the purgation of the Cabinet, one most imminent danger was removed, though rather by the accidental boldness and honesty of Major Anderson than by any exertion of statesmanship on the part of the North. It fell upon Congress to decide in what way this stroke of fortune should be improved or neglected.

In circumstances of such sudden emergency as this of disunion, Congress is far too unwieldy and unreliable a body to give much hope of its becoming an efficient agent for anything but further embroilment. It is strange to see how few men there are in such a body, where yet each must have some position or reputation for ability however small it may be, who are capable of rising to the level of any occasion be it ever so little above their ordinary mark.

At such times a few men make a reputation for a life-time; the rest will neither follow them nor take any decided steps themselves unless their constituents have already endorsed it. No branch of the Government has a greater power for good or

evil than Congress in dangerous times, and yet it is generally reserved for the Executive or for the energy of single men to throw the decisive weight into the scales while Congress is still laboring after a decision.

So it was during the whole of this winter. With the Senate the case was desperate from the beginning. It was here that the whole disunion scheme had its origin and this was always its stronghold. Of all the southern Senators only two made even an effort to uphold the Government under which they had been born and to which, till a few months before, they had vowed the most unfaltering devotion. Mr. Crittenden, an old Whig, attempted to do something, but succeeded in little more than showing his own honesty and good intentions. He began his work at the wrong end. Wishing to obtain some foundation on which the North and South could unite, he was prevailed upon by his southern friends to offer measures to which it was impossible for the Republicans to accede. In this way the evil which he did became far greater than the good, for the real effect of his effort was to furnish a ground on which the disunionists could stand and make use of his name and influence in their own favor. He became practically an instrument of the secessionists. He himself soon perceived the false position he occupied, and did his best to correct the mistake. But the evil was already done and, before he could set himself right, far the greater part of the power which he might have exerted was expended.

It was not so with Andrew Johnson of Tennessee. Although a Democrat, and a follower of Mr. Breckinridge in the election, he would not yield to the tyranny which bound every other southern man in the Senate, more or less, as well as no small number of the northerners. He did not, like Mr. Crittenden, begin by practically siding with the secessionists. He limited himself to fighting disunion and treason and declaring a war of extermination with it, without putting a price on his services, but rather declaring that he was strong enough to vindicate his own rights in the Union, whoever might attack them. His bold and uncompromising attack was the first great blow that the disunionists suffered in Congress.[1] Jefferson Davis actually writhed under it, and listened with a look and an attitude of

[1] Johnson spoke on December 18 and 19, 1860.

the bitterest hatred and disgust. It was a defection from their own ranks; a rebellion among their own slaves. It was a grave matter indeed when a Breckinridge Senator dared break through party lines and strike such a blow at the power which controlled all his friends.

These two men at least did stand up for the Union among the southern Senators, but the northern Democrats did not even rise as far as this. Not one of all that crew of peddling politicians ever took bold and honest ground on the new issue. Their Telamonian Ajax, Mr. Douglas, and all his herd of followers still avoided an honest avowal of a broad, unhesitating acquiescence in the new contest, and still left it doubtful which of the two they were really acting against, the disunionists or the Republicans. A true statesman, or even a high-minded man, would have seized the first opportunity to place himself above party on such a question as this. Mr. Douglas is neither the one nor the other. He, like so many others, failed to rise to the occasion. Of all the members of the Thirty-Sixth Congress, three or four names only can be picked out, of men who *grew* during this winter. Three or four only, when there was the grandest opportunity for development that ever has occurred under the Government! And, of these few, Mr. Douglas was not one.

Rather through the faults and mistakes of their opponents than through their own skill, the Republicans managed to maintain their ground tolerably well. Their first fear had been that the North would again yield to some compromise by which the old state of things would be brought back and a new struggle become necessary. Probably their fears would have been justified if the southern States had not, by withdrawing, thrown the whole power into the hands of the firmer anti-slavery men. But when it became evident that the danger did not now lie on this side, but was rather lest all the slave States should be dragged out and thus involve the whole country in a common ruin, a difference of opinion, as to the policy to be pursued, soon showed itself. One wing of the party declared for a strong policy by which the seceding States should be compelled to submit to the laws. Many of these really underrated the danger and difficulty, or, if they saw it, yet could not conscientiously take any steps to avoid it. Others confounded the conspirators with the slave-holders, placing all on

the same footing, which was exactly what the disunionists were straining every nerve to bring about. Thus these practically played into the hands of the traitors by doing all in their power to combine the southern States. Others were perhaps conscientiously not unwilling that all the slave States should secede, believing that to be the shortest and surest way of obtaining the destruction of the slave power, as it was certainly a very sure way of obtaining the destruction of their own, if their policy should lead to civil war and a revulsion of feeling in the North. On the other hand, an influential portion of the party urged temporizing till the height of the fever was over, and were in favor of shaping their policy in such a way as to secure the border States and prevent bloodshed. Mr. Seward declared himself very early in the winter a favorer of conciliation in this way. He felt that something must be done, not only to resist disunion in the South, where it was every day acquiring more strength, but to sustain himself and his party in the North, where they were not strong enough to sustain the odium of a dissolution and civil war. For it is a fact, and it is right that it should be so, that with the people the question of the nation's existence will in the end override all party issues, no matter what they may be, and Mr. Seward foresaw that if the new administration was to prove a success it must shape its course so as to avoid the responsibility of the convulsion, and obtain the confidence of a large majority of the people.

This difference of opinion, as to the policy to be pursued, began first to develop itself in the Committee which the House had appointed to consider the whole question of the national troubles. When that Committee met, there was of course nothing but confusion in their minds. Heaps of different plans were thrown upon them, and for some time nothing was done but listen to what each member had to say on his own account. After all, the great wish was to gain time. Very few persons expected really that the Committee would agree on anything, or would effect any good result, further than that of relieving the House of the whole matter as long as possible. But the more violent of the southern men were determined not to allow this. They went into the Committee in order either to control it or to break it up, and in order to bring matters to a head they pressed on it measures which they knew could not be

adopted. Mr. Rust of Arkansas,[1] who, under the pretence of being a Union man, did all he could to help the seceders, and Mr. Reuben Davis of Mississippi, a violent disunionist, took the lead in trying to dragoon the other southern men into retiring from the Committee. They brought forward an ultimatum which they insisted on having considered at once, or else they would withdraw. The Committee refused to leave the regular order of business, whereupon the individuals executed their threat and withdrew in high anger; but, with that methodical madness which seems to be part of the southern character, they withdrew only to the next room, where they sat in solitary dignity and watched the proceedings through the open door till their own measure should come up for discussion.

A few experiments like this soon showed that the disunion element in the Committee was not strong enough to break it up. The only hope of the disunionists became, then, to place the Republicans in such a position as to make reconciliation impossible. Their cry was that the Republicans showed no wish to conciliate; that they intended the forcible emancipation of the slaves, and so on; all which was denied by the Republicans, to be sure, but which still placed the members from the border States in a very hard position. They were honestly Union men. They were, too, in several cases at least, unconditional Union men, but their States were then very doubtful, and the clamor of the seceders might destroy their influence in case the Committee failed to do anything. They urged earnestly and honestly on the Republicans, a retreat from the positions of the campaign, and when that was refused they entreated only some sign of good-will; something, no matter what, with which they could go home and deny the charges of the disunionists. They offered their own measures of conciliation, and when these were refused they asked the Republicans whether they could do nothing in return; whether they were fixed in their determination to drive away the border States and let the spirit of disunion take its course whatever might be the result.

The Republicans hesitated. On one side they felt the weight of these prayers, for prayers they really were; and wished to do what they could for their allies. But that was not all. One by one the meshes of that vast conspiracy were becoming

[1] Albert Rust.

manifest, in which they were entangled. It was every day clearer that the danger was not imagined; that the flood of disunion feeling was advancing at fearful speed towards Washington, and threatened to overwhelm Virginia and even Maryland. And as State after State set up the standard of rebellion, and treason proclaimed itself in the Capitol and White House itself; when crowded galleries broke into violent applause over disunion speeches, and the whole city was expecting an outbreak from day to day; as it became more and more evident that the credit of the Government was tottering; its army and navy useless or nearly so; its whole frame and action hampered, weakened, broken wherever practicable, and the traitors still at its head; as all this gradually forced itself upon the minds of the leading Republicans, and they began to see the danger they ran, and to feel the tangling knots of that great net in which they were snared, they opened their eyes to their hazardous position and began to stretch their hands about them for some firm support.

While the Committee was still in doubt and the chance of a good result was becoming more and more dim, a blow was delivered by one man at the secessionists, which changed the whole face of the battle. Mr. Winter Davis in the House struck out fiercely at disunion like Andrew Johnson in the Senate, and with the same success.[1] But to understand Mr. Davis's position fairly it is necessary to know something of his history, and he is remarkable enough as a politician to make such a parenthesis interesting.

As for the last eight or ten years the opposition to the slave power developed itself, and it became more and more evident that its ultimate success was only a question of time, it was naturally to be expected that men would appear here and there in the southern States who, either out of ambition or from other motives, would ally themselves with the North, and as the Democratic party had become identified with the slave power, it was evident that these men, if they appeared at all, would be found among the southern Whigs. But there is very little boldness in American politicians, and though it was no rare thing for the southern Whigs to act secretly in concert with the Republicans, only one of them ventured in Congress to

[1] Davis delivered his speech on February 7. It will be found in the Congressional Globe, 36th Congress, 2d Session, Appendix, 181.

place himself openly on the record. His course was that of one man in a hundred thousand.

Mr. Henry Winter Davis of Maryland first rose to any prominence in public life by his connection with the Know-Nothing party in 1854, or thereabouts. When the old Whigs lost their power in the North, the southern Whig States began to fall one after another into Democratic hands. But even the riveting influence of slavery and the growing strength of the Republicans were not enough to unite Whigs and Democrats in the southern border States. They were divided by many years of bitter strife and hatred. To an old Whig in Tennessee, or Kentucky, or Maryland, who had grown up to despise a Democrat as the meanest and most despicable of creatures; who had been taught in the semi-barbarous school of southern barbecues and stump harangues, gouging and pistol shooting, to hate and abhor the very word Democrat with a bitterness unknown to the quieter and more law-abiding northerners, the idea of submitting finally and hopelessly to the Democratic rule, was not to be endured. Accordingly, when the Native American party made its appearance, these men rushed into it, in a mass, as a means of bolstering up their waning power, and under the prestige of its extraordinary successes and underhand organization, managed for a time to sweep everything before them. Among the States which they ruled most completely was Maryland, and among the first to avail himself of this new ladder was Mr. Henry Winter Davis of Baltimore.

But the new movement was not without its drawbacks. One great feature of the Know-Nothings was their enmity to Catholics and the Catholic religion; but in Maryland where the old families still retain their Catholicism and rule the tone of society, no gentleman could become with impunity a leader in a party so obnoxious to them. This alone was cause enough for their hating Davis with a bitter hatred. But this was not all. The secret organization of the Native American attracted large numbers of the worst class of rowdies and bullies into the party, and in Baltimore they made use of their power in the wildest and most disgraceful way, electing a Mayor who sympathized with them, and, on the day of election, surrounding the polls in armed bands. With a sort of fantastic humor, they provided themselves with awls, and punched their political opponents with them, when they came

up to deposit their votes. An examination of one sufferer by this torture showed no less than twenty-four such wounds. The amusement became a characteristic of the Baltimore "Plug-ugly," and in the Know-Nothing processions a huge wooden awl was carried about, as one of the insignia of the party. It is among the worst of the charges against Mr. Winter Davis that he allowed himself to speak from a platform on which a symbolical awl was conspicuously placed, and that he himself mentioned in one of his speeches this rowdyism as a mere passing exuberance of the spirit of freedom. In the course of these excesses the evil reached such a height that Baltimore, on election day, lay at the mercy of these ruffians, and several murders of peculiarly brutal and revolting nature heralded and accompanied their triumph.

Outraged in this way, polite society turned on the Native Americans and a bitter war was waged. Mr. Winter Davis gained indeed the political victory for a time, but roused against himself the most intense hatred in that circle of society to which he himself belonged. He, a gentleman, educated, polished, refined, was accused of having countenanced these barbarities; of having given encouragement to crime and protection to murder. Society proscribed him. His name was erased from the books of the clubs. He was persecuted in every way that even female ingenuity could invent. Probably no man in this country ever went through more bitter social trials or a more complete series of mortifications than Mr. Winter Davis and his family at Baltimore; but he was not a man to be crushed by such burdens. He fought it through, and marched on his way.

One may or may not endorse Mr. Davis's course, or believe the excuses and justifications which his friends advance in his favor. It may or may not be true that his ambition dragged him beyond honorable bounds into unprincipled action. But at least it is impossible not to admire the energy and skill of the politician, his buoyancy and his inflexible will.

With these antecedents he took his seat as a member of the Thirty-fourth Congress. It has so happened that in both the Thirty-fourth and Thirty-sixth Congresses, the South Americans, or rather the old Whigs, for such they really are, have held the balance of power in their hands, and more than once the vote of Mr. Winter Davis has turned the scale. So early as

the election of Mr. Banks as Speaker[1] his vote exercised an influence which held the opposite party in check. It was his vote that brought to an end the long struggle over the Speakership in 1859–60,[2] and it needed no common courage for a southern man at that time to take the responsibility of electing a Republican Speaker. In the five years of his Congressional course he had made his mark on the House. It is very seldom in that noisy, tumultuous body that any member can command silent attention; but when Mr. Davis rose, members dropped their newspapers, put down their pens, stopped their conversation and crowded around him. He regularly conquered their admiration and finally rose to the first rank of Congressional statesmen. His very appearance told to a certain degree in his favor, for the representative of the Baltimore "Plugs," perhaps the most reckless and lawless ruffians in the country, was among the very few men in the House who appeared like a quiet, educated, well-bred gentleman. Whatever his associations may have been, his private character was above dispute, and even the scrupulous nicety of his dress and the somewhat studied courtesy of his manner are enough alone to make his bitterest enemies doubt the truth of the charges they themselves bring against him. That his strong points are dashed with a touch of vanity and a certain love of admiration, it is not worth while to deny. There are few public men who are not vain, and generally with much less cause. But even his weaknesses are not without their interest, increasing one's surprise as they do at the life of struggle and conflict he has led.

From the first sitting of the Committee of Thirty-three, Mr. Davis took a bold lead in its deliberations. For him everything depended on the faithfulness of Virginia to the Government, and he fought the disunionists with a desperation warranted by what he had at stake. When it at last became evident that Mr. Crittenden's measure in regard to the Territories was the rock on which they were to split, he did not hesitate to throw over all remaining doubts and hesitation, and declare boldly against it. On the 20th of December, after long discussions and vehement pressure from the South, in-

[1] In the 34th Congress.

[2] Resulting in the election, on February 1, 1860, of William Pennington, of New Jersey.

tended either to drive the Republicans from their position or to break up the Committee, and unite the slave States in the secession movement, and when the scales inclined gradually towards the southern side, and little hope remained that further discussion would be of use, Mr. Davis rose from his seat with a proposition which gave an electric shock to the whole Committee. It was the since well-known measure for the admission of New Mexico.[1] No sooner was it proposed than the southern members, starting as if a bomb-shell had fallen among them, began whispering together, retired into the next chamber and held a long consultation, and finally returned to say that the proposition was inadmissible and not to be thought of. The next day the Committee adjourned for a week, unwilling to renounce all hope, but despairing of any agreement.

The step Mr. Davis had taken was, however, too bold and too skilful, and offered too many advantages, to allow the Republicans to let the chance slip from their hands without an effort, at a time when it was of the gravest importance that the Committee should not be broken up. It was the week of the Christmas holidays. On the 24th, Saturday and Sunday having passed since the Committee adjourned, the Republican members met in caucus and discussed all the proposed measures of conciliation at length. On the 25th, Christmas-day, they held another meeting, at which Judge Watts,[2] a gentleman from New Mexico, was present, and told at length all that nine years of experience had taught him about that Territory. His testimony, clear and decided, and lasting through several hours of careful questioning into every particular, was thought conclusive by a majority of the members present, and the next day, at still another meeting, the proposition of Mr. Davis was adopted as a Republican measure. With it was adopted the sketch of an Amendment to the Constitution, providing against the complaints of the southern members as to a possible forced abolition of slavery; an Amendment which met at that time little or no opposition, and which was understood to be merely a reassertion of a similar article of the Chicago platform. And as the fittest person to present these measures in order to carry conviction to the South, the mem-

[1] The bill was read for the first time on February 1, 1861, and is printed in the Congressional Globe, 36th Congress, 2d Session, 1326.

[2] John S. Watts.

bers selected Mr. Adams of Massachusetts, whose position on the slavery question had stood unshaken through sixteen years of trial and sacrifice, and to whose support, at the critical moment, the adoption of the measures was probably due.

It was in this way that the policy of conciliation was initiated. It will be a question that History only can decide, which of the two wings of the Republican party were right; whether that one which saw hope only in an exercise of force, or that which saw in the outbreak of a war for which they could be made in any degree responsible, only the cast of a loaded die, by which they could not win and must lose. This was the sum total of the difference of opinion among the Republicans, and those Democrats and members of the rump of the old Whig party in the North, who flattered themselves with the idea that Mr. Seward and his friends were retracing their steps and modifying their principles, were never more mistaken. The difference was wholly one of future policy; not of recorded principle. The policy of the one wing led to a violent destruction of the slave power; perhaps by war, perhaps by a slave insurrection. The policy of the other wing was to prevent a separation in order to keep the slave power more effectually under control, until its power for harm should be gradually exhausted, and its whole fabric gently and peacefully sapped away. The extremists on the one side did not hesitate to assert that the only cure for the evils of the nation must be looked for in a violent convulsion; that the end of slavery, like all other oppression, was in blood: such was the law of God. The followers of Mr. Seward declared that even if such were law, under some divine system of bloody compensation, it was still their duty to do their utmost to prevent the victory of freedom which they had gained, and which should be a blessing to the American people, from becoming even temporarily its curse. They foresaw, too, as the result of such a contest, a fatal and irresistible revulsion of feeling throughout the country, by which the slave power would be restored to its old position, perhaps at the expense of the northern tier of States, whose resistance to such a reaction would very possibly prove fatal only to themselves. But each portion of the party, notwithstanding the temporary division, was equally hostile to the slave power, and each portion held as sacredly as ever to the principles which had always guided its course.

The full Committee met again on the 28th, and on that day the proposed Amendment to the Constitution was offered by Mr. Adams, and adopted almost unanimously. But in the meanwhile the report of the New Mexico proposition, unexpected and misrepresented as it was, created considerable alarm and opposition. The Senators objected to it, and even Governor Seward was in doubt whether the time for such a step had yet arrived. But on that same day a similar proposition made by Mr. Rice of Minnesota[1] in the Senate Committee, received the Republican votes; and, the last obstacle being thus removed, on the 29th December, as it appears by the Journal of the Committee, Mr. Adams introduced the New Mexico proposition, which was at once adopted by a vote of thirteen to eleven, Mr. Bristow of Kentucky[2] being the only southern member who voted in its favor.

The effect of this move was immediate; for, though it satisfied very few persons and commanded the energetic support of still fewer, it still prevented the dissolution of the Committee, and cut at once, as with a knife, through the coalition which was on the brink of forming itself between the border and the cotton States. It drove Mr. Taylor of Louisiana[3] and the other extreme southern members out of the Committee at once; but it gave to the members from the border States an opportunity to remain with honor. Mr. Nelson of Tennessee[4] declared afterward, in his speech before the House, that he had gone up to the Committee on that very morning with his mind made up to announce his formal withdrawal from its deliberation on the ground that there was no chance of reaching an agreement. The change of policy that day initiated, alone prevented him from uniting with the other seceders in their attempt to break down this last bridge by which aid could be hoped for.

The crisis in the Committee was passed, and from this time the interest of their deliberations decreased. But meanwhile the first days of January came on, the blackest our country had seen since the adoption of the Constitution. The traitors were one by one leaving the Cabinet where they had for years shown to the world the singular spectacle of a Government trying to destroy itself. General Scott had at last been summoned to Washington, after Mr. Floyd had, with his usual

[1] Henry M. Rice.
[2] Francis M. Bristow.
[3] Miles Taylor.
[4] Thomas A. R. Nelson.

honesty, counteracted all his previous efforts to place the military force of the nation in a serviceable position. The frauds discovered in the Interior Department had begun to assume a vague and astonishing size. Public confidence and courage were shattered. Everything was in confusion and the new officers found a state of affairs, in the Departments committed to their charge, that filled them with alarm and even despair. And there remained yet two months to be bridged over before any solid foundation for a renewal of hope could be reached.

Through all these scenes Mr. Seward, the great leader of the Republicans, had kept silence and had worked in quiet to combine and re-organize the broken and wavering columns of his party. From the first outbreak his course had been clear to his own mind; and he was probably the only man in Congress, on the northern side, who went to Washington prepared for what might happen with a definite policy to meet it. Certainly he was the only one who succeeded in carrying out such a policy and balancing himself and the nation upon it. Early in December the offer had been made to him by the President-elect of the first place in his new administration, and after some hesitation had been accepted. Of this the public knew for some time nothing. But by common consent all eyes were turned on him, and he was overwhelmed by entreaties from men in all sections of the country to do something to save the Union. Utterly panic-stricken they came to him with prayers and tears. The people of Washington came to him on the 1st of January in numbers, with positive assertions that they and the whole city would be in the hands of traitors within a month unless he did something to save them. To such appeals his answer was: "Save yourselves; you alone can do it; organize; form military companies; watch your suspected men." Members of the Cabinet came to him in absolute despair and called on him for counsel. The advice that he gave was not thrown away. Letters on letters came to him from the Union men in the border slave States urging immediate action and asking help and advice. He extended his connections far into the slave States, everywhere striving to guide the Union policy and to raise up and unite the Union sentiment. He became virtually the ruler of the country. With that cool wisdom and philosophical self-control, so peculiar to his character, he comprehended at once the true nature of his position and gave all his

energies to carrying on the struggle. Foreseeing that the battle was to be fought in the border States, and that they must at all hazards be held back, at least till the 4th of March, he cleared his eyes, without an effort, of the cobwebs that blinded other men, and devoted himself to the labor of effecting a firm alliance with the Unionists of Virginia and Maryland, to check the evil while there was yet time.

Those who saw and followed Mr. Seward during all the anxieties and cares of this long struggle, are little likely to forget the lessons he then taught them. Cheerful where everyone else was in despair; cool and steady where everyone else was panic-struck; clear-sighted where other men were blind; grand in resource where every resource seemed exhausted; guiding by quiet and unseen influences those who seemed to act independently on their own ground; holding the great threads of public policy in his hand without parade or display, and, with his vast power of combination, touching them all with reference only to one clear and definite end; avoiding harsh contact with all men, and steering with a firm and steady grasp between his friends who were ready to denounce him, and his enemies who were eager to destroy him, the ultras of the North and South alike; yielding without obstinacy where resistance was too great, yet striking with fresh energy wherever resistance seemed weak; pertinacious in his attack, and inexhaustible in his armory of weapons, he fought, during these three months of chaos, a fight which might go down to history as one of the wonders of statesmanship.

It was not till nearly half the session was over and the debate in the Senate approached its close, that he declared himself and his policy to the country.[1] Probably no speech in Congress was ever expected with so much eagerness as his, for it had been announced that he was to be the head of the new administration, which in the absence of his chief made him the most important man in the nation, even without the weight of his great reputation. Forming as it did only one part of his base of operations, it was aimed, as was his whole policy, directly at the border States. It gave form and authority to the other efforts he was making to combine and encourage the Union men in those States, and never were efforts

[1] He spoke on January 12, 1861. — Congressional Globe, 36th Congress, 2d Session, 341.

more successful or a course of policy better justified by the result. The effect of the speech was instantaneous. From that day the rumors of war began to subside; the Union men in the South took new courage; public confidence began to re-establish itself, the country breathed more freely and hope rapidly rose. Letters poured in on him from the South, and he received as many from Virginia alone, as he did from his own State. With the short time and the comparatively small means in his power, he could do little more than give the tone, and the organization of the Union party was very incomplete; but it was enough to form a nucleus for something better, and was effective so far as it went. Luckily for the country, Maryland had an honest man at its head. If a secessionist had then been its governor in Mr. Hicks's place, it is more than probable that under the first violent shock, she would have been dragged out of the Union, as was Georgia, by force of fraud. Andrew Johnson and the Whigs took care of Tennessee; and Kentucky showed no wish to move; so the great and decisive struggle rested always in Virginia. There the secessionists did not dare to declare openly for disunion, but with that specious logic and plausible weakness that had marked more or less nearly all their prominent men from early times, they hid themselves behind the flimsy defence of what they called "reconstruction," by which the anti-slavery portion of the Union was to be thrown aside, and the fable of the Phœnix, or of Medea and Pelias, if experience and appearances be true, was to be at last verified. Already before the election in that State, foreseeing a Convention, which, if not absolutely sympathizing with disunion, must yet be sensitive to every evil influence, Mr. Seward had caused another Convention to be summoned at Washington where all the questions of the day might be discussed by distinguished men from every State, and such measures taken as might seem to them expedient, and offered as a recommendation to the Government.

The Virginia election came at last, and with a long breath of relief the country began to wake from its despair. Slowly the great ship seemed to right itself, broken and water-logged it is true, but not wrecked. A most essential point had been gained, and at last it seemed as though firm ground was felt. But it was still necessary to reach the 4th of March in quiet, and it was very evident that the disunionists there would strain

every nerve to force action within the three weeks which still remained. It was then that Mr. Seward's dexterous expedient to control them and paralyze their action, showed its efficiency. With an astuteness that completely outgeneraled all his opponents, he kept the Peace Convention at work until the Inauguration was close at hand, while the Union men in Virginia and the other border States insisted that no step should be taken until the result of that Convention was known. Thus the danger was fought off and the way to the Inauguration was cleared.

Thus all winter long the great battle was kept up with varying success, but on the whole to the disadvantage of the disunionists. Their original hope that the Government would fall to pieces under the shock of their treason, proved vain, and all their efforts to draw any but the cotton States into the rebellion had proved futile. They had been driven from the Government with the disgrace that attaches to thieves and traitors, a disgrace which among themselves they might wear upon their sleeves and call a badge of honor, if they chose, but which with men uninflamed by their passions will be none the less disgraceful. They were held in check by the Government on all sides, and it was evident even to their most enthusiastic supporters that they were on the high road to ruin unless some change for the better took place. Their only means for effecting this was by getting the assistance of Virginia, which would settle the fact of disunion and enable them to force on the world as a "fait accompli" that which no one would acknowledge as good or right in itself. In order to counteract their attempts on Virginia, the more moderate of the Republicans in Congress pressed the passage of the measures passed by the Committee of Thirty-three, which were declared by the southern Whigs sufficient to answer all their purposes. On the passage of these measures the final contest took place, and this time not among the southerners but among the Republicans, who hesitated and doubted about a step which could not do them a straw's weight of harm and which might if properly used save them an overwhelming burden of misfortune. One after another all the men of influence threw their weight into the scales which still wavered in doubt. Mr. Seward, Mr. Winter Davis, and the southern Whigs, Mr. Adams, Mr. Sherman and a large share of the best ability of the party, exhausted their influence

in advocating these measures, and still the mass of the party hesitated, and turned for the decisive word to the final authority at Springfield. The word did not come. In its stead came doubtful rumors tending to distract public opinion still more. In spite of the assertions of newspapers and to the surprise of the country it became more and more evident that there was no concerted action between the President-elect and the Republicans at Washington, and that Mr. Seward had acted all winter on his own responsibility. The effect of this discovery was soon evident in the gradual destruction of party discipline in Congress, where every man began to follow an independent course, or commit himself against the measures proposed, from an idea that the President was against them.

Mr. Lincoln arrived in Washington and took up the reins of control. It soon became very evident that, so far as the Republican party is concerned, secession if properly managed is rather a benefit than a misfortune. Anti-slavery was the only ground on which it could act with anything like unanimity. In ordinary times the tariff bill would have broken it down, and even under the tremendous pressure of disunion, the struggle over the Cabinet shook it to its very centre. On all questions except that of slavery it can never act together with any reliable degree of concert, made up as it is of incongruous elements freshly and roughly joined together. Under these circumstances the task of Mr. Lincoln was one which might well have filled with alarm the greatest statesman that ever lived. He had to deal with men and measures that would have taxed the patience of Washington and required the genius of Napoleon. It was therefore not to be expected, nor indeed wished, that on his arrival he would instantly throw himself into the arms of either set of his friends before judging for himself the merits of the case ; nor was it possible that all the dangers and pressing necessities of the time should be wholly apparent to him. The matter of the passage of the Corwin measures became one of secondary interest, the result of those measures depending as they did on the influence which was to prevail in the Cabinet. This influence became now the great feature of the day, and the struggle was vehement between the two wings of the party. The mere fact that the Cabinet had not yet been agreed upon was sufficient to prove that Mr. Lincoln, while placing Mr. Seward in the chief place in his

councils, did not intend to allow his influence to rule it, and the result of the contest between the friends of Mr. Winter Davis and Mr. Blair[1] soon decided this question beyond a doubt. Mr. Seward's policy had been to go outside of the party in selecting members of the Cabinet from southern States, and to choose men whose influence would have strengthened the administration. The fact that Mr. Blair, a strict Republican, was preferred over any other man to represent Maryland and Virginia in the Cabinet, was decisive of the policy of the Government, and the death-blow to the policy of Mr. Seward.

When once this question was settled it was of little consequence what became of the proposed measures of conciliation, which were worth nothing, except as one weak link in the chain by which the border States were to be held to the Union. Still the battle went on no less fiercely in Congress, and the radical wing of the Republicans, not yet conscious that this question was a mere subordinate, lost on other ground than that on which they resisted it, went so far as to threaten to stop the business of the House, defeat the appropriation bills and throw the burden of an immediate new Congress on the administration. Happily no such folly was committed, and the measure so hardly disputed was passed by bare majorities. The New Mexico proposition was defeated by southern Union votes and no one was sorry to see it so ended. It had been proposed and adopted merely as a means of crushing the Crittenden measures and putting an end to the demand for protection to slavery in the Territories. As such it had answered its purpose, and no one regretted that southern men should take the responsibility of defeating it. On the very morning of the 4th of March, the Senate passed the Amendment to the Constitution by exactly the necessary vote; and even then it was said in Washington that some careful manipulation, as well as the direct influence of the new President, was needed before this measure, so utterly innocent and unobjectionable, could be passed.

It will be a problem that those who are fond of such riddles may pore over, what would have been the end of the matter if Mr. Seward had then carried his point, and the conciliatory policy had become the policy of the Government. No man, probably, except the actors themselves in these scenes, knows

[1] Montgomery Blair.

what the course of events really was, yet from what is public it is fair to suppose that Mr. Seward contemplated a very cautious and forbearing course. It is known that he wished to open the Cabinet to the southern Unionists irrespective of party. Hence it is reasonable to suppose that he would have strengthened their hands by every means in his power. Mr. Jefferson Davis, whose whole course was directed towards drawing the border States into the secession movement, and who, to effect this, had restrained his followers from all aggression, had caused the old Constitution to be re-enacted with but few changes, and the old tariff to be adopted in spite of all complaints; Mr. Davis was to be checkmated at all hazards. The Virginia Congressional elections which were to come in May, would have been the decisive point. In order to enable the Unionists to carry these and force a reaction, Mr. Seward would no doubt have caused Forts Sumter and Pickens to be abandoned as useless to him except for what they would bring. He would have set every engine to work to redeem the border States and place them in the hands of reliable men, and no doubt he would have employed the same policy upon the unionists of Georgia and Alabama. Yet towards foreign nations we must suppose that his tone would have been the more dignified, as it was gentle and forbearing at home. No infringement of our laws, whether in relation to duties or otherwise, would have been permitted, and if attempted, would have been instantly resented. And if at last all this caution and delicacy were rewarded by the hoped-for revolution in the border States and the gradual disintegration of the seceders, it is not improbable that, exchanging finally his caution for boldness, Mr. Seward would with a single blow have shattered their whole fabric in the dust.

Such is probably the policy which the friends of Mr. Seward hoped to see adopted. Whether it would have answered their hopes, it is of little use to inquire. Like all such attempts at wisdom and moderation in times of heated passions and threatening war, it was swallowed up and crushed under the weight of brute force, that final tribunal to which human nature is subjected or subjects herself without appeal. Yet it is right to make the effort even if overruled. Through all the chaos of anxiety and contest which marked Mr. Seward's reign of two months, it was evident that he at

least felt the highest confidence in the course he pursued. He declared himself bent on weathering the storm without the loss of a single life. Under all the dangers and trials, the cares and the triumphs of his dictatorship, he maintained always the same self-control and calmness, never parading his importance and never losing his self-command. "You look worn, Mr. Seward," said a friend to him one day towards the end of the winter. "Yes," he replied with his slow, rough and careless manner; "the short session is generally the hardest work." "God damn you, Seward, you've betrayed your principles and the party; we've followed your lead long enough," growled a Senator at him one day, in answer to some interposed advice on business in the Senate Chamber. The insult was gross enough and pointed enough to hurt perhaps, but caused no retort. In his natural calmness of disposition and his self-taught quiet, he was as immovable outwardly under praise as under blame. Only once was it known that he ever felt what was said of him, and then it was not without reason, when he opened the envelope and read the sonnet which the poet Whittier sent to him from Amesbury.

In this short and superficial sketch of the course of events at the Capitol during the last winter, it is not intended to attempt the accuracy of history, nor would it be possible to detail even the bare record of what took place in those three months without writing a volume at least. Yet merely from this sketch one result plainly appears. It is said very generally among our people that our theory of Government is a failure. We know that it has been the subject of long controversy and stands now as an experiment. As with all other governments, so with this, it was to be expected that time would bring its trials, and until they came, and the fact of their having been endured and surmounted was patent to the world, this experiment, founded by men in whose work theory had been too largely mixed with experience to permit even themselves to feel absolute confidence in it, could never be called a complete success. In the event of such a trial the mere individuals, whom accident made the instruments for upholding or overthrowing the Government, are lost in the interest which attaches to the great argument by which a question of such fearful magnitude is to be decided.

For nearly half a century it has been growing clearer and

clearer every day whence this trial was to come. By an unfortunate necessity which has grown with its growth, the country contained in itself, at its foundation, the seeds of its future troubles. By the Constitution a great political, social and geographical or sectional power within the Government was created; in its nature a monopoly; in its theory contrary to and subversive of the whole spirit of Republican institutions. A monarchy, such as that of England, may contain, though not without danger, such monopolies and social distinctions, though its permanence must always depend on a nice and intricate adjustment of their powers, but such is not the case with a Republic. Its existence depends upon the absence of such distinctions, and all monopolies or corporations that exercise a direct political influence as such, are contrary to the spirit of the Government and hurtful to its integrity. They must be kept down or they will pervert the whole body politic.

The grand corporation known under the name of the slave-power, peculiarly offensive as it was, not only to the spirit of our Government but to that of our religion and whole civilization, did very shortly pervert the whole body politic, and as an inevitable result of its very existence, the nation divided into parties, one of which favored its continuing to control the Government; the other striving to rescue the power from its hands. While maintaining the Constitution and its grants, good or bad as they might be thought, their effort was to reduce the evil results of such grants to their lowest possible standard and to raise the good results to their highest. After a long and bitter contest the slave power was for the first time defeated, and deprived, not of its legitimate power, not of its privileges as originally granted in the Constitution, but of its control of the Government; and suddenly in the fury of its unbridled license, it raised its hand to destroy that Government. The great secession winter of 1860–61 was therefore the first crucial test of our political system.

Has the system stood that test? The answer will be as various as men's educations and turn of mind. And yet where else, in any country over the broad surface of the globe, has there ever existed the Government capable of sustaining so long and so tremendous a pressure as this! What genius has ever yet described, or what nation has ever drawn from the

cumulative wisdom of centuries, a system more strong, more elastic, more tenacious, more full of life and instinct with self-consciousness than ours? Where in all history is there to be found an instance of a power such as slavery has shown itself, peaceably ejected from the Government and forced to become rebels or submit? In other countries it would have needed a violent and bloody struggle to drive it from its throne. Where else is or has there ever been that Government which could for five months remain inactive, while so vast a rebellion was developing itself under its very eyes, without breaking down into anarchy under the weight of its very inactivity? There does not exist and never has existed the Government which could maintain itself and the public peace; which could with wise and cautious patience bear and forbear, wait and endure, and stretch its elastic membranes beyond the limits of all credibility as ours has done during the last year. Nor, if strength is wanted, has ever any Government developed more than our own, when, at one stamp of his foot, the President called the whole nation to arms, and the bristling lines of bayonets poured down from every township in the North, to sustain the integrity of the Union.

Mr. SANBORN read the following communication on the present state of information concerning Michel Guillaume St. Jean de Crèvecœur, once commonly called "Hector St. John":

Some years ago, after reading the French biography of the above-named rather mystifying personage, and the six volumes in French of his American essays, letters and notes, I undertook to give some connected and authenticated account of him and his works in English. This was printed in the Proceedings of this Society for 1906,[1] and, in a briefer form, in the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography.[2]

Prof. W. P. Trent of Columbia University, who had given his name as voucher for a new edition of the faulty and mystifying English edition of the "Letters of an American Farmer," on being assured of its defects, and of the real facts about its author, at once interested himself to have the whole

[1] 2 Proc. xx. 20, 32, 582. [2] July, 1906, xxx. 257.

career of St. John de Crèvecœur traced out; and in this work he engaged the talents and research of one of the Columbia students, Miss Julia Post Mitchell, a relative of the astronomer, Maria Mitchell, who has now for some years been investigating St. John's adventures and writings, both in America and in Europe; making many discoveries, some of which I have communicated to the Society. Lately she has visited the site of St. John's farm in Blooming-Grove, Orange County, N. Y., and has found, as she believes, the very house (modernized) of which a sketch was given, from the Farmer's own drawing, in our Proceedings for 1906. The identification seems to be complete. She has examined the deeds of purchase and sale, and finds that he bought the farm under the name of Hector St. John, though perfectly aware that was not the name by which he was baptized, married, and finally buried in his native France. His marriage certificate, signed by J. P. Tétard, a Calvinist pastor in the Province of New York, gives him his baptismal name, but adds, "commonly called Mr. St. John." His three children were all born at his Pine Hill farm, and his house (now called "Elmcote") was built by himself, near the ancient Crommelin house, — the first one erected in that region, in 1716. Crommelin himself was a Frenchman born, as so many of the Huguenot ancestors of New York citizens were. Tétard was afterwards French instructor in Columbia College, after it dropped the name of "King's."

Miss Mitchell will include in her book about St. John many facts not before known, or forgotten, and will clear up some of the mystery still attaching to his youthful career, and to his brief visit to Ireland and England in 1780–81. From the latter date the course of his life, up to his death in 1813, is fairly well known, though somewhat disguised by his efforts to conceal his exact residence during the worst times of the French Revolution. The original of his letter to President Stiles of Yale, asking the freedom of the city of New Haven for his titled French friends, and for Target and Lacretelle, his literary sponsor in Paris, is among the manuscripts of this Society, and may be reproduced, to show St. John's singular use of English and orthography, while French Consul at New York. This document was given to the Society about a century ago, by the son-in-law of

Dr. Stiles, Caleb Gannett, but seems to have been unknown to Mr. Winthrop, when he wrote his brief paper on St. John in 1874.

Lately a new source of information about St. John has been accidentally opened to American inquirers by a letter from M. Henri Cluzant, a landed proprietor in the Gironde, living at the Château de Cabazac but owning some share, now or formerly, in the old estate of Cagny, near Caen in Normandy, the province of St. John's birth. William Alexander, the older son of St. John, had married in 1798 Narcisse de Mesnage de Cagny, and after his early death his widow resided in the family home at Cagny, where her father-in-law often visited her. He seems to have sent her from Munich, where he long resided, or to have left in her care, many of his manuscripts, drawings and engravings, which were never reclaimed by his descendants now living in Paris, but remained in the old château. By descent from a sister of Mme. Ally de Crèvecœur (apparently), M. Cluzant, in no way related to the Crèvecœurs, has come into possession of these documents, which, in a letter to the librarian of Harvard University, he seemed to offer to Americans who might be interested in the residence and researches of St. John de Crèvecœur. This letter being referred to me, I saw at once the value of this find, and suggested to Professor Trent that it might be acquired for Columbia University. He has since been corresponding, as I have, with M. Cluzant, in the hope that these papers and sketches may come to America.

Altogether the way seems open for a full account of one of the most interesting of the many Frenchmen who have temporarily resided in this country. His correspondence, which was incessant and gossiping, as well as concerned with important matters, social and historical, still exists in France and this country, and throws much light on a period of colonial history wherein we were not well informed before. His relation to the Revolutionary founders of our nation, Franklin, Washington, Jefferson, Madison, the Livingstons, etc., is a feature of his life not sufficiently known as yet: and his earlier relations with the New York loyalists (of whom for some years he seems to have been one) add to the value of his writings. His disguises of name and date and residence seem to have been harmless, though vexatious to his readers, and his char-

acter and experiences are worthy of the praise and the attention which they are again beginning to receive after the silence of nearly a century.

Remarks were made during the meeting by the PRESIDENT, and Messrs. FORD, RANTOUL, SANBORN, DAVIS and MEAD.

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